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**THE  
FRAGMENTARY CLASSICISING HISTORIANS  
OF THE  
LATER ROMAN EMPIRE**

**EUNAPIUS, OLYMPIODORUS, PRISCUS AND MALCHUS**

**II**

**Text, Translation and Historiographical Notes**

**R.C. BLOCKLEY**



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## INTRODUCTION

The second volume of *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire* contains texts, translations and notes to the fragments of Eunapius, Olympiodorus, Priscus and Malchus (excluding the material preserved by Zosimus). To these, for completeness, have been added Candidus and some substantial articles from the *Suda* which have been on occasion attributed to one or more of these authors.

This second volume was undertaken, at the request of the publisher, after the first volume had been completed. As a result, the views set out there have been tested by a close and careful study of the texts and their language. In general I have found no reason to modify my views, although the following two qualifications must be made, both concerning Eunapius. First, in common with most commentators, I underestimated the tone of bitter sarcasm in the History, which in places I misread as nothing more than rhetorical pomposity. Once recognised, this sarcasm is very evident, especially at the end of *Fr.* 37 (on which see n.81), in the first part of *Fr.* 42 and in *Fr.* 56. Second, Eunapius' superficial and hysterical judgements and the usual lack of detailed information, when taken together with the remarks at the end of *Fr.* 1 and in *Fr.* 15 about the pressure which Julian's admirers placed upon him to write his History and with the comments in *Fr.* 42 (p.62) on the current condition of the cities of Thrace, now suggest to me that the first two parts of the History published (part 1 to the death of Julian, part 2 to 378 – see vol. I pp.3-5) were written very soon after the events which they describe. This lends support to Barnes' view (which I was reluctant to accept in vol. I pp.24f.) that Eunapius' work, which I am here categorising almost as 'instant history', appeared before Ammianus' more detailed, sophisticated and better considered narrative.

Other substantive changes are: the transfer of all the passages of the *Epit. de Caes.* assigned to Eunapius (except 41,22-23 = *Fr.* 11,2) to the category of 'possible'; the shortening of some passages from *Vit. Soph.* to exclude material, usually of a religious or biographical nature,

which was almost certainly not in the History (e.g. at *Vit. Soph.* 8,1,11 - 2,3 = Eunapius *Fr.* 64,3); the transfer of *Suda* I 368 from Priscus *Fr.* 57 to the *Anonyma e Suda*; and the withdrawal of the following passages which had been categorised as 'possible': Philostorgius *HE* 7,15 (at Eunapius *Fr.* 58), Jordanes *Get.* 50,264-66 (at Priscus *Fr.* 25), *Get.* 56,285 (at Priscus *Fr.* 60), Nicephorus Callistus *HE* 15,11 (at Priscus *Fr.* 32, 36, 38) and Procopius *Wars* 3,5,8-17 (at Priscus *Fr.* 53). Minor errors and omissions which I have discovered have been corrected in the notes.

Of the seven anonymous articles from the *Suda* grouped at the end of the text, all but E 3770 (and possibly A 783) seem to have come from the same pen. Malchus was certainly not their author, and there are insufficient grounds for attributing them to Candidus. The style and contents of Z 84, B 164 and E 2494 (= Malchus *Fr.* 8; 9,3; 10) suggest that these articles, too, should be attributed to this anonymous author and not to Malchus. I have not transposed them to the 'Anonymus' simply to avoid disturbing the correlation of the fragments with the numbering of the conspectus in volume I.

Although the texts of the fragments are eclectic, they are based upon the best editions available to me. These are as follows:

- Chronicon Paschale*, ed. L. Dindorf, in *CSHB* XVI-XVII.  
*Epitome de Caesaribus*, in Sextus Aurelius Victor, *De Caesaribus*, ed. Fr. Pichlmayr, corr. R. Gruendel, Leipzig (1966) pp.131-76.  
 Eunapius, *Vitae Sophistarum*, ed. J. Giangrande, Rome (1956).  
 Evagrius, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. J. Bidez and L. Parmentier, London (1898).  
*Excerpta de Insidiis Iussu Imp. Constantini Porphyrogeniti Confecta*, ed. C. de Boor, Berlin (1905).  
*Excerpta de Legationibus Iussu Imp. Constantini Porphyrogeniti Confecta*, ed. C. de Boor, Berlin (1903).  
*Excerpta de Sententiis Iussu Imp. Constantini Porphyrogeniti Confecta*, ed. U. Ph. Boissevain, Berlin (1906).  
*Excerpta de Virtutibus et Vitiis*, I ed. U. Ph. Boissevain, Berlin (1908), II ed. A.G. Roos, Berlin (1910).  
 Jordanes, *Romana et Getica*, ed. Th. Mommsen, in *MGH*, A.A. VI, 1.  
 Malalas, *Chronicon*, ed. L. Dindorf, in *CSHB* XV.  
 Nicephorus Callistus, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, in *PG* CXLV-CXLVI.  
 Philostorgius, *Kirchengeschichte*, ed. J. Bidez, Leipzig (1913).

- Photius, *Bibliotheca*, ed. R. Henry, I-II, Paris (1959).  
 Procopius, *Bella*, ed. J. Haury, corr. G. Wirth, 2 vols., Leipzig (1962).  
 Sozomenus, *Kirchengeschichte*, ed. J. Bidez and G.C. Hansen, Berlin (1960).  
 Suidas [*Suda*], *Lexicon*, ed. A. Adler, 6 vols., Leipzig (1928-35).  
 Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, 2 vols, Leipzig (1883).  
 Zonaras, *Annales*, ed. M. Pinder, in *CSHB* XLIV-XLVI.

As in volume I, those fragments categorised as 'probable' or 'possible' are enclosed in square brackets. References after a fragment indicate that the passages there cited repeat material in the fragment, usually *verbatim* or almost so. An asterisk after one of these citations indicates that there the historian to whom the passage has been assigned is named as the source of the material.

The apparatuses to the text are abbreviated, containing only significant manuscript variants and noteworthy conjectures not admitted into the text. More recent work, of which there is not a great deal, has been incorporated where appropriate, with reference to the bibliography in volume I or to the supplementary bibliography at the end of the present volume. The manuscript designations used in the base editions have been followed where necessary; the term 'edd.' indicates that a reading is found in a plurality of the older editions; no designation means that a reading is found in all the manuscripts or in all of those not identified as sources of alternative readings. In the Greek text no attempt has been made to homogenise the spelling from author to author, since the text provided is not, e.g., of Olympiodorus, but of Sozomen, Philostorgius and so on using Olympiodorus.

In the translations I have attempted to express clearly, but in reasonably literal and elegant English, what, in my view, the writers wished to communicate. I have attempted neither to homogenise the style throughout the volume nor to remove all the awkwardnesses, especially in Eunapius, Photius' summaries and many of the articles from the *Suda*. On the other hand, while following (with some hesitation) Mommsen's presentation of Jordanes' spelling and grammar, I have made the English translation rather more elegant (I hope) than the original. At points in a few passages, especially of Eunapius, I am not sure what the writer was trying to say, and, I suspect, the writer was not always sure himself. In rendering names of peoples and places I have usually followed the form given in the text, whereas in discussion



in the notes I have usually followed the form preferred today, unless I have reason to reject it. I have not sought consistency where different authors are involved (e.g. Arnegisclus, Argagisclus) or where the author might himself have been inconsistent (e.g. Akatiri, Akatziri in Priscus).

The purposes of the notes, which are complementary to, and should be read with, those to the conspectuses in volume I, are to clarify the texts and translations and to provide further commentary upon the historiography. They are not intended to offer even a partial historical or linguistic commentary (which would require another volume, possibly two), and, thus, references to modern work on the language of the writers and the history of the period have been kept to a minimum. When references are necessary I have preferred to cite, wherever possible, readily accessible works such as Bury and *PLRE*.

Since the numbering of the fragments in this volume differs from that of the earlier collections, I have provided at the end an index cross-referencing my collection with the earlier ones which are the most in use. A short bibliography supplements that of volume I. Finally, acknowledgement is due to Sandra Cairns, for editorial patience, and to Dr Frederick Williams, for vigilant and learned proof-reading of both volumes.

*R.C. Blockley*

*Carleton University, Ottawa  
1983*

## EUNAPIUS

### Text and Translation

## EUNAPIUS

## TESTIMONIA

1

(Photius *Bibl. Cod.* 77, I pp.158-60)

Ἀνεγνώσθη Εὐναπίου χρονικῆς ἱστορίας τῆς μετὰ Δέξιππον, νέας ἐκδόσεως, ἐν βιβλίοις τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα. ἄρχεται μὲν τῆς ἱστορίας ἀπὸ τῆς Κλαυδίου βασιλείας, ἐς ὃν Δεξιππῶ ἡ ἱστορία καταλήγει, ἀποτελευτᾷ δὲ εἰς τὴν Ὀνωρίου καὶ Ἀρκαδίου τῶν Θεοδοσίου παίδων βασιλείαν, ἐκείνων τὸν χρόνον τέλος τῆς ἱστορίας ποιησάμενος ὃν Ἀρσάκιος μὲν τοῦ χρυσοῦ τῆς ἐκκλησίας στόματος Ἰωάννου ἀπελαθέντος εἰς τὸν ἀρχιερατικὸν θρόνον ἀνηγγμένος ἱεράτευεν, ἡ δὲ τοῦ βασιλεύοντος Ἀρκαδίου γυνὴ κατὰ γαστρὸς ἔχουσα καὶ ἀμβλώσασα τὸν βίον ἀπέλιπεν.

Οὗτος ὁ Εὐνάπιος Σαρδιανὸς μὲν γένος ἐστὶ (τὰς γὰρ ἐν Λυδία Σάρδεις ἔσχε πατρίδα), δυσσεβῆς δὲ τὴν θρησκείαν ὣν (τὰ Ἑλλήνων γὰρ ἐτίμα), τοὺς μὲν εὐσεβεῖα τὴν βασιλείαν κοσμήσαντας παντὶ τρόπῳ καὶ ἀνέδην κακίζων διασύρει, καὶ μάλιστα γε τὸν μέγαν Κωνσταντῖνον, ἐξαίρει δὲ τοὺς δυσσεβεῖς, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πλέον Ἰουλιανὸν τὸν παραβάτην, καὶ σχεδὸν τι τὸ τῆς ἱστορίας αὐτῷ εἰς τὸ ἐκείνου ἐγκώμιον συντεθὲν ἐξεπονήθη.

Ἔστι δὲ καλλιπῆς τὴν φράσιν, εἰ περιέλοι τις αὐτοῦ τῶν λόγων τὸ ἀλεκτρυονῶδες καὶ ἐλαφωδέστερον καὶ σκωδρότερον καὶ δὴ καὶ τοὺς ἱερακῶδεις καὶ κορακῶδεις καὶ πυθγκῶδεις, καὶ τὸ ποταμῶδες δάκρυον, καὶ τὰ ὅμοια· τοῖσι γὰρ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην τῶν ὀνομάτων περιλυμαίνεται καὶ διανοθεύει εὐγένειαν· καὶ τροπαῖς μὲν κέχρηται παραβόλως, ὅπερ ὁ τῆς ἱστορίας οὐκ ἐθέλει νόμος· ἀφαιρεῖται δὲ τὸ λυποῦν ἢ τῆς λέξεως ἔμφρασις τὰ πολλὰ καὶ ἀστειώτης· τῇ συνθήκῃ δὲ καὶ τῷ σαφεῖ πρὸς ἱστορίαν καὶ ταῖς περιόδοις συμμέτρως καὶ οἰκείως ἔχει· πλὴν ἐνιαχοῦ δικανικώτερον μᾶλλον ἢ

## EUNAPIUS

## TESTIMONIA

1

(Photius *Bibl. Cod.* 77, I pp.158-60)

Read the second edition of Eunapius' *Chronicle after Dexippus* in fourteen books. He begins his narrative after the reign of the Emperor Claudius, the point at which Dexippus' History ends, and finishes it in the reigns of Honorius and Arcadius, the sons of Theodosius. He makes the point of termination the date when Arsacius was raised to the episcopal throne upon the deposition of John Chrysostom and when the wife of the Emperor Arcadius died after a miscarriage.

This Eunapius, whose place of origin was Sardis in Lydia, was impious in his beliefs, being a pagan. He slanders the Emperors who adorned their reigns with Christian piety, disparaging them continually and in every way, especially Constantine the Great. He praises the impious, particularly Julian the Apostate. Indeed, he has worked up his history almost into an encomium of that ruler.

He is an elegant stylist, if you ignore words like 'cockereish',<sup>1</sup> 'more hindlike', 'more porcine', and also the 'hawkish's', the 'corvine's', the 'monkeyish's', and the 'tears-like-a-river', and so on. For with these expressions he spoils and debases the nobility of the rest of his vocabulary. In his use of figures of speech he is reckless in a manner inappropriate for a historical style, but the usual smoothness and urbanity of the writing masks the unpleasantness. His organisation and clarity are suitable for history, and his periods are well-balanced and appropriate, except that in some places he uses overblown circumlocutions more

ἱστορικώτερον μεστοῖ καὶ περιβάλλει τὸν λόγον, νεωτερίζει δ' οὐκ ὀλίγα καὶ περὶ τὰς συντάξεις, πλὴν οὐκ εἰς τὸ ἄχαρι οὐδ' εἰς τὸ ταῖς μεθόδοις λαβὴν ἐπιδοῦναι.

Δύο δὲ πραγματείας τὴν αὐτὴν περιέχουσας ἱστορίαν συν-  
εγράψατο, πρῶτην καὶ δευτέραν. καὶ ἐν μὲν τῇ πρώτῃ πολλὴν κατὰ 30  
τῆς καθαρᾶς ἡμῶν τῶν Χριστιανῶν πίστεως κατασπείρει βλασ-  
φημίαν, καὶ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν ἀποσεμνύνει δεισιδαιμονίαν, πολλὰ τῶν  
εὐσεβῶν βασιλέων καθαπτόμενος· ἐν δὲ τῇ δευτέρᾳ, ἣν καὶ νέαν  
ἐκδοσὴν ἐπιγράφει, τὴν μὲν πολλὴν ὕβρω καὶ ἀσελγείαν, ἣν κατὰ τῆς 35  
εὐσεβείας ἐσκέδαζεν, ὑποτέμνεται, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν τῆς συγγραφῆς  
σῶμα συνείρας νέαν ἐκδοσὴν, ὡς ἔφημεν, ἐπιγράφει, ἔτι πολλὰ τῆς  
ἐκείσε λύσεως ὑποφαίνουσιν.

Ἀμφοῦν δὲ ταῖς ἐκδόσεσιν ἐν παλαιῷς ἐνετύχονεν βιβλίοις,  
ἰδίως ἑκατέραν ἐν ἐτέρῳ τεύχει καὶ ἐτέρῳ συντεταγμένην· ἐξ ὧν 40  
αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν διαφορὰν ἀναλεξάμενοι ἔγνωμεν. συμβαίνει οὖν ἐν τῇ  
νέᾳ ἐκδόσει πολλὰ τῶν χωρίων διὰ τὰς γεγενημένας τῶν ῥητῶν  
περικοπὰς ἀσαφῶς ἐκκεῖσθαι, καίτοι φροντιστὴς ἐστὶ τοῦ σαφοῦς·  
ἀλλ' ὅτῳ τρόπῳ λέγειν οὐκ ἔχω, μὴ καλῶς κατὰ τὰς περικοπὰς  
ἀρμόσας τοὺς λόγους ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ ἐκδόσει τὸν νοῦν λυμαίνεται τῶν 45  
ἀναγλωσκομένων· ἐν οἷς καὶ τὸ τέλος.

39 ἑκατέρω . . . συντεταγμένη Goulet (1980) p.68

## 2

(Photius *Bibl. Cod.* 98, II p.66)

Εἴποι δ' ἂν τις οὐ γράψαι αὐτὸν ἱστορίαν, ἀλλὰ μεταγράψαι  
τὴν Εὐναπίου, τῷ συντόμῳ μόνον διαφέρουσιν, καὶ ὅτι οὐχ, ὥσπερ  
ἐκεῖνος, οὕτω καὶ οὗτος Στελίκῳ διασύρει· τὰ δ' ἄλλα κατὰ τὴν  
ἱστορίαν σχεδὸν τι ὁ αὐτός, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν ταῖς τῶν εὐσεβῶν βασι- 5  
λέων διαβολαῖς, δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ οὗτος δύο ἐκδόσεις, ὥσπερ  
κάκεως, πεποιηκέναι. ἀλλὰ τούτου μὲν τὴν προτέραν οὐκ εἶδον· ἐξ  
ὧν δὲ ἦν ἀνέγνωμεν ἐπέγραψε "νέας ἐκδόσεως" συμβαλεῖν ἦν καὶ  
ἐτέραν αὐτῷ, ὥσπερ καὶ τῷ Εὐναπίῳ, ἐκδεδοσθαι. σαφὴς δὲ  
μᾶλλον οὗτος καὶ συντομώτερος, ὥσπερ ἔφημεν, Εὐναπίου, καὶ ταῖς 10  
τροπαῖς, εἰ μὴ σπάνιον, οὐ κεχρημένος.

6-7 ἐξ ὧν δὲ ἦν [ἦν δὲ et ἐξ ὧν post ἐκδόσεως transp. edd.]

suitable for forensic oratory than for history. He often innovates, especially in syntax, but not so as to cause inelegance or arouse criticism of his methods.

He produced two works which covered the same period, a first and a second. Throughout the first he scatters a great deal of blasphemy against our pure Christian faith, glorifying the superstition of the pagans and frequently assailing the pious Emperors. In the second, which he entitles 'New Edition', he removes the excessive and arrogant insolence which he directed against Christian piety, and, patching together the rest of his material, he calls it, as I have said, a 'New Edition'. But it still shows many traces of the distemper of the first.

I have come across both editions in old collections; in one case each was separate, in another on the same roll.<sup>2</sup> It was from these, as I read, that I realised the difference between the two. The result, therefore, is that, although Eunapius aims at clarity, many passages of the 'New Edition' are obscure because of excisions in the text. How this was allowed to happen I do not know, but because in the second edition he has not properly adjusted the language in the light of the excisions, he destroys the import of his words. End.

## 2

(Photius *Bibl. Cod.* 98, II p.66)

One might say that [Zosimus] did not write a history, but rather copied out Eunapius, differing only in that he condenses his source and does not, unlike Eunapius, attack Stilicho. For the rest his history is almost identical, especially in the criticisms of the pious Emperors. It appears to me that Zosimus, like Eunapius, published two editions, although I have not seen the first. But from the fact that he entitles the one which I have read 'New Edition' one can conjecture that he, like Eunapius, produced another.<sup>3</sup> He is clearer and, as I have said, briefer than Eunapius and he does not use figures of speech, or only rarely.

## FRAGMENTA

## Liber I

## 1

(Exc. de Sent. 1)

Δεξιππῷ τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ κατὰ τοὺς Ἀθήνησιν ἄρχοντας, ἀφ' οὗ παρὰ Ἀθηναίους ἄρχοντες, ἱστορία συγγέγραπται, προσαρτιῶν μένων καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν ὑπάτων, καὶ πρό γε αὐτῶν τῶν ὑπάτων τε καὶ ἀρχόντων ἀρξαμένης τῆς γραφῆς. τὸ δὲ ἐν κεφάλαιον τῆς ἱστορίας τὰ μὲν ἀνωτέρω καὶ ὅσα τὸ ποιητικὸν νέμεται γένος ἐφεῖναι καὶ ἐπιτρέψαι τῷ πιθανῷ καὶ μᾶλλον ἀναπειδύοντι τὸν ἐντυχάνοντα, τὰ δὲ προϊόντα καὶ ἐπὶ πλεόν μαρτυρούμενα συνενεγκεῖν καὶ κατακλεῖσαι πρὸς ἱστορικὴν ἀκρίβειαν καὶ κρίσιν ἀληθεστέραν. βιάζεται γοῦν καὶ συναριθμεῖται τὸν χρόνον ἕς τε τὰς Ὀλυμπιάδας περιγράφων καὶ τοὺς ἐντὸς ἐκάστης Ὀλυμπιάδος ἄρχοντας. πρόθυρα δὲ κάλλους ἀνάμεσα προθεῖς τῆς συγγραφῆς καὶ προϊῶν τὰ τε ἔνδον ἐπιδείξας σεμνότερα, τὸ μὲν μυθώδες καὶ λίαν ἀρχαῖον ἀφαιρεῖ καὶ ἀφίησιν ὥσπερ φάρμακον παλαιὸν καὶ ἀδόκιμον ἕς τοὺς συνθευεκότας. Αἰγυπτίους δὲ χρόνους ἀναλεγόμενος καὶ συνωθούμενος ἐπὶ τὰ πρῶτα καὶ τελεώτερα τῶν παρ' ἐκάστοις ἀρχῶν, τοὺς ἡγεμόνας καὶ πατέρας τῆς ἱστορίας ἐκτίθησιν, ἐνδηλος ὧν καὶ σχεδὸν τι μαρτυρούμενος ὅτι τῶν ἀπιστουμένων ἕκαστον ἕτερος προλαβὼν εἴρηκεν. καὶ περιφέρει γε τὴν ἱστορίαν ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ παντοδαπῶν τῶν ταῦτα εἰρηκότων ὥσπερ ῥῶπόν τινα ποικίλον καὶ χρήσιμον εἰς ἐν μυροπώλιον τὴν ἰδίαν ἐξηγήσας κατακεκλειμένην καὶ συνηγμένην. πάντα δέ, ὅσα πρὸς τε τὸ κοινὸν ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀξιόλογα καὶ κατ' ἄνδρα δι' ἀρετὴν περιττοῦ τινος ὀνόματος τετυχηκότα, λάβρως ἐπιδραμὼν καὶ διαθέμενος τῷ λόγῳ, τελευτῶν ἐς Κλαύδιον καταλῦει τὴν συγγραφὴν, καὶ Κλαυδίου τῆς βασιλείας ἔτος τὸ πρῶτον, ἐς ὃ δὴ καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἤρχετο καὶ ἐτελεύτα, ἐνιαυτὸν ἄρξας Ῥωμαῖους ἓνα· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἕτερον αὐτῷ χαρίζονται, εἴτα Ὀλυμπιάδας καταλογίζεται τόσας καὶ τόσας καὶ ὑπάτους καὶ ἄρχοντας ἐπὶ ταύταις, τὴν χιλιάδα τῶν ἐτῶν ὑποβάλλων, ὥσπερ ἀγωνιῶν, εἰ μὴ πολλῶν λίαν ἐτῶν ἀποδοῇ λόγον τοῖς ἐντυχάνουσιν.

Ἐγὼ δὲ ὁ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον εἰς νοῦν βαλόμενος, ὑπ' αὐτοῦ Δεξιππου ταῦτα ἔχων ἐκδιδάσκεισθαι καὶ συλλαμβάνειν ὅσος καὶ ἡλικός ὁ κίνδυνος κατὰ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστον ἱστορίαν γράφειν, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐντυχάνοντας ὁμολογεῖν ὅτι ταῦτα οὐκ ἔστιν ἀληθῆ κατὰ

15 τελεώτερα [παλαιότερα Bekker  
19 τι καὶ edd.]

18 παραφέρει Dindorf

## FRAGMENTS

## Book I

## 1

(Exc. de Sent. 1)

Dexippus of Athens organises his History under Athenian archons, from the date when archons were instituted, adding also the names of the Roman consuls, although the work begins before the institution of either archons or consuls.<sup>4</sup> The guiding principle of the History is to avoid the earlier material and that which is more congenial to poets, leaving it to those plausible writers who are more inclined to *persuade* the reader as to what happened. Dexippus himself brings together the later, better evidenced events and organises them with an accuracy appropriate for history and with a reliability of judgement. He gives his narrative shape and chronology by dividing it up by Olympiads and archons within each Olympiad. He provides his History with a preface full of beauty<sup>5</sup> and, as he proceeds, he imparts great stateliness to the body of the work by omitting material which is mythological or excessively ancient, returning it like an old and discredited medicine to those who mixed it. As he surveys the Egyptian period<sup>6</sup> and presses on to the foundation and the major achievements<sup>7</sup> of the states amongst each people, he notes the leaders and the fathers of history, making it clear and almost producing evidence to prove that every unhistorical fact had been set down before him by another writer. He draws his history from many, varied sources, making a compact and coherent narrative which is like a perfumery store that carries a variety of useful goods. All events which men in general regard as important or which are connected with a particularly distinguished person are rapidly surveyed and arranged in the text.

Dexippus closes his History with the reign of the Emperor Claudius (II), his first year in which he both ascended the throne and died. (He thus ruled for one year, although others give him a second.) Then he tabulates such-and-such a number of Olympiads and co-ordinates with them the consuls and archons. He even indicates the years by the thousand, as if he were in agony unless he set before his readers a catalogue comprising an enormous number of years.<sup>8</sup>

Having studied this work, I have gained from Dexippus himself an understanding of the extent and the nature of the danger in writing history as a yearly chronicle. For he himself admits to his readers that

τοὺς χρόνους, ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν οὕτως, τῷ δὲ ἐτέρως ἔδοξε, καὶ περι-  
φανῶς ἑαυτοῦ κατηγορεῖν, ὥπερ ἐκεῖνος, ὅτι χρονικὴν ἱστορίαν 35  
γράφων πλανωμένην τῶν καὶ μεστὴν τῶν ἀντιλεγόντων, ὥπερ  
ἀπρόεδρον ἐκκλησίαν, ἐκτίθησι τὴν γραφήν, ὁξέως δὲ καὶ τῆς  
Βοιωτίας ἀκούων παροιμίας, ὅτι οὕτως αὐλεῖν οὐ πρέπει, κἀκεῖνα  
προσελογιζόμενην ὅτι τέλος ἱστορίας καὶ σκοπὸς ἄριστος τὰ πραχθέντα  
ὅτι μάλιστα δίχα τῶν πάθους ἐς τὸ ἀληθὲς ἀναφέροντα γράφειν, οἱ 40  
δὲ ἀκριβεῖς λογισμοὶ τῶν χρόνων, ὥπερ ἄκλῆτοι μάρτυρες, αὐτο-  
μάτως ἐπεισιόντες ἐς ταῦτα ὠφελούσων οὐδέν. τί γὰρ Σωκράτει  
πρὸς σοφίαν καὶ Θεμιστοκλεῖ πρὸς δεινότητα συντελεῖται παρὰ τῶν  
χρόνων; ποῦ δὲ ἐκεῖνοι καλοὶ καγαθοὶ διὰ θέρος ἦσαν; ποῦ δὲ τὰς  
ἀρετὰς ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν, καθάπερ τὰ φύλλα, πρὸς τὴν ὥραν τοῦ ἔτους 45  
αὐξανόμενας καὶ ἀπορρεούσας παρίχοντο; ἀλλ' ἴσως ἕκαστος αὐτῶν  
τὸ γοῦν ἐς φύσιν καὶ δύναμιν ἀγαθὸν διαρκῶς καὶ συνεχῶς ἐν ταῖς  
ἐνεργείαις ἀπεδίδου καὶ διέσωζεν. τίς οὖν λόγος πρὸς ἱστορίας τέλος  
εἶδέναι καὶ γινώσκειν ὅτι τὴν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίαν ἐνίκων οἱ  
Ἕλληνες κυνὸς ἐπιτέλλοντος; τί δ' ὄρελος ἦν τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν εἰς 50  
ὠφέλειαν ἱστορικῆς χρείας, εἰ κατὰ ταύτην ἐτέχθη τὴν ἡμέραν ὃ  
δεῖνα, καὶ μελοποιὸς ἀνέσχευεν ἢ τραγωδὸς ἄριστος; εἰ γὰρ ἔσχατος  
ὄρος τῶν περὶ τὴν ἱστορίαν καλῶν τὸ πολλὸν καὶ ἀπείρων πραγ-  
μάτων ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ καὶ διὰ βραχείας ἀναγνώσεως πεῖραν λαβεῖν  
καὶ γενέσθαι γέροντας ἔτι νέους ὄντας δι' ἐπιστήμην τῶν προ- 55  
γεγονότων, ὥστε τίνα μὲν φευκτέον, τίνα δὲ αἰρετέον, εἶδέναι,  
τοῦναντίον ἔμοιγε δοκοῦσι ποιεῖν οἱ περιττοὶς καὶ ἀπηρητημένοις  
ἐπεισοδίοις ὥπερ ξενικοῖς ἡδύσμασι τὸ τῆς ἱστορίας ἐδώδιμον καὶ  
χρήσιμον ἀνατρέποντες καὶ διαφθείροντες ἀλμυρῶς λόγῳ πότιμον  
ἀκοήν. κωλύει μὲν γὰρ ἴσως οὐδὲν καὶ περιττόν τι μαθεῖν, βλαβερὸν 60  
δὲ ὁμολογουμένως περιττοῦ τινος ἔνεκεν τὸ χρήσιμον μὴ μαθεῖν,  
ἄλλως τε, ὡς φησιν αὐτὸς Δέξιππος, τῶν μὲν χρονικῶν ἢ πάντων  
ἢ τῶν πλείστων διαπεφωνημένων, τῶν (δὲ) ὑπερόρων καὶ φανερώων  
πράξεων συμπεφωνημένων καὶ ὁμολογημένων. τίς γὰρ οὕτως περι- 65  
βόητος ἅπασιν ὅσοι λόγων ἤψαντο καὶ κατέλιπον λόγους ὥς  
Λυκούργος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος; ἐς δὲ καὶ ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ μαρτυρία διὰ  
στόματος ἅπασιν θεὸν ἀντικρυς ἀνακαλοῦντος ἐπὶ τῷ θεῖναι τοὺς  
νόμους. τίς δὲ τῶν ταῦτα εἰρηκότων ἐτέρῳ συμμέρεται περὶ τῶν  
ἡνίκα ἐτίθει τοὺς νόμους χρόνων; ἀλλὰ πάντες, ὥπερ οἰκίαν ἢ 70  
στοῦλον δοκιμάζοντες ἢ τι τῶν ὁμοίων, ὅτι μὲν ἔστι καὶ γέγονε συν-  
τίθενται καὶ κατανεύουσι, περὶ δὲ τοῦ πότε παντοδαπῇ (ἀπορίᾳ) ἐμ-  
πεπλήκασιν τὰ βιβλία. ὁπότε καὶ Θουκυδίδης ὁ πάντων ἀκριβέστατος

63 δὲ add. Niebuhr ὑπερόρων [ὑπερώρων Dindorf ὑπερόρων Kuiper  
67 στόματος Dindorf [στόμασιν cod. 71 ἀπορία add. Niebuhr

often the dating is uncertain and subject to different opinions, and he actually makes an explicit charge against himself that in following the chronographical method he has produced a work which is like an unchaired meeting, full of errors and contradictions. I can clearly hear the Boeotian proverb, "This is not the way to play the flute". Furthermore, I have been reflecting that whereas the highest aim and function of history is to record events with a minimum of subjectivity and in the light of the truth, the details of chronology, intruding irrelevantly like uncalled witnesses, are of no help in this. For what do dates contribute to the wisdom of Socrates or the acuity of Themistocles? Were they great men only during the summer? Did one see them growing and shedding their virtues like leaves according to the time of the year? Rather, both alike exhibited and preserved their virtues and their skills repeatedly and continually. Of what relevance was it to the aim of history to learn that the Greeks won the sea-battle at Salamis when the dog-star was rising? Of what use was it for the readers' historical education to learn that on a particular day so-and-so was born, who later became a leading poet or playwright? If the most important of the benefits of history is that concisely and in a short space of time we can become familiar with many, indeed a countless number, of facts and, through a knowledge of past events, gain the experience of old age while still young, so that we know what is to be avoided and what sought after — if this is so, they seem to me to do the opposite who, by introducing an excessive amount of extraneous material, spoil the nourishing and beneficial part of the feast of history with their foreign spices and ruin its sweet draught with their bitter style. Perhaps there is no objection to the pursuit of excessive learning as such, but one must agree that harm is done if this pursuit results in a failure to absorb what is beneficial. This is especially so since, as Dexippus himself points out, while all, or the majority, of chronologies are discrepant, there is absolute agreement over the famous events that are of more than local importance. For who is so well known to all readers and producers of literature as Lycurgus the Lacedaemonian? Everyone can tell of the testimony of the god to him, declaring him divine on account of his work in legislation. Yet who, when he has recited this, agrees with anyone else upon the date of that legislation? They are all like those critics of a building or a column or some such thing, who, although they are in perfect agreement that it exists, nevertheless have filled books with a multitude of arguments upon the date of its construction. Thucydides, the most accurate of all the historians, tells how that great and famous

τὸν μέγαν καὶ πολυύμνητον ἐκεῖνον πόλεμον ἀρχὴν τινα καὶ προ-  
φάσεις φησὶ λαβεῖν πρὸς δευτέραν κίνησιν ἐκ διαφορᾶς ἡμερῶν, ἣ  
περὶ πόλεων ἀλώσεως αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο, καὶ οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ἔχει διαιτᾶν 75  
σαφῶς καὶ ἀκριβῶς τίνες ἐπεκάλουν δικαιότερον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὰς  
ἡμέρας ἐλθὼν ὑποδηλοῖ καὶ παραδείκνυσιν ὅτι κενὴ τις σπουδὴ καὶ  
ἀχρεῖος ἡ περὶ τοὺς χρόνους διατριβὴ καὶ σχολή.

Τοιαῦτά τινα καὶ πλείω ἕτερα πρὸς ἑμαυτὸν ἐκκλησιάσας καὶ  
βουλευσάμενος, καὶ τοῖς ἐς τὰ χρονικὰ σπεύδουσιν καὶ ἀνεστηκόσιν 80  
ὁμοῖά τινα παρεγγυῶν, ὡς ἡ περὶ τὰς ὥρας καὶ ἡμέρας ἀκριβεία  
πλουσιῶν οἰκονόμοις τισὶ καὶ λογισταῖς πρέπει, καὶ νῆ Δία γε τοῖς ἐς  
τὰ οὐράνια κεκηρῶσι, καὶ ὅσοι πρὸς ἀριθμῶ φανερώς κάθηνται,  
αὐτὸς δὲ προαγορεύων πόρρωθεν τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν ὅτι πιστεύσας 85  
ἑμαυτῷ δύνασθαι γράφειν (τὰ) γεγονότα τε καὶ γινόμενα πρὸς τόδε  
τὸ ἔργον ὥρμησα, τὸ μὲν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν ὥσπερ ἀπ-  
ροσδιόνυσόν τινα ῥῆσιν παραιτησάμενος, τὸ δὲ κατὰ χρόνους, οἱ τοῖς  
βασιλεῦσι περιγράφονται, κρύβας ἀληθέστερον. ἀναγνώσεται γοῦν  
τις ὅτι ταῦτα ἐπὶ τοῦδε τοῦ βασιλείως ἡ τοῦδε ἐπράττετο· καθ' ὃν δὲ 90  
ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ ἡμέραν, ἕτερος ἐς τὴν ἀπάτην χορευέτω τις· ἐγὼ δὲ  
κατὰ τὸ πιστεῦναι ἑμαυτῷ γράφω, ἀνδράσιν ἐπόμενος, οἱ τοῦ καθ'  
ἡμᾶς βίου μακρῷ προεῖχον κατὰ παιδείαν καὶ διατεταμένως ἐνῆγον  
μὴ σιωπᾶν τὰ κοινὰ τῶν ἔργων καὶ ὅσα ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἔφερε χρόνος  
καὶ τὰ πρὸ ἡμῶν μετὰ τὴν Δεξιππου γραφὴν οὕτω λόγου τε καὶ 95  
ἱστορίας ἐμφανοῦς τετυχηκότα. ἐγίνετο δὲ ἐκείνοις τε καὶ μοι κοινὸν  
τὸ ἔργον τόδε, καὶ πάντα γε ἐς τὸν Ἰουλιανὸν ἀναφέρειν ἐδόκει, δὲ  
ἐβασίλευσε μὲν ἐφ' ἡμῶν, τὸ δὲ ἀνθρώπων αὐτὸν ὥσπερ τινὰ θεὸν  
προσεκύνουν ἅπαντες. λόγου δὲ ἦν ἄξιον (καὶ) καλῶς ἔχων ἐδόκει,  
καθάπερ τοῖς ἔνεκεν ἐρωμένης ἀργαλέον καθεστῶτα πόλεμον  
ὑμνοῦσι ποιηταῖς γενομένοις ἀρίστοις, οὕτω καὶ ἡμῶν ἀρχὴν τινα καὶ 100  
γένεσιν προδεμένους τὴν θείαν . . .

81 παρεγγυῶ Bekker 84 προαγορεύω Bekker πιστεύω Boissevain  
85 δύναμαι van Herwerden τὰ add. Boissevain 90 χορευέται Mai et edd.  
(ut corruptum) 91 κατὰ Niebuhr [καὶ cod. 98 καὶ add. Mai  
99 ἀργαλέον καθεστῶτα πόλεμον ὑμνοῦσι add. Boissevain [ἀργαλέον . . .  
νοῦσι cod. 101 τὴν θείαν scripsi [ὃν cod. τὸν θεὸν Boissevain post θεὸν  
ap. Boissevain xxvii vv. sequuntur quorum pauca modo verba et litterae  
leguntur et qui finem primi et secundum excerptum continuerant.

war which he described flared up anew, the reason being a dispute over  
the dates upon which some cities were captured.<sup>9</sup> He himself is unable  
to decide clearly and certainly which claims were the more justified;  
and so, when he comes down to a matter of days, he demonstrates  
clearly that to spend one's time in the study of chronology is a display  
of useless and irrelevant zeal.

Reflecting upon these and other considerations (and I recommend  
a similar procedure to those with a passion for chronology), I con-  
cluded that concern for precision in recording seasons and days is  
appropriate for the managers and accountants of the rich, and, of  
course, those who gape at the heavens and all others who obviously  
apply themselves to counting. But I declare to my readers here and now  
that I have approached this work confident in my own ability to write  
about the past and the present and have declined to date events by the  
year or the day on the ground that the practice is irrelevant, preferring  
as more accurate to use the reigns of Emperors as my time-divisions. My  
reader will learn that a certain action was performed during the reign of  
a certain Emperor, but I leave it to others to dance off into the delusion  
of dating by year and day.

I write with confidence in myself since I am following the advice  
of those who were by far the most cultivated men of our age. They  
earnestly besought me not to allow to pass in silence those events of  
general importance, both of our own time and of the period between  
now and the end of Dexippus' History, which have not yet found an  
historian of note.<sup>10</sup> This work was the common concern of themselves  
and myself; and we judged all to reach a climax in the Emperor Julian,  
who reigned in our day and whom all men revered as some divinity.  
Just as for the poets who sang of the toilsome war which arose over a  
loved one and who reached the pinnacle of their craft, their enterprise  
brought fame and seemed worthwhile, so for us, who have described an  
origin and a reign which was divine, . . .<sup>11</sup>

(Zosimus 1,47-62)

3

[(Zosimus 1,63)]

4

[(Zosimus 1,64-71)]

5

1. (*Suda* K 391)

Καρῖος, Κάρου τοῦ βασιλέως υἱός, γενόμενος ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ καὶ  
 βουλήσεως κύριος, ἀνέδραμε τηλικούτον κακὸν ἐς τυραννίδα, ὥστε  
 ἀπέδειξε χρυσὸν τοῖς πειραθεῖσι τὴν τραγωδουμένην τυραννίδα·  
 αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦνομα τοῖς ἔργοις μακρῶ παρήλθε. παίδων μὲν γὰρ εὖ  
 γεγονότων ὕβρεις διὰ τὸ σύντηδες οὐδὲ ὕβρεις ἐνομίσθησαν, ἀλλ' ἦν  
 ἐγκύκλιον αὐτῷ καὶ πρόχειρον τοιαῦτα ἀμαρτάνειν. ὁ δὲ ἐγκλήματά  
 τε ἀνέπлатτε καὶ ἐδίκασε τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις καὶ τῶν δικαζομένων  
 οὐδεὶς ἐσώζετο· ὅπου γε πολλῆς οὐσῆς καὶ ἀδιηγήτου τῆς φθορᾶς,  
 παραητλιόκοντό τινες τῶν εὐδαιμόνων, ὥσπερ ἐν κοινῇ δειπνοῖς  
 ἀλεκτορίδες· ἐς τὴν Καρῖου τρυφήν. μεμνησθαι δὲ τῶν κατακοπ-  
 τομένων ἔφρασκε, τῶν μὲν ὡς οὐκ ἐπήνεσαν αὐτοῦ τὸ κάλλος, τῶν  
 δέ, ὅτι λέγοντα, ὅτε ἦν μειράκιον, οὐκ ἐθαύμασαν ὡς ἐβούλετο·  
 ἀπώλλυντο δὲ τινες καὶ γελάσαντες ἐναντίον αὐτοῦ ποτε, καὶ πάντα  
 ἦν αὐτοῦ βαρυτέρα διουσημείας, καὶ ἐλύττα ἐν μέσοις τοῖς ὑπηκόοις.  
 (Cf. Δ 1205\*, E 133\*, M 83\*, T 15\*)

4 εὖ Casaubon, Wolfflin [οἱ codd. 10 τροφήν V

2. (John of Antioch *Fr.* 162 = *Exc. de Virt.* 51)

Ὅτι Καρῖος ὁ τοῦ Κάρου υἱὸς βασιλεύσας πρᾶγμα μὲν εἰς  
 κοινὸν ὄφελος φέρον οὐδὲν εἰργάσατο, τρυφῇ δὲ καὶ ἐκδεδιγτημένῳ  
 βίῳ τὰ καθ' ἑαυτὸν παραδοὺς παρανάλωμα τῆς τρυφῆς ἐποιεῖτο  
 φόνους οὐδὲν ἡδονηκώτων ἀνθρώπων κατὰ τι προσκεκρουκέναι  
 νομισθέντων αὐτῷ, βαρυνομένων δὲ πάντων ἐπὶ τῇ πικρᾷ τυραννίδι  
 συναναμιχθείῃ νεότητι, καὶ πάντα ἐκμελῶς καὶ δίχα λογισμοῦ  
 πράττωντος (οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον δικὴν ἔδωκε). (Cf. *Suda* K 391, Π 401)

2 φέρον *Suda* K 391 [φέρων *Exc.*3 παραδοὺς [ἐκδοὺς Mendelssohn  
 7 οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον δικὴν ἔδωκε addidi [ζητεῖ ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας  
 add. Müller *FHG* IV p.601 [ζητεῖ ἐν τῷ περὶ ἐπιβουλῶν Mendelssohn.(John of Antioch *Fr.* 163 = Zosimus 1,73)

(Zosimus 1, 47-62)

3

[(Zosimus 1,63)]

4

[(Zosimus 1,64-71)]

5

1. (*Suda* K 391)

Carinus, the son of the Emperor Carus, having come to power and  
 being free to act as he wished, quickly embarked upon a reign of such  
 evil that he made the tyrannies of tragedy seem benign to those who en-  
 dured it, by so much did he outstrip the name of tyrant in his actions.  
 His sexual abuse of high-born children was, because of its frequency,  
 not held to be abuse; for this kind of criminal behaviour was habitual  
 and commonplace with him. He both fabricated charges against persons  
 and himself tried his victims; none of those brought to trial escaped.  
 Amongst this multiplicity of indescribable deaths some of the nobles  
 were slaughtered, like cockerels at public banquets, for the amusement  
 of Carinus. As they were being cut down he said of some that they had  
 not praised his good looks, of others that, when he was giving a speech  
 as a youth, they had not expressed the admiration that he wished; some  
 died because they had once laughed at him. Everything that he did was  
 worse than the portents had foretold as he raged like a madman amidst  
 his subjects. (Cf. Δ 1205\*, E 133\*, M 83\*, T 15\*)

2. (John of Antioch *Fr.* 162 = *Exc. de Virt.* 51)

When Carinus, the son of Carus, was Emperor he performed no  
 action for the common good. He devoted all of his resources to his dis-  
 sipated and undisciplined life, one of the excesses of his dissipation  
 being the murder of innocent men whom he considered to have caused  
 him some offence. Since all were oppressed by this bitter tyranny com-  
 pounded by the youthfulness of one who did everything inappropriately  
 and without reflection, <he was killed shortly afterwards>.<sup>12</sup>

(Cf. *Suda* K 391, Π 401)(John of Antioch *Fr.* 163 = Zosimus 1,73)

## 6

(Zosimus 2,1-7)

## 7

[1. (*Epit. de Caes.* 40,20)

Alexander fuit Phryx origine, ingenio timidus, inferior adversus laborem vitio senectae aetatis.]

[2. (*Epit. de Caes.* 41,2)

Constantinus, Constantii imperatoris et Helenae filius, imperavit annos triginta. hic dum iuenculus a Galerio in urbe Roma religionis specie obses teneretur, fugam arripiens atque ad frustrandos insequentes publica iumenta, quaquam iter egerat, interfecit et ad patrem in Britanniam pervenit; et forte iisdem diebus ibidem Constantium parentem fata ultima perurgebant.]

5

(Zosimus 2,8-17)

## 8

[(*Epit. de Caes.* 41,4)

Hic sororem suam Constantiam Licinio Mediolanum accito coniungit; filiumque suum Crispum nomine, ex Minervina concubina susceptum, item Constantinum iisdem diebus natum oppido Arelatensi Licinianumque, Licinii filium, mensium fere viginti, Caesares effecit.]

5

(Zosimus 2,18-28)

## 9

1. (*Suda* K 2285)

Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ μέγας βασιλεὺς. περὶ οὗ ἔγραψεν Εὐνάπιος φληνάφους καὶ παρήκα αὐτὰ αἰδοῖ τοῦ ἀνδρός.

2. (*Vit. Soph.* 6,3,8)

Κωνσταντῖνος μὲν οὖν καὶ Ἀβλάβιον τιμῶν ἐκολάζετο, καὶ ὅπως γε ἐτελεύτα ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνου γέγραπται.

[3. (*Philostorgius* 2,4)

Ὅτι φησὶ τὸν Κωνσταντῖνον ἀνελεῖν τὸν ἴδιον παῖδα Κρίσπον, διαβολαῖς τῆς μητρὸς συναρπασθέντα· κακέων δὲ πάλιν φωραθεῖσάν τινι τῶν κουρσῶρων μοιχωμένην, τῇ τοῦ λουτροῦ ἀλέα

1 Κρίσπον Gothofredus [Πρίσκον codd.

## 6

(Zosimus 2,1-7)

## 7

[1. (*Epit. de Caes.* 40,20)

Alexander was a Phrygian by birth, fearful by nature, and unequal to toil because of the infirmity of his advanced years.<sup>13</sup> ]

[2. (*Epit. de Caes.* 41,2)

Constantine, the son of the Emperor Constantius and Helena, ruled for thirty years. As a young man he was detained at Rome by Galerius as a hostage, although the excuse was a religious obligation. He took flight and, in order to frustrate his pursuers, killed the mounts of the public post along the roads which he travelled. He reached his father, Constantius, in Britain, and the latter happened to die at about the same time.<sup>14</sup> ]

(Zosimus 2,8-17)

## 8

[(*Epit. de Caes.* 41,4)

He [Constantine] summoned Licinius to Milan and married his sister, Constantia, to him. He made Caesars his son Crispus, born of a concubine Minervina, and Constantine, who was born at that time at the city of Arles, and the son of Licinius, who was about twenty months old.<sup>15</sup> ]

(Zosimus 2,18-28)

## 9

1. (*Suda* K 2285)

Constantine, the great Emperor. There is much rubbish about him in Eunapius, which I have passed over out of respect for the man.

2. (*Vit. Soph.* 6,3,8)

Constantine, then, favoured Ablabius, but was punished for it. The manner of the Emperor's death I have described in the part of my History devoted to him.

[3. (*Philostorgius* 2,4)

Constantine put to death his son Crispus, being deceived by the false accusation of the latter's stepmother. When she, in her turn, was caught in adultery with one of the *cursores*,<sup>16</sup> he ordered that she be



ἐναποπνιγῆναι προστάξει. καὶ τῷ παιδίῳ τοῦ ξίφους διδοῦντα Κων-  
σταντίνων τὴν δίκην, μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν φαρ- 5  
μάκοις κατὰ τὴν Νικομήδειαν διατρίβοντα ἀνααιρεθῆναι.]

[4. (Sozomen 1,5)

Οὐκ ἄγνοώ δέ, ὡς Ἕλληνες λέγουσι, Κωνσταντίνων ἀνελόντα  
τινὰς τῶν ἐγγυτάτω τοῦ γένους, καὶ τῷ θανάτῳ Κρίσπου τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ  
παιδὸς συμπράξαντα, μεταμεληθῆναι, καὶ περὶ καθαρμοῦ κωνώ-  
σασθαι Σωπάτρῳ τῷ φιλοσόφῳ, κατ' ἐκείνο καιροῦ προσεστῶτι τῆς 5  
Πλωτίνου διαδοχῆς· τὸν δὲ ἀποφῆναι, μηδένα καθαρὸν εἶναι  
τῶν τοιούτων ἁμαρτημάτων. ἀδημονοῦντα δὲ τὸν βασιλέα ἐπὶ τῇ  
ἀπηγορεύσει, περιτυχεῖν ἐπισκόποις, οἱ μετανοίᾳ καὶ βαπτίσματι  
ὑπέσχοντο πάσης αὐτὸν ἁμαρτίας καθαίρειν· ἡσθῆναι τε ταῦτοις  
κατὰ σκοπὸν εἰρηκόσι, καὶ θαυμάσαι τὸ δόγμα, καὶ Χριστιανὸν  
γενέσθαι, καὶ τοὺς ἀρχομένους ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἀγαγεῖν.] 10

(Zosimus 2,29-38)

## 10

[(Philostorgius 3,1)

Ὅτι Κώνσταντά φησιν, ὅς ἦν πρεσβύτερος τῶν Κωνσταντίνων  
παίδων, ἐβουλεύετο τῷ ἀδελφῷ Κωνσταντίνῳ· καὶ μάχῃ τοῖς  
στρατηγοῖς αὐτοῦ συρραγέντα διαφθαρεῖν τε καὶ τὴν μοῖραν τῆς  
ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἀρχῆς εἰς τὴν Κώνσταντος ἀνακωσθῆναι.]

1. Κώνσταντά codd. [Κωνσταντίνῳ Tillemont] 2. Κωνσταντίνῳ codd.  
[Κώνσταντι Tillemont]

(Zosimus 2,39-41)

## 11

1. (*Vit. Soph.* 10,1,1)

Περὶ Προαιρεσίου καὶ προλαβοῦσιν ἱκανῶς εἴρηται, καὶ ἐν τοῖς  
ἱστορικοῖς κατὰ τὴν ἐξήγησιν ὑπομνήμασι.

[2. (*Epit. de Caes.* 41,22-23)

Constans vero venandi cupidine dum per silvas saltusque  
erraret, conspiravere aliquanti militares in eius necem, auctoribus  
Chrestio et Marcellino simulque Magnentio: qui ubi patrandi negotii  
dies placuit, Marcellinus natalem filii simulans plerosque ad cenam  
rogat. itaque in multam noctem convivio celebrato Magnentius quasi 5  
ad ventris solita secedens habitum venerabilem capit. ea re cognita  
Constans fugere conatus apud Helenam, oppidum Pyrenaeo  
proximum, a Gaisone cum lectissimis misso interficitur anno tertio

drowned in a hot bath. Not long afterwards Constantine, while staying  
at Nicomedia, was poisoned by his brothers and so paid the penalty for  
the execution of Crispus.<sup>17]</sup>

[4. (Sozomen 1,5)

I am not ignorant of the pagan claim that Constantine, repenting  
the murder of some of his closest relatives, and particularly the support  
which he gave to the murder of Crispus, his own son, approached So-  
pater the philosopher, at that time the head of the school of Plotinus,  
about purification. Sopater replied that no one could be purified of  
such sins. The Emperor was dismayed by this reply, but happened to  
meet some bishops who promised to cleanse him of all sin upon repen-  
tance and baptism. He, being pleased with their words, which were to  
his purpose, and delighted with their teaching, became a Christian and  
encouraged his subjects to do likewise.]

(Zosimus 2,29-38)

## 10

[(Philostorgius 3,1)

Constans, who was the eldest of the sons of Constantine, plotted  
against his brother Constantine. The latter, meeting his brother's  
generals in battle, was destroyed, and his part of the Empire was in-  
corporated into that of Constans.<sup>18)]</sup>

(Zosimus, 2,39-41)

## 11

1. (*Vit. Soph.* 10,1,1)

Concerning Prohaeresius I have said sufficient, both above in this  
text and in the narrative of my History.

[2. (*Epit. de Caes.* 41,22-23)

While Constans, in his passion for hunting, was off wandering  
through the woods and dales, some of the military, under the leadership  
of Chrestius, Marcellinus and Magnentius, plotted to kill him. When they  
had settled upon the day for doing this, Marcellinus, pretending that it  
was his son's birthday, invited a large number of people to a banquet.  
When the feasting had been prolonged far into the night, Magnentius left  
as if to relieve himself and donned the imperial regalia. When he learned  
this, Constans tried to flee to Helena, a town very close to the Pyrenees.  
There he was killed by Gaiso, who had been sent after him with picked

decimo Augustae dominationis (nam Caesar triennio fuerat), aevi septimo vicesimoque.]

10

(Zosimus 2,42)

## 12

[(*Epit. de Caes.* 42,2)]

Magnentius quoque Decentium consanguineum suum trans Alpes Caesarem creavit.]

(Zosimus 2,45-54)

## 13

(*Exc. de Sent.* 3)

... ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν παροιμία φησὶ τὸ θέρος ἐπὶ τῇ καλάμῃ φαίνεσθαι· τότε δὲ ὁ Κωνσταντίος ἐδείκνυ τοῦ πατρὸς ὦν.

2 ὦν cod. [ἦν Boissvain post ὦν add. γνήσιος υἱός van Herwerden, παιδίου Meineke]

(Zosimus 2,55)

## 14

1. (*Exc. de Sent.* 4)

Ὅτι κατὰ τὸν Ἰουλιανὸν τὸν Καίσαρα δοκούντων τῷ Κωνσταντίῳ βεβουλεῦσθαι καλῶς ὁ χρόνος τὴν πείραν ἐς τὸ ἐναντίον ἔστρεψε, ταῖς τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀρεταῖς συνενθουσιώσης ἤδη τῆς τύχης, καὶ σχεδὸν ἐκάστης ἡμέρας ξένα καὶ ποικίλα φερούσης τῷ βασιλεῖ διηγήματα· ἐφ' οἷς ὁ Κωνσταντίος δακνόμενος ἤδη καὶ δυσφορῶν ὑπὸ φθόνου, τοὺς ἡγουμένους τῶν φύσει πολεμίων ἐπετείχιζε τῷ Καίσαρι, καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ προσετίθει τοῖς ἐχθροῖς δύναμιν, μόνον ὁρῶν τὰ (ἑαυτῷ) ἡδέα, καὶ τὸ οἰκεῖον ξένον ὑπολαμβάνων, εἰ σὺν τῷ Καίσαρι σῶζοιτο, καὶ τὸ ξένον οἰκεῖον, εἰ καταλύοι μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τὸν Καίσαρα· ὥστε ὁ πόλεμος εἰς τὸ ὑπουλον μεταβαλὼν καὶ τὸ φύσει 5 πολέμιον ἐποίει σύμμαχον.

10

1 δοκούντων τῷ cod. [δοκῶν τῷ auct. edd.]

8 ἑαυτῷ add. Boissvain

9 καταλύοι Niebuhr [καταλύει cod.]

2. (*Vit. Soph.* 7,3,8)

Πεμρθεῖς δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ Γαλατίας οὐχ ἵνα βασιλεύῃ τῶν ἐκείνῃ μόνον, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ διαφραθῇ, παρὰ δόξαν ἄσασαν ἐκ τῆς τῶν θεῶν προνοίας ἀνῆνεγκεν, πάντας μὲν λανθάνων ὅτι 5 θεραπεύει θεούς, πάντας δὲ νικῶν ὅτι ἐθεράπευε θεούς, καὶ τὸν τε

soldiers, in the thirteenth year of his reign as Augustus (he had already been Caesar for three) and in the twenty-seventh year of his life.<sup>19</sup>

(Zosimus 2,42)

## 12

[(*Epit. de Caes.* 42,2)]

Magnentius, too, made his blood-relative, Decentius, Caesar beyond the Alps.<sup>20</sup>

(Zosimus 2,43-54)

## 13

(*Exc. de Sent.* 3)

... but, as the proverb says, the ear shows itself upon the stalk; and on that occasion Constantius showed himself his father's son.<sup>21</sup>

(Zosimus 2,55)

## 14

1. (*Exc. de Sent.* 4)

Although it seemed to Constantius that he had arranged things well in the case of the Caesar Julian, time turned his plans upside down. For by this time Fortune was filled with admiration for Julian's virtues, and almost every day brought new and varied reports to the Emperor. These gnawed at Constantius and weighed him down with envy, and he raised up the leaders of our natural enemies against Julian. Seeing only his personal interests, he lent his power to the enemy, regarding what was his own as foreign, if it were to be saved together with the Caesar, and what was foreign as his own, providing only it destroyed the Caesar along with himself. Thus the war became a concealed sore in which the natural enemy became an ally.<sup>22</sup>

2. (*Vit. Soph.* 7,3,8)

He was sent to Gaul as Caesar, not that he should rule those there, but that he should be destroyed while ruling. But against all expectation because of the providence of the gods he emerged unscathed, concealing from all that he worshipped the gods and conquering all because of this devotion. He crossed the Rhine and destroyed or enslaved

Ῥῆνον ἐπεραιώθη, καὶ πάντα ὅσα ὑπὲρ ἐκεῖνον ἔθνη βάρβαρα  
 συνελών καὶ δουλωσάμενος, πολλῶν ἐπιβουλῶν καὶ μηχανημάτων  
 πλεκομένων αὐτῷ (ὡς ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκεῖνον ἀναγέγραπται) . . .

(Zosimus 3,1,1 - 2,1)

## Liber II

### 15

(Exc. de Sent. 5)

Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς Δεξιππου συγγραφῆς ἐς τοὺς Ἰουλιανοῦ  
 καθήκοντα (καιροὺς) ὡς ἐντὴν μάλιστα διὰ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐπι-  
 τρέχουσιν ἱκανῶς ἐν τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν δεδήλωται· φέρεται δὲ ἐντεῦθεν  
 ὁ λόγος ἐφ' ὃν περ ἐφέρετο ἐξ ἀρχῆς, καὶ ἀναγκάζει γε τοῖς ἔργοις  
 ἐνδιατρίβειν ὥσπερ τι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐρωτικὸν πεπονθότας, οὔτι μὰ Δία  
 τεθεαμένους ἢ πεπειραμένους· κομιδῇ γὰρ ἦν ὁ γράφων τάδε παῖς,  
 ἥνικα ἐβασίλευσεν· ἀλλὰ δεωνότι χρήμα καὶ ἀπαραίτητον εἰς ἔρωτα  
 τὸ κοινὸν ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων πάθος καὶ τὸ τῆς ἐπ' αὐτῷ δόξης  
 ἀστασίαστον. πῶς γὰρ ἦν σιωπᾶν ὑπὲρ ὧν οὐδεὶς ἔφερε σιωπᾶν,  
 πῶς δὲ μὴ λέγειν ὅσα καὶ οἱ μὴ δυνάμενοι λέγειν ἀπὸ στόματος  
 ἔφραζον, ἐς γλυκεῖαν τινα καὶ χρυσὴν διατριβὴν τὴν ἐκεῖνου μνήμην  
 ἀναφέροντες; καὶ ὁ μὲν πολλὸς ἄνθρωπος ταῦτα πάσχοντες ὁμῶς  
 ἔλαττον ἐς τὸ γράφειν ἐξεβιάζοντο· τὸ δὲ ἐξαίρετον καὶ ὁ τιπερ ἦν ἐν  
 παιδείᾳ γνωριμώτατον, οὐδὲ ἀφιέντα ἠρίεσαν, ἀλλ' ἐνέκειντο παρα-  
 θαρσύνοντες ὡς συνεπιληψόμενοι τοῦ πόνου. ὁ δὲ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα  
 γεγωνὼς αὐτῷ γνώριμος, ὁ Περγαμηνὸς ἀνὴρ Ὀριβάσιος, ἐκ φυσικῆς  
 φιλοσοφίας ἱατρικὴν ἐπιτάττειν ἄριστος καὶ δρᾶν ἔτι θειώτερος, καὶ  
 ἀσεβήσων ἐβόα περιφανῶς, εἰ μὴ συγγράφοιμ· καὶ τῶν γε πράξεων  
 (πάσας δὲ ἥπιστατο παρῶν ἀπάσαις) μάλα ἀκριβῶς ὑπόμνημα  
 συνετέλει πρὸς τὴν γραφὴν· ὥστε οὐκ ἦν ἀναβολὴ καὶ βουλομένῳ  
 ῥαθυμεῖν.

1 in marg. ΠΡΟΟΙΜΙΟΝ ΤΟΥ Β ΛΟΓΟΥ 2 καιροὺς add. Mai [aut χρόνους  
 Boissvain 8 ἐπ' αὐτῷ Bekker [ἐφ' αὐτῷ cod. ἐφ' ἐκαστῷ Kuiper  
 15 συνεπιληψόμενοι Bekker [ἐπιληψόμενοι cod.

### 16

1. (Exc. de Sent. 6)

Τοῦτο ἐγένετο τὸ εὐτύχημα, καὶ πάντα ὥσπερ ὀστράκου  
 μεταπεσόντος ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον ἐχώρησε Ῥωμαίοις.

all the barbarian tribes there, despite the many plots and schemes  
 woven against him, as I have described in the parts of my History  
 devoted to him . . .

(Zosimus 3,1,1 - 2,1)

## Book II

### 15

(Exc. de Sent. 5)

In the preceding chapters the history from the end of Dexippus'  
 work to the time of Julian has been summarised as adequately as  
 possible, with a concentration on the most important events. Hence-  
 forth my narrative centres upon the one who was its object from the  
 beginning, and, feeling the love that I do for him, I am compelled to  
 turn my attention to his achievements. Of course, I never saw him or  
 personally knew him; for when he was Emperor, the writer of this  
 History was just a child. But the general affection of all mankind for  
 him and the universal high repute in which he is held are a marvellous  
 and irresistible inspiration to love. How could one be silent about those  
 things upon which no one could endure to be silent? How not speak of  
 those great deeds which even those who had no skill in speaking de-  
 scribed, remembering his age as one of sweetness and gold? The major-  
 ity, while holding these sentiments, were, nevertheless, under less com-  
 pulsion to write them down. But the outstanding and most famous  
 figures of the world of learning would not excuse me, even though I  
 declined, and they pressed me with their encouragement and promises  
 that they would help me in the task. Oribasius of Pergamum, the most  
 intimate of Julian's companions and, as a result of his training in  
 natural philosophy, the most eminent medical expert and a still more  
 inspired practitioner, declared openly that I should be committing a sin  
 if I did not write my History. Furthermore, he composed for my use in  
 writing a detailed memorandum of the deeds of the Emperor; for he  
 was familiar with all, having been present at them. Thus, I had no  
 excuse for delay, even had I wished to shirk the task.

### 16

1. (Exc. de Sent. 6)

This turned to success, and everything, as if heads followed tails,  
 changed to the better for the Romans.<sup>23</sup>

[2. (Suda E 1771)]

Ὁ οὖν Μάρκελλος κύριος ἦν τῶν πραγμάτων, ὀνόματος μόνου καὶ σχήματος τῷ Ἰουλιανῷ ἐξιστάμενος, τὴν δὲ ἀληθεστέραν αὐτὸς ἀρχὴν μεταχειριζόμενος. (Cf. O 719\*)]

(Zosimus 3,2,2 - 3,2)

## 17

(Exc. de Sent. 7)

Ὅτι φησὶν ὁ Εὐνάπιος περὶ τοῦ παραβάτου Ἰουλιανοῦ· τῆς δὲ στρατείας ταύτης σφοδρότατης τε ἅμα καὶ κλεωστάτης τῶν πρὸ αὐτῆς γενομένων τὴν διήγησιν ἐς τήνδε τὴν γραφὴν ἐντείναντες οὐ πεισόμεθα ταῦτόν τοις ἐν ἡμέρᾳ δῶδας ἀνασχοῦσιν, ἵνα τι κρυπτόμενον ἀνεύρωσιν, οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἱκανῶς ἅμα καὶ συνενθουσιῶν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ καλοῖς βιβλίδιον ὅλον τῇδε ἀναθεῖς τῇ μάχῃ διηλθεν ὁ βασιλικώτατος καὶ ἐν λόγοις Ἰουλιανός, αὐτοὶ παραβαλόμεθα καὶ συνεκινήσομεν ἑτέραν γραφὴν τὰ αὐτὰ σημαίνουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν βουλομένοις τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἐκεῖνου λόγων τε καὶ ἔργων ἀνασκοπεῖν τὸ περὶ τούτων βιβλίδιον <ἀναγνώσκειν> ἐπιτάξομεν, καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνην φέρεσθαι τὴν ἀκτῖνα τῆς συγγραφῆς. ἐκ τῆς ἐνεργείας τῶν τότε ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πραχθέντων ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ λόγου δύναμιν ἀπορρυσῆσαν καὶ διαλάμπασαν· αὐτοὶ δὲ ὅσον οὐ πρὸς ἄμιλλαν μειρακιώδη καὶ σοφιστικὴν, ἀλλ' εἰς ἱστορικὴν ἀκρίβειαν ἀναστῆσαι καὶ διαπλάσαι τῶν λόγων, ἐπιδραμούμεθα τὰ γεγενημένα, συνάπτοντες τοῖς εἰρημένοις τὰ ἐχόμενα.

6 βιβλίδιον Cobet

10 ἀναγνώσκειν add. Niebuhr

(Zosimus 3,3)

## Liber III

## 18

1. (Exc. de Sent. 8)

Ὅτι Ἰουλιανὸς τοὺς ἀρχομένους καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐδίδασκεν ἅμα τίσι δοκεῖ τὸν ὄντως βασιλέα κρατεῖν, καὶ ὡς ἀνδρεία μὲν καὶ ῥώμη καὶ χειρῶν κράτος πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθεστηκότας μόνον τῶν πολεμίων χρήσιμα, δικαιοσύνη δὲ μετ' ἐξουσίας ὥσπερ πηγὴ τις οὔσα τῶν ἀρετῶν καὶ τοὺς μὴ παρόντας χειροσῆθεις τε ποιεῖν καὶ δουλοῦσθαι πέφυκε. τοιαύτας ὑποτείνων ἀρετὰς καὶ σπέρματα

2 δοκεῖ [δεῖ Bekker  
6 ἀρετὰς [ἀρχὰς Meineke

5 τε ποιεῖν Bekker [ἐμποιεῖ cod.

[2. (Suda E 1771)]

Therefore Marcellus was really in charge of affairs, conceding to Julian only the name and regalia of Caesar and keeping the real power in his own hands.<sup>24</sup> (Cf. O 719\*)]

(Zosimus 3,2,2 - 3,2)

## 17

(Exc. de Sent. 7)

This expedition was more violent and renowned than those that preceded it. While I shall incorporate an account of it in my narrative, I shall not be persuaded to the same course as those who hold up torches in daylight to search for something hidden. Furthermore, the most noble Emperor Julian, enthused by his own achievements, adequately described in his own words these events in a pamphlet which he dedicated to the battle; and so I shall not produce another narrative with the same contents for comparison with his work. Rather, those who wish to observe the greatness of his words and his deeds I shall direct to turn to his pamphlet on these events and to the splendours of his account, whose brightness has been reflected from the real experience of his achievements into the power of his words. For my part, since I am building and shaping my account not for the purpose of competing in a youthful or sophistic manner with Julian's but with a view to historical accuracy, I shall skim over what happened in the battle, adding what followed after the events that he describes.<sup>25</sup>

(Zosimus 3,3)

## Book III

## 18

1. (Exc. de Sent. 8)

Julian taught both the men under his command and the enemy with what qualities he thought the true king ruled: that courage, strength and physical force were only of use against those of the enemy in the field, whereas justice combined with authority was like some fountain-head of virtues, which made even those far away manageable and obedient. Proclaiming from his tribunal these virtues and principles of his philosophy to those under his command, he ordered the Romans to harm none of the Salii nor to ravage or plunder their territory. He told

φιλοσοφίας ἐς τοὺς ὑπηκόους ἅπαντας ἀπὸ βήματος ἐπέταττε Ῥωμαί-  
 ος μηδένα Σαλίων ἀδικεῖν μηδὲ δηοῦν ἢ σίνεσθαι τὴν ἰδίαν χώραν.  
 ἰδίαν δ' ἀπέφαινε πᾶσαν αὐτοὺς δεῖν ὑπολαμβάνειν, ἣν ἀνευ μάχης καὶ  
 πόνων ἔχουσιν· ὥς ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι πολεμίαν τὴν τῶν πολεμούντων  
 ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ νομίζειν, οἰκείαν δὲ τὴν τῶν παρακεχωρηκότων.

2. (*Exc. de Sent.* 9)

Ὅτι εἰώθει Ἰουλιανὸς ἀρχὴν νίκης, οὐ πολέμου τίθεσθαι.

[3. (*Suda* Γ 264)]

Ἐδόκει γὰρ τό τε σῶμα γιγαντώδης εἶναι καὶ τὸν θυμὸν  
 θηριώδης, καὶ ἐς ἀγχίνουσαν τῶν συλλησσομένων ἀπάντων πολυ-  
 πλοκώτερος.]

4. (*Exc. de Sent.* 10)

Τοῦτον δεξιόμενος ἐταῖρον ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ συνιστάμενον εἶχεν· εἴτ'  
 ἄλλος προσήει, καὶ πλῆθος ἦν· καὶ καθάπερ οἱ Πυθαγόριοι φασί,  
 μονάδος ἐπὶ δυάδα κωηθείσης οὐκέτι τὴν τῶν ἀριθμῶν ἡρεμεῖν  
 φύσιν, ἀλλὰ διαχεῖσθαι καὶ ρεῖν ἐς πολὺ, οὕτω Χαριέττονος Κερ-  
 κίωνα προσλαβόντος αἶτε πράξεις ἐπὶ πολὺν προήεσαν καὶ ὁ τῶν συν-  
 ισταμένων ὄχλος ἀνὰ λόγον ἡκολούθει ταῖς πράξεσιν.

[5. (*Suda* Α 2395)]

Χαριέττων μὲν οὖν καὶ πρὸ τούτου φανερός τις ὢν καὶ ἀνυ-  
 πόστατος τῷ τε πλεονάζοντι τοῦ δραστηρίου φοβῶν ἀνείχεν ἀπὸ  
 ληστείας ἅπαντας.]

6. (*Exc. de Leg. Gent.* 1)

Ὅτι τοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ ἐς τὴν πολεμίαν χωροῦντος, καὶ τῶν  
 Χαμάβων ἱκετευόντων φεῖδεσθαι καὶ ταύτης ὡς οἰκείας, ὁ Ἰου-  
 λιανὸς συνεχώρει, καὶ τὸν βασιλέα σφῶν προελθεῖν κελεύσας,  
 ἐπεὶ προῆλθε, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ὁχθῆς εἶδεν ἐσθηκῶτα, ἐπιβὰς πλοίου  
 (τὸ πλοῖον ἐκτὸς ἔχων τοξεύματος), ἐρμηνέα ἔχων διελέγετο τοῖς  
 βαρβάραις, ἐκεῖνων δὲ πάντα ποιεῖν ὧν ἐτόίμων, ὁρῶν εὐπρό-  
 σωπὸν τε ἅμα καὶ ἀναγκαίαν αὐτῷ τὴν εἰρήνην (Χαμάβων γὰρ μὴ  
 βουλομένων ἀδύνατόν ἐστι τὴν ἐκ τῆς Βρεττανικῆς νήσου σιτο-  
 πομπίαν ἐπὶ τὰ Ῥωμαϊκὰ φρούρια διαπέμπεσθαι), καμπτόμενος ὑπὸ  
 τῆς χρείας χαρίζεται τὴν εἰρήνην, καὶ ἄμεινον ἦν λαβεῖν πίστεως  
 ἔνεκεν. τῶν δὲ ἱκανοὺς εἶναι αἰχμαλώτους λεγόντων, ἐκεῖνους ἔφη  
 τὸν πόλεμον αὐτῷ δεδωκέναι· καθ' ὁμολογίαν γὰρ μὴ λαβεῖν· νυνὶ  
 δὲ ζητεῖν παρ' αὐτῶν τοὺς ἀρίστους, εἰ μὴ τεχνάξουσι περὶ τὴν  
 εἰρήνην. τῶν δὲ ἱκετευόντων καὶ ἀξιούντων εἰπεῖν οὐκ βούλεται,

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them that they should understand that all the land which they had won  
 without fighting and toil was theirs: thus, while they must regard as  
 enemy territory that which belonged to those at war with them, they  
 must treat as their own that which belonged to those who had sub-  
 mitted to them.<sup>26</sup>

2. (*Exc. de Sent.* 9)

It was Julian's custom to lay the beginning of a victory rather  
 than of a war.<sup>27</sup>

[3. (*Suda* Γ 264)]

He was reputed to have a gigantic stature and a fierce temper and  
 to be more clever and cunning than all his fellow brigands.<sup>28</sup>]

4. (*Exc. de Sent.* 10)

Receiving him as an ally, he kept him by his side, and then an-  
 other came, and soon there was a crowd. But just as, according to the  
 Pythagoreans, a monad, when it is moved towards a dyad, loses its  
 nature as a single number and divides up and becomes many, so, when  
 Charietto took up Cercio, their activities increased and the number of  
 their allies multiplied in proportion with their achievements.<sup>29</sup>

[5. (*Suda* Α 2395)]

Since Charietto was well known even before this, invincible and  
 terrifying because of his many deeds of daring, he stopped them all  
 from brigandage.<sup>30</sup>]

6. (*Exc. de Leg. Gent.* 1)

When Julian entered the enemy's territory, the Chamavi begged  
 him to treat this land, too, as if it were his own. Julian agreed and  
 ordered their king to come to him. When the king came and Julian saw  
 him standing on the bank,<sup>31</sup> the Caesar embarked in a boat and, keeping  
 the boat out of arrow range, spoke to the barbarians through an inter-  
 preter. They were willing to do all that he demanded, and since he saw  
 that peace was obviously desirable, indeed necessary for him (for with-  
 out the acquiescence of the Chamavi it is impossible to transport the  
 supplies of grain from the island of Britain to the Roman garrisons),<sup>32</sup>  
 guided by his own advantage, he granted peace, demanding hostages as  
 a pledge. When they said that those whom the Romans had captured  
 were sufficient, Julian replied that he held them as a result of the  
 fighting, not by agreement: now he was seeking their best men, lest  
 they use deceit in respect of the peace-agreement. They agreed and

5 ἐκτὸς ἔχων τοξεύματος Niebuhr [οὖν ἔχων τοξεύματος Α ἢ ἐκτὸς τ. Müller  
 ἔξω ἔχων τ. Dindorf ἀνέχων τ. ἐκτὸς de Boor

μεταλαβὼν αὐτὸς τὸν τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῶν αἰτεῖται παῖδα, πλαττό-  
 15 μενος, ὃν εἶχεν αἰχμάλωτον, ὥσπερ οὐκ ἔχων, ἐνταῦθα ὁ τε βασιλεὺς  
 αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι πρηνεῖς ἐκταθέντες οἰμωγῇ τε ἀφρόνῳ καὶ  
 ὁλοφύρσει προσεέχρηστο δέομενοι μηδὲν ἀδύνατον ἐπιτάττεισθαι.  
 ἀδύνατον δὲ αὐτοῖς εἶναι καὶ τοὺς πεσόντας ἀναστήσαι καὶ ὁμήρους  
 δοῦναι τοὺς τετελευτηκότας. γενομένης δὲ σιωπῆς, ὁ τῶν βαρβάρων  
 20 βασιλεὺς ἀναβοήσας μέγιστον ὅσον· εἶδε ἔζη μοι, ἔφη, ὁ παῖς, ἵνα σοὶ  
 δοθεῖς ἡμιρος, ὦ Καῖσαρ, δουλείαν ἡτύχει τῆς ἐμῆς βασιλείας εὐ-  
 δαιμονεστέραν. ἀλλ' ὑπὸ σοῦ τέθνηκεν ἀτυχήσας ἴσως καὶ τὸ  
 ἀγνοηθῆναι. πολέμῳ γὰρ ἐπίστευσε τὸ σῶμα νέος ὢν, ὃν οὐ μόνον  
 ἀντάξιον εἰρήνης ὑπολαμβάνεις. καὶ νῦν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, σὺ μὲν ἐξαιτεῖς  
 25 ὥς ὄντα, ἐγὼ δὲ ἄρχομαι θρηγνῆν συνορῶν τίνα οὐκ ἔχω. παῖδα γὰρ  
 ὀδυρόμενος ἕνα καὶ κουήν εἰρήνην τῷ παιδί συναπολώλεκα. κἂν  
 μὲν πιστεύσης τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἀτυχήμασιν, παραμυθίαν ἔχει μοι τὸ πάθος  
 ὥς ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων ἡτυχηκότι. ἂν δὲ ἀπιστήσης, καὶ πατὴρ ἀτυχῆς  
 καὶ βασιλεὺς ὀρθήσομαι. τοῖς γὰρ ἐμοῖς κακοῖς οὐκ ἀκολουθήσει μὲν  
 30 ὁ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἕλεος, ὅσπερ ἅπασιν ὀφείλεται τοῖς ἐν τοιούτοις  
 καθεστηκόσιν, προσκείσονται δὲ αἱ κοιναὶ συμφοραί. καὶ οὐ παραιτή-  
 σομαι τοὺς ἄλλους ἀτυχῶν, ἀλλὰ κοινωνῆν ἐμοὶ τῶν δεινῶν  
 ἀναγκάσω, τοσοῦτον ἀπολαύων τῆς βασιλικῆς ἐξουσίας ὅσον ἀτυχεῖν  
 35 μόνος μὴ δύνασθαι. τούτων ἀκούων ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν τε ψυχὴν ἔπαθε  
 καὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις εὐπαθῶς ἐπεδάκρυσε· καὶ καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς  
 δράμασιν, ὅτ' ἂν εἰς ἄπορον καὶ δύσλυτον αἰ τῶν ὑποκειμένων ἔργων  
 πλοκαὶ τελευτήσωσιν, ὁ καλούμενος ἀπὸ μηχανῆς θεὸς ἐπεισδίδως  
 40 εἰς μέσον ἔλκεται πάντα συμπεραίνων καὶ καταστρέφων ἐπὶ τὸ  
 σαφέστερον καὶ εὐκριτον, οὕτω καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ πράγμασιν ἀμυχάνους  
 καὶ δυσεξόδους, μετ' οἰμωγῆς ἀπάντων τὴν μὲν εἰρήνην αἰτοῦντων,  
 τὸν δὲ ἐπιζητούμενον ἡμιρον ἀπαγορευόντων μὴ ἔχειν, τὸν τε νεα-  
 νίσκον παραγαγὼν ἅπασιν ἔδειξε βασιλικῶς παρ' αὐτῷ διατιμώμενον  
 45 καὶ διαλεχθῆναι τῷ πατρὶ κελεύσας ὅσα ἐβούλετο περιεσκόπει τὸ  
 πραχθησόμενον. τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἦν ἄξια τούτων. οὐκ ἔτεκεν ὁ  
 ἥλιος τοιαύτην ἡμέραν, οἶαν τότε ἔξην τοῖς παροῦσιν ὁρᾶν καὶ  
 ἰστορεῖν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ θορύβου καὶ θρήνων ἐκπλήξει καὶ θάμβει  
 50 συνδεδέντες ἐς τὸ ἀκίνητον ἐπάγησαν, ὥσπερ Ἰουλιανοῦ δεῖξαντος  
 αὐτοῖς οὐ τὸν νεανίσκον, ἀλλ' εἰδῶλον, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς, ἐπεὶ ἡσυχία  
 μυστηρίων ἀπάντων ἐγένετο σταθερωτέρα, βαρὺ φθιγγόμενος εἰς  
 μέσον· τοῦτον, εἶπεν, ὁ μὲν ὑμέτερος, ὡς ὑμεῖς ὑπολαμβάνετε,

begged him to name whom he wished. In reply he demanded the king's son, whom he held as a prisoner, pretending that he did not have him. Thereupon the barbarians and their king threw themselves on their faces and with plentiful groans and lamentations besought Julian not to enjoin what they could not carry out: they were unable to raise up the fallen and deliver the dead as hostages.<sup>33</sup>

When silence was restored, the barbarian king declared at the top of his voice, "Would that my son were alive so that, as a hostage with you, Caesar, he might enjoy a bondage more blessed than my kingly power. But he has been killed by you, perhaps with the ill-luck to die unrecognised. For, though young, he risked his life in war. He alone you value as a fair pledge for peace, and now, O Emperor, you demand him as if he were alive, while I begin to grieve, seeing the vision of the one whom I have lost. My only son I mourn, and with him I have lost peace for us all. If you believe my tale of woe, my grief has the consolation for me that I have suffered for us all; but if you do not, my misfortune will be clear both as a father and as a king. For not only will others feel no pity for my loss (which is the due of all in such circumstances), but my people will suffer disaster also. Being unable to protect the others from misfortune, I shall compel them to share my sorrows. Such is the privilege of kingly power, that I am not allowed to suffer alone!"

When the Emperor heard this, his heart was saddened and he readily wept tears at the words. Just as when, in a play, the complications of the plot come to an inextricable impasse, the so-called *deus ex machina* is adventitiously dragged onto the stage, bringing everything around to a clear and satisfactory conclusion, so, too, Julian in a situation of either stalemate or disaster, amidst the lamentations of all the barbarians, as they begged for peace and swore that they did not have the hostage demanded, brought forward the young man whom he had treated as befits royalty, and showed him to them all. Then, having told him to say whatever he wished to his father, Julian returned to consider the business in hand.

What followed this was a fitting sequel. Those present would never be able to witness and describe a day like this. The Chamavi, turned from groaning and lamentation to stunned amazement and consternation, were struck motionless, as if Julian had showed them not the young man, but his ghost. When a silence had fallen, more profound than at all the Mysteries, the Emperor addressed them all in a deep voice:<sup>34</sup> "This boy, whom your aggression had destroyed, as you

31 τοιούτοις Niebuhr [τούτοις A 33 τοὺς ἄλλους ἀτυχῶν Niebuhr [τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀτυχῶν A 34 ἀναγκάσω Niebuhr [ἀναγκάσαι A 36 εὐπαθῶς Cantoclar [ἀπαθῶς A συμπαθῶς Dindorf ἐπεδάκρυσε edd. 43 αὐτῷ Dindorf αὐτοῦ A

πόλεμος ἀπολώλεκε, θεὸς δὲ ἵσως καὶ τὸ Ῥωμαίων σέσωκε φι-  
 ἄνθρωπον. ἔξω δὲ αὐτὸν ὅμηρον, οὐ παρ' ὑμῶν καθ' ὁμολογίαν,  
 ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῦ πολέμου λαβὼν καὶ τῷ κρατεῖν ἀρκούμενος. καὶ  
 οὗτος μὲν οὐδενὸς ἀτυχήσει τῶν καλλίστων ἐμοὶ ξυνών, ὑμεῖς δὲ 55  
 πειρώμενοι παραβαίνετε τὰς συνθήκας ἀποτεύξεσθε πάντων. φημὶ  
 δὲ οὐχ ὅτι κολάσομαι τὸν ὅμηρον, ὃν οὐδὲ ἐνέχυρον παρ' ὑμῶν εἴληκα  
 τῆς εἰρήνης, ἀλλ' ἀνδρείας ἀπόδειξεν καθ' ὑμῶν ἔχω· ὃ καὶ ἄλλως  
 ἄριστον καὶ θεομῶδες τοὺς οὐδὲν ἀδικούντας ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδικούντων  
 δάκνειν καὶ σπαράττειν, ὥσπερ τὰ θηρία τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας, ὅτ' ἂν 60  
 ὑρ' ἐτέρων διώκεται· ἀλλ' ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν ἄρξετε χειρῶν ἀδίκων,  
 οὐ μείζων ὀλεσθῆναι οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνθρώποις, κἂν δοκῶσι πρὸς τὸ βραχὺ  
 καὶ παρὸν ἐπιτυχάνειν· δεύτερον δὲ ὅτι πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ὑμῶν ὁ λόγος  
 ἔσται καμὲ τὸν ἄρχοντα τούτων, ὃν οὐτε πολεμοῦντες οὐτε εἰρήνην  
 αἰτοῦντες ἐνικήσατε. προσεκύνησαν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἅπαντες καὶ ἀνευ- 65  
 φήμουν θεὸν τινα ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις ἡγούμενοι. σπεισάμενος γοῦν καὶ  
 τὴν τοῦ Νεβισγάστου μητέρα μόνον αἰτήσας, ἐκεῖνων ὁμολογη-  
 σάντων τε ἅμα καὶ δόντων, ἀνέξευξεν ἐπὶ τοιαύταις πράξεσιν, μετ-  
 σπώρου τε ἐστηκότος καὶ χειμῶνος ἤδη συνισταμένου καὶ δια-  
 ψύχοντος. (Cf. Petrus Patricius *Fr.* 18)

52 σέσωκε Bekker [δέδωκε A 57 εἴληφα Hoeschel [εἴλημα A 61 ἄρξετε  
 Boissonade [ἀρξεται A

(Zosimus 3,4,1 - 8,1)

## 19

(Exc. de Leg. Gent. 2)

Ὅτι Βαδομάρσιος τις δυνάμει καὶ τόλμῃ προσεῖχε Γερμανῶν  
 καὶ εἰς τοῦτο ὑπετόχετο μεγαλαυχίας, ὥστε ἐτύγχανε μὲν ὅμηρον τὸν  
 ἑαυτοῦ δεδωκότος υἱόν, ἕως ἂν ἀποδῶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, οὓς ἐκ τῆς  
 καταδρομῆς εἶχε συνηρπασμένους, τούτους δὲ οὐκ ἀποδιδούς ἀπῆται 5  
 τὸν ὅμηρον, πολλὰ ἀπειλῶν, εἰ μὴ λάβοι. ἀποπέμπει δὲ τοῦτον  
 Ἰουλιανὸς αὐτῷ τοσοῦτον ἐπιθείς, ὥς οὐκ ἔστιν ἀξιόπιστον ἐν  
 μειράκιον ὑπὲρ πολλῶν εὐγενεστέρων ὁμηρεῦν παρ' αὐτῷ, ἀλλ' ἢ  
 τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀποδιδόναι προσῆκον ὄντας ὑπὲρ τρισχιλίου τοῖς  
 αὐτίκα ἤξουσιν πρέσβεσιν, ἢ ἀδικούντα εἰδέναι. ταῦτα ἔγραψε τε καὶ 10  
 τὴν πρεσβείαν ἔσταλлен, καὶ αὐτὸς εἶπετο τῇ πρεσβείᾳ ἀπὸ Νεμέτων  
 ἄρας ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥήνον· ἤδη τε ἦν πρὸς τοῖς Ῥαυράκοις, ὃ ἐστὶ φρούριον.

thought, God, allied with the philanthropy of the Romans, has saved. I  
 shall keep him as a hostage, not handed over by you under agreement,  
 but taken in war; for I am satisfied with my victory. He will lack  
 nothing of the best while he is with me, but you, if you attempt to  
 break the treaty, shall suffer everything. I do not say that then I shall  
 punish the hostage, whom I have not received from you as a pledge of  
 peace, but whom I hold as proof of our bravery against you. Besides, it  
 is unfair and ungodly to rend and tear to pieces those who are innocent  
 in the place of those who do harm, as wild beasts do to those in their  
 path when they are being pursued by others. But I do say that you shall  
 be the first to raise hands to injustice, the most self-destructive act that  
 men can perform, even if in the short term it brings apparent gain. And  
 secondly, I remind you that you will have to reckon with the Romans,  
 and me, their ruler, whom you have never bested either in war or when  
 seeking peace."

At this all the Chamavi threw themselves down and blessed him,  
 thinking him a god for these words. So Julian made peace, demanding  
 only the mother of Nebisgastes,<sup>35</sup> and the barbarians straightway  
 ratified the peace and handed her over. When these things had been  
 accomplished, the Emperor broke camp, since it was now late autumn  
 and the cold of winter was already beginning.<sup>36</sup>  
 (Cf. Petrus Patricius *Fr.* 18)

(Zosimus 3,4,1 - 8,1)

## 19

(Exc. de Leg. Gent. 2)

A certain Vadomar was outstanding amongst the Germans for  
 strength and daring. He burned with such a measure of arrogance that,  
 when he had handed over his own son as hostage until he returned the  
 captives whom he had taken in his raid, he demanded the return of the  
 hostage even though he had not restored the captives, making many  
 threats if this were not done. Julian returned the son to Vadomar,  
 adding only that in his eyes one youth was not a worthwhile hostage  
 for so many better-born persons; but he should either hand over the  
 captives (more than 3,000 in number) to the envoys who would come  
 to him straightway, or he would be taught that he was acting unjustly.  
 Julian wrote this and sent the embassy, and he himself followed the  
 envoys from Speier to the Rhine. For Vadomar at the time was opposite  
 the fortress of Augst.<sup>37</sup>

1. (*Exc. de Sent.* 11)

Ὅτι φησὶν ὁ Εὐνάπιος περὶ Ἰουλιανοῦ· ἐνταῦθα δὲ γενο-  
 μένους μεμνησθαι προσήκει ὡς νῦν ἡ γραφὴ περιέχει τὰ τοῦ Καί-  
 σαρος ἔργα, ταῦτα δὲ ἐγένετο Κωνσταντίου βασιλεύοντος·  
 ὥσπερ οὖν ἐν τοῖς κατὰ Κωνσταντίον ἀμφοτέρων μεμνημένη τὰ τοῦ  
 προκειμένου Κωνσταντίου μᾶλλον εἶδεν καὶ παρῆγεν εἰς τὸν λόγον,  
 οὕτως ἐπειδὴ τὸν λόγον ἐκ τῆς γενέσεως εἰς Ἰουλιανὸν ἐλθόντα τὸν  
 Καίσαρα νῦν ἀναγράφει, ἐπιμνήσεται πάλιν, ἐς ὅσον ἂν ἐγχωρῇ αὐ-  
 τῶν κατὰ τοὺς παραπίπτωντας καιροὺς εἰς τὸν Καίσαρα Κωνσταντίῳ  
 συντεθειμένων τε καὶ μεμηχανημένων.

2 προσήκει van Herwerden [προσήκεν cod. 7 αὐ, τῶν Bekker [αὐτῶν cod.  
 τῶν Dindorf]

2. (*Vit. Soph.* 6,3,8)

Ἀβλαβίῳ δὲ τὸν παῖδα κατέλιπε Κωνσταντίον, συμβασιλεύ-  
 σαντα μὲν αὐτῷ, διαδεξάμενον δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ πατρὸς σὺν Κων-  
 σταντίνῳ καὶ Κώνσταντι τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς. ἐν δὲ τοῖς κατὰ τὸν θειότατον  
 Ἰουλιανὸν ἀκριβέστερον ταῦτα εἴρηται.

3. (*Vit. Soph.* 7,1,6)

Οὗτος, πάντων ἀνηρημένων ὑπὸ τοῦ Κωνσταντίου (ταῦτα δὲ ἐν  
 τοῖς κατὰ Ἰουλιανὸν ἀκριβέστερον γέγραπται), καὶ ψιλωθέντος τοῦ  
 γένους Ἰουλιανοῦ, περιελείφθη μόνος, δι' ἡλικίαν περιωρονηθεὶς καὶ  
 πρᾶότῃτα.

3 Ἰουλιανῷ Giangrande [Ἰουλιανός codd., exp. Cobet.

4. (*Exc. de Sent.* 12)

Ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ῥωμαῖος Μάριος τὸν ἀντίπαλον Σύλλαν διπλοῦν  
 θηρίον ἀποκαλῶν, ἀλώπεκα καὶ λέοντα, μᾶλλον ἔφασκε φοβεῖσθαι  
 τὴν ἀλώπεκα· Κωνσταντίῳ δὲ λέων μὲν οὐδεὶς παρῆν πολλὰ δὲ  
 ἀλώπεκες κύκλῳ περιτρέχουσαι διεθορύβουν τὸν Καίσαρα.

5. (*Exc. de Sent.* 13)

Πᾶσα δὲ βία τὴν γραφὴν κατὰ μικρὰ καὶ ἐπὶ Κωνσταντίον  
 φέρεσθαι καὶ τῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνου πραττομένων ἑκαστον ἀναγαγεῖν ἐπὶ  
 τοὺς καιροὺς καθ' οὓς ἐγένετο καὶ συνέπιπτεν. τότε δὲ ὁ Κωνσταν-  
 τισ ἐφ' οἷς <χαίρειν> ἔδει δυσφορῶν καὶ ὅσα ἔπραττεν Ἰουλιανὸς  
 ἔλεγχον τῆς ἰδίας βασιλείας ὑπολαμβάνων, τὰς τε δηλουμένας ἐπι-  
 νικίας ἐορτὰς εἰς πένθος καὶ συμφορὰν μετέβαλλε καὶ διωιστρούμενος  
 ὑπὸ φθόρου καὶ λύσσης πρὸς τὸν ἐμφύλιον ἐξώγκωτο πόλεμον.

1 δὲ van Herwerden [δ' ἡ cod.

4 χαίρειν add. Niebuhr ἡδαι Mai

1. (*Exc. de Sent.* 11)

Having reached this point, I should declare that now my History  
 deals with the deeds of the Caesar and that these took place while Con-  
 stantius was Emperor. Therefore, just as in the sections on Constantius,  
 although the actions of both were mentioned, those of Constantius, as  
 the more important character, received more space and emphasis in the  
 narrative, so now, since the narrative deals with Julian from his birth to  
 his promotion to Caesar, I shall describe again, as far as repetition is  
 permissible and in their appropriate places, the plots which Constantius  
 laid against the Caesar.

2. (*Vit. Soph.* 6,3,8)

To the care of Ablabius he [Constantine I] left his son Constan-  
 tius, who had been co-ruler with him<sup>38</sup> and who shared his father's  
 Empire with his brothers Constantine and Constans. These things I have  
 set out in more detail in the part of my History on the most holy Julian.

3. (*Vit. Soph.* 7,1,6)

When all of his relatives had been destroyed by Constantius (as I  
 have described in more detail in the sections of my History on Julian)  
 and his family had been stripped of its property, Julian alone was left  
 alive, being scorned because of his youth and his mild disposition.

4. (*Exc. de Sent.* 12)

The Roman Marius used to call his rival Sulla two wild beasts in  
 one, a fox and a lion, and said that he feared the fox more. There was  
 no lion by Constantius, but many foxes, circling around him and  
 barking at the Caesar.<sup>39</sup>

5. (*Exc. de Sent.* 13)

It is absolutely necessary that for a short while the narrative turn  
 to Constantius' court to recall each of the things that he did at the time  
 when it occurred. Certainly, at that period Constantius was aggrieved at  
 what he should have rejoiced over and he viewed Julian's achievements  
 as a refutation of his own kingship. The Caesar's triumphs, as they were  
 reported, he viewed as grievous misfortunes and, stung by jealousy and  
 rage, he began to work himself up to civil war.<sup>40</sup>



(Zosimus 3,8)

## 21

1. (*Vit. Soph.* 7,3,8)

... τὸν ἱεροφάντην μετακαλέσας ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ σὺν ἐκείνῳ τῶν μόνους ἐκείνους γνώριμα διαπραξάμενος, ἐπὶ τὴν καθ' αἶρεσιν ἡγήρεθ' ἡ τῆς Κωνσταντίου τυραννίδος. ταῦτα δὲ συνήδεσαν Ὀρειβάσιος ἐκ τοῦ Περγάμου, καὶ τις τῶν ἐκ Λιβύης, ἣν Ἀφρικὴν καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι κατὰ τὸ πάτριον τῆς γλώττης, Εὐήμερος. ταῦτα δὲ πάλω ἐν τοῖς κατὰ Ἰουλιανὸν βιβλίοις ἀκριβέστερον εἴρηται.

2. (*Vit. Soph.* 21,1,4)

Ἐκ μειρακίου δὲ ἐπιφανῆς γενόμενος, Ἰουλιανὸς μὲν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν Καίσαρα προΐων συνήρπασεν ἐπὶ τῇ τέχνῃ, ὃ δὲ τοσοῦτον ἐπλεονέκτει ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀρεταῖς, ὥστε καὶ βασιλέα τὸν Ἰουλιανὸν ἀπέδειξε· καὶ ταῦτά γε ἐν τοῖς κατ' ἐκείνων ἀκριβέστερον εἴρηται.

1 post δὲ Giangrande add. οὕτω ex A<sup>2</sup>3. (*Exc. de Sent.* 14)

Ἔοικε μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλως ὁ χρόνος ἐν ταῖς μακραῖς περιόδοις καὶ κινήσει πολλάκις ἐπὶ τὰ αὐτὰ καταφέρεισθαι συμπτώματα, καθάπερ ὅτε Δαρεῖω συστάντες ἐπὶ τοὺς μάγους ἦσαν ἐπὶ καὶ οἱ πολλοὶς ὕστερον χρόνοις Ἀρσάκη κατὰ Μακεδόνων συνεγερθέντες ἴσοι τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἔτυχον.

2 τὰ αὐτὰ cod. [τοιαῦτα edd.]

(Zosimus 3,9,1-4)

## 22

(Zosimus 3,9,5 - 10,1)

## 23

1. (*Exc. de Sent.* 15)

Συνορῶσι δὲ ὅτι θερμότητος μὲν [καὶ] δεῖται καὶ ὀρμῆς τὸ ἀσφαλές· τὸ γὰρ τῆς ἀνάγκης παρὰ πόδας <ἐστὸς> ἐπίσκειψιν ἥκιστα ἐνδεχόμενον προχειρότερον ἀπαιτεῖ τὸν κίνδυνον.

1 καὶ exp. Mai

2 ἐστὸς add. Bekker

2. (*Exc. de Sent.* 16)

Ὅτι περὶ τῆς στρατείας τῆς κατὰ Δαρδάνων πολυτρόπου γενομένης ἐκτίθησι μὲν αὐτὸς Ἰουλιανός, ἄλλα δὲ ἄλλαχού καὶ πρὸς

1 Δαρδάνων scripsi [Ναρδων cod. Ἀλαμανῶν Bekker Ναρισκῶν Müller Χονοδομαρίου Thompson]

(Zosimus 3,8)

## 21

1. (*Vit. Soph.* 7,3,8)

Having summoned the hierophant from Greece and having performed with him certain rites known only to themselves, he gathered his strength to destroy the tyranny of Constantius. His fellow conspirators in this were Oribasius of Pergamum and a certain Euhemerus from Libya, which the Romans call Africa in their native tongue. But again these things have been described in more detail in the books of my History on Julian.

2. (*Vit. Soph.* 21,1,4)

From his youth [Oribasius] was famous, and Julian, when he was promoted to Caesar, carried him off to make use of his [medical] skill. But he had other virtues so outstanding that he actually made Julian Emperor. These things have been described in more detail in the sections of my History on Julian.<sup>41</sup>

3. (*Exc. de Sent.* 14)

Therefore, it also seems that as time passes, over long periods the same phenomena recur. Thus, those who conspired with Darius against the Magi numbered seven, and, at a much later time, those who rebelled with Arsaces against the Macedonians were the same in number.<sup>42</sup>

(Zosimus 3,9,1-4)

## 22

(Zosimus 3,9,5 - 10,1)

## 23

1. (*Exc. de Sent.* 15)

They observe that safety is guaranteed by commitment and speed of action. For Necessity, most impatient of leisurely planning, treads at the heels and calls danger still closer.<sup>43</sup>

2. (*Exc. de Sent.* 16)

Julian himself speaks about the much-travelled expedition down into Dardania, writing various things in different places in his letters to

πολλοὺς ἀναγράφων ἐν ἐπιστολαῖς· πρὸς τινα γοῦν Κυλλήνιον καὶ ταῦτα ἐξηγούμενον τὰ μὲν ἐπιτιμῶν ὡς διαμαρτάνοντα τῆς ἀληθείας φαίνεται, καὶ παρεκτίθησί γε τὰ πραχθέντα ὅπως γέγονε· φάσκων 5 δὲ μὴ δεῖσθαι τοῦ τὰ ἔργα λέγοντος (οὐδὲ γὰρ Παλαμῆδην Ὅμηρου προσδεηθῆναί φησιν εἰς δόξαν), καὶ τὰς ἀλλοτριὰς συγγραφὰς τῶν ἰδίων ἔργων ὑπὸ μεγαλοψυχίας παραιτούμενος, αὐτὸς ὅμως διὰ μέγεθος τῶν πεπραγμένων πρὸς τὸ λέγειν αὐτὰ κατασειώμενος, οὐδὲ συγγραφήν ἀπλήν, ἀλλ' ἔπαυσαν νεανικόν τινα καὶ λαμπρὸν ἑαυτοῦ 10 διέξεισιν αὐτοκέλευστος, καὶ πρὸς πολλοὺς αὐτὰ διὰ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν ὑμνῶν.

8 τὸ post διὰ add. Boissevain 10 νεανικόν [ιστορικόν Niebuhr ἀκριβῆ Müller

### 3. (*Exc. de Sent.* 17)

Ὅτι κρατεῖν ὡς ἐπίπαν εἴωθεν ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἀπείροις τὸ πλεόν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐπιστήμοσι τὸ γεγυμνασμένον· οὐ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς μετὰ τέχνης ἀπαντὰ τὸ παράλογον τῆς τύχης, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς ἀτέχνους χώραν ἔχει τὸ αὐτόματον, ὥσπερ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπιστήμαις ὁρῶμεν τὸ προτεθεῖν 5 οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀπείρων, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῶν μελετησάντων ἐκτελούμενον.

4 προτεθεῖν Niebuhr [προστεθεῖν cod.

### 4. (*Exc. de Sent.* 18)

Ὅτι πᾶν ἔργον κρεῖττον ἀπορρήτως στρατηγούμενον· ὅστις δὲ ἐν πολέμῳ κρύπτει τὰ πλείονα, κρεῖττων ἐστὶν ἢ ὁ μετ' ἔργων θρασυτήτος φανερώς ἐπιών.

(Zosimus 3,10,1 - 11,2)

## Liber IV

### 24

#### (*Exc. de Leg. Gent.* 3)

Ὅτι μετὰ τὴν Ἰουλιανοῦ τῆς βασιλείας ἀναγόρευσιν πρεσβεῖαι πανταχόθεν συνέβαινον καὶ στέφανοι πολλοὶ χρυσοῖ [οἱ] αὐτῶ παρὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἀνεκομίζοντο. ἐνταῦθα καὶ οἱ τὴν Ἰωνίαν οἰκοῦντες ἔτυχον ὅσων ἐδεήθησαν, καὶ πλειόνων ἢ ἐλασσόνων, Λυδοὶ δὲ καὶ 5 εὐχῆς κρεῖττον ἔπραττον, Εὐναπίου μὲν τοῦ ῥήτορος ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν πρεσβεύοντος, εὐημερήσαντος δὲ οὕτω κατὰ τὴν πρεσβείαν ὥστε καὶ δίκη τιμὴ περιμαχίτῳ συνειπεῖν, ἢ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτὸν ἐκέλευεν· ὁ δὲ ἐνίκα καὶ τὴν δίκην· καὶ ἐκ Κλαζομενῶν δὲ Πείσων εὐδοκίμει λέγων.

2 οἱ add. Niebuhr

(Zosimus 3,11,2)

many people. Thus, writing to a certain Cyllenius, who was explaining these events, he both censures him for distorting the truth and describes what really happened. He says that his achievements do not lack one to report them, pointing out that Palamedes did not need Homer to gain him fame, and, in his pride, criticises others' accounts of his own deeds. Nevertheless, impelled to describe them himself by the greatness of what was done, he produces of his own accord not a simple narrative, but a high-spirited and brilliant encomium of himself. He also celebrates these things in his letters to many persons.<sup>44</sup>

### 3. (*Exc. de Sent.* 17)

It is always the case that amongst ignorant people numbers prevail, whereas with the knowledgeable it is training. For those who have skill are not confronted by unforeseen happenings, whereas for the unskilled accidents infest the terrain, just as in other disciplines we observe the ignorant missing their goal and those who are practised achieving it.

### 4. (*Exc. de Sent.* 18)

Every action is better planned by the generals in secret. In war whoever conceals more is stronger than one who is over-bold in his actions and makes his advance known to all.<sup>45</sup>

(Zosimus 3,10,1 - 11,2)

## Book IV

### 24

#### (*Exc. de Leg. Gent.* 3)

After Julian had been proclaimed Augustus embassies came to him from everywhere, and many golden crowns were brought to him from the provinces. On that occasion the inhabitants of Ionia had all their requests granted both large or small, and the Lydians achieved more than they had sought. The latter's envoy was the rhetor Eunapius, and he was so successful with his embassy that, at the Emperor's command, he also spoke on behalf of a contentious lawsuit and won that too. Moreover, Piso from Clazomenae won fame for his speech.<sup>46</sup>

(Zosimus 3,11,2)

[1. (*Suda* I 437)]

Ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰουλιανὸν πολλαὶ δίκαι ἐχώρουν, χανδὸν ἐμφορου-  
μένων τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῆς δικαιοσύνης τοῦ κρίνοντος· ἀναβολαὶ τε  
οὐκ ἦσαν ἐπ' αὐταῖς, ὅσαι νόμιμον ἐκ τῶν συνήθων γραμμάτων τὸ  
ἀδικον ἰσχουσιν εἰς βοήθειαν τῶν ἀδικούντων καὶ προεληφρότων·  
ἀλλ' ἡ παραχρήμα ἔδει τὸ ἴσον ἐλέγχεσθαι κατὰ φύσιν, ἢ τὸ μέλλον  
καὶ διωδόμενον εἰς τὸν χρόνον ὑποπτον ἦν. βαρὺς μὲν οὖν καὶ  
λυπηρὸς ἐτύγχανε, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε καὶ τὸ τῶν πονηρῶν ἔθνος καὶ  
ἀδικούντων διηγείρετο· οὐ γὰρ ἀδικεῖν ἐξῆν, οὐδὲ λανθάνειν ἀδι-  
κοῦσι. βαρύτερον δὲ αὐτὸν ἀπεδείκνυε τοῖς μοχθηροῖς καὶ τὸ εὐ-  
πρόσοδον. οἱ γὰρ προΐοντες μὲν πολλάκις διὰ τὰς ἱερομηνίας καὶ  
θυσιᾶς, ἡμέρου δὲ φύσει πρὸς πᾶσαν ἔντευξιν τυγχάνοντες, ἀκώλυτον  
τοὺς δεομένους λόγου τυχεῖν. ὁ μὲν οὖν ἐλάχιστον τῆς ὑπὸ τῶν  
πονηρῶν ταύτης βλασφημίας τε καὶ ὀργῆς ἡσθάνετο καὶ ἐφρόντιζε.]

2. (*Vit. Soph.* 9,1,3)

Τουσκίανου δὲ μνησθῆναι καλόν. καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ἐκείνου μετέσχε  
τῆς ὀμλίας, ἀλλὰ τούτου μὲν καὶ ἐν τοῖς κατὰ Ἰουλιανὸν ἐμνήσθημεν  
διεξοδικοῖς.

3. (*Exc. de Sent.* 19)

Ὅτι <δ> κυνικὸς Ἡράκλειος ἀκροασόμενον ἐκάλει τὸν Ἰου-  
λιανὸν ὡς ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν ὠφελήσων αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ θαυμάσας τὸ τῆς  
ὑποσχέσεως ὕψος ἐτοίμως ὑπήκουσεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ παρὰ δόξαν ἀπήν-  
τησεν, ὁ Ἰουλιανὸς ἀντιγράψας λόγον τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν ἐξέφηνε  
καὶ τὸ τῆς φύσεως ἀνυπέρβλητον. οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες καταπλαγέντες  
τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ λόγου καθάπερ θεοῦ προσεκίνησαν τὴν φιλανθρω-  
πίαν, ὅτι τὸν βασιλικὸν θυμὸν διέλυσε λογικῇ φιλοτιμίᾳ. ὁ δὲ καὶ  
ἐτέρω λόγῳ τὸν αὐτὸν κυνικὸν ἐτίμησεν.

1 ὁ add. Dindorf Ἡράκλειος Μαί (cf. *Fr.* 34,3) [*Ἡράκλειτος* cod.]

4. (*Suda* Υ 175)

Εὐνάπιος· Μάξιμός τε καὶ Πρίσκος λόγου μὲν μετεχέτην, τῆς  
δὲ τῶν κοινῶν καὶ ὑπαίθρων πραγμάτων πείρας ἐλάχιστον.

[5. (*Suda* Σ 63)]

Ὅτι Σαλούστιος, ὁ τῆς αὐλῆς ἑπαρχος ἐπὶ Ἰουλιανοῦ, ἀνὴρ  
ἦν διαφερόντως περιττὸς εἰς φιλανθρωπίαν· ὥ γε τοσοῦτον ἡμερό-  
τητος καὶ πραότητος ὑπῆρχεν εἰς ἅπαντας, ὥστε καὶ τὸν Μάρκελλον

[1. (*Suda* I 437)]

Many lawsuits were brought before Julian, because men eagerly  
enjoyed his fairness as a judge. There were no deferrals granted on those  
grounds which, using the usual rescripts to confer legality upon an in-  
justice, help those who have illegally taken prior possession of another's  
property. But either the natural justice of the case had to be proven  
immediately or an attempt for deferral to a future date was regarded  
with suspicion. Therefore he was a harsh and grievous judge, and the  
tribe of villains and criminals was agitated by these things. For they  
were not permitted to commit wrong, and, if they did, they did not  
escape punishment. Moreover, his accessibility was even more trouble-  
some for evil-doers. For instance, since he often went out amongst the  
public during festivals and sacrifices, and since he was naturally affable  
to all whom he met, those who needed to speak with him could do so  
unhindered. He took very little notice of, or thought for, the angry  
curses of the wrongdoers which resulted from this practice.]<sup>47</sup>

2. (*Vit. Soph.* 9,1,3)

It is proper that mention be made of Tuscianus, since he, too, was  
one of the group around [Julian of Cappadocia]. But I have already re-  
marked him in the narrative on [the Emperor] Julian in my History.<sup>48</sup>

3. (*Exc. de Sent.* 19)

The Cynic Heracleius invited Julian to attend his lecture, saying  
that he would help Julian as Emperor. Julian was amazed at this high  
promise and readily went to hear him. But when his expectations were  
disappointed, he wrote a speech against Heracleius demonstrating his  
own powers and his unsurpassed natural gifts. Those who listened to  
the speech were awed by its power and they worshipped his clemency  
as if it were divine, in that he had sated his royal anger by taking  
revenge in a speech. Julian punished the same Cynic in another speech  
also.<sup>49</sup>

4. (*Suda* Υ 175)

Maximus and Priscus both had their share of wisdom, but very  
little experience of politics and public affairs.

[5. (*Suda* Σ 63)]

Salustius, the pretorian prefect [of the East] under Julian, was a  
man of outstanding and remarkable clemency. He was so kindly and  
merciful to all that when that Marcellus, who had behaved so high-

ἐκεῖνον, τὸν, ἥνικα ἦν Καῖσαρ, ὕβριστικῶς αὐτῷ χρησάμενον, πάνυ περιδεῖ ὄντα διὰ τὰ προγεγενημένα, καίτοι τοῦ παιδὸς ἐλεγχθέντος ἐπανίστασθαι διὰ τὴν πρὸς Κωνσταντίον φιλίαν, τῷ νεανίσκῳ τὴν δίκην ἐπέθηκε, τὸν δὲ Μάρκελλον καὶ διαφερόντως ἐτίμησε. 5  
(Cf. Π 1326)]

(Zosimus 3,11,3)

## 26

1. (*Vit. Soph.* 16,1,9)

Μνήμην μὲν οὖν αὐτῷ τὴν πρέπουσαν κὰν τοῖς βιβλίοις ταῖς κατὰ τὸν Ἰουλιανὸν ἢ γραφῇ πεποιήται, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἑκάστον νῦν ἐπεξελεύσεται.

[2. (*Suda* Λ 486)]

Ὁ δὲ Ἰουλιανὸς καίπερ τοσούτοις ἐμβεβηκῶς, τῆς τε περὶ λόγους ἥπτετο φιλοτιμίας, καὶ τὸν τῆς Ἀντισχείας σοφιστὴν, ὃν Λιβάνιος ὄνομα, διαφερόντως ἐθαύμασε, τὰ μὲν ἴσως ἐπαυῶν, τὰ δὲ ὅπως λυποῖ τὸν μέγαν σοφιστὴν Προαφέρσιον, προτιμῶν ἕτερον. 5 Ἀκάκιος γοῦν τις αὐτῷ τῶν περὶ τὴν ῥητορικὴν δεωῶν καὶ ὁ ἐκ Φρυγίας Τουσκιανὸς αἰεὶ πρὸς ταῦτα ἐπεκάλουν καὶ διεμέμνοντο τὰς κρίσεις. (Cf. A 784, Π 2375, T 835)]

(Zosimus 3,11,3-5)

## Liber V

## 27

1. (*Exc. de Sent.* 20)

Ὅτι τῷ Ἰουλιανῷ ἤκμαζεν ὁ πρὸς Πέρσας πόλεμος, τὰς τε Σκυθικὰς κινήσεις ὥσπερ ἐν κωφῷ κρυπτομένας ἔτι κύματι συνετίθει πόρρωθεν ἢ θεοκλυτῶν ἢ λογιζόμενος. λέγει οὖν ἐπιστέλλων, “Σκύθαι δὲ νῦν μὲν ἀτρεμοῦσιν, ἴσως δὲ οὐκ ἀτρεμήσουσιν”. ἐς 5 τοσόνδε ἐξικνεῖτο χρόνος ἢ τῶν μελλόντων αὐτῷ πρόνοια ὥσθ’ ὅτι τὸν ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ μόνον καιρὸν ἡσυχάσουσι προγνωσκει.

2-3 συνετίθει [συνενδοει Boissevain]

2. (*Suda* Οἰ 183)

Εὐνάπιος· οἱ δὲ τῶν Πάρθων οἰούνας ἀσπίδας ἔχοντες καὶ κράνη οἰοῦνα πλοκὴν τινα πάτριον πεπλεγμένα.

3. (*Exc. de Sent.* 21)

Ὅτι <τὸ> πρὸ Κτησιφῶντος πεδίων ὀρχήστραν πολέμου

1 τὸ add. Niebuhr

handedly towards him when he had been Caesar, was now altogether panic-stricken over what he had done, although his son had been proven guilty of plotting rebellion as a supporter of Constantius, while condemning the young man to death, he honoured Marcellus highly.<sup>50</sup>  
(Cf. Π 1326)]

(Zosimus 3,11,3)

## 26

1. (*Vit. Soph.* 16,1,9)

Although the books on Julian in my History offered a fitting notice on [Libanius], I shall now run through his career in detail.

[2. (*Suda* Λ 486)]

Julian, although he was busy with such important matters, had a strong desire for a reputation as a speaker. He expressed great admiration for the Antiochene sophist, Libanius. On the one hand, his praise was perhaps genuine, but, on the other, his purpose was to grieve the great sophist Prohaeresius by expressing preference for another. At any rate, Acacius, a man skilled in rhetoric, and the Phrygian Tuscianus always accused him of this and criticised his opinions.

(Cf. A 784, Π 2375, T 835)]

(Zosimus 3,11,3-5)

## Book V

## 27

1. (*Exc. de Sent.* 20)

In the middle of his war with the Persians Julian, either as a result of asking the gods or by using his own reasoning, foresaw from afar the Scythian disturbances, which were still concealed, as it were, in murky water. He says to someone in a letter, “The Scythians are now quiet, perhaps they will not remain quiet”. His foreknowledge reached so far into the future that he knew that they would only keep quiet during his time.<sup>51</sup>

2. (*Suda* Οἰ 183)

Some of the Parthians, having wicker shields and helmets woven after the native fashion . . .<sup>52</sup>

3. (*Exc. de Sent.* 21)

Having made the plain before Ctesiphon a dance-floor of war, to

πρότερον ἀποδείξας, ὡς ἔλεγεν Ἐπαμινώνδας, Διονύσου σκηνὴν ἐπεδείκνυ Ἰουλιανός, ἀνέσεις τῶς τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ ἡδονὰς πορίζόμενος.

[4. (*Suda* Γ 484)

ἽΟ δὲ Ἰουλιανὸς ἐν Πέρσαις ὦν γυμνικοὺς ἀγῶνας ἤγε.  
(Cf. E 322, H 45)]

5. (*Exc. de Sent.* 22)

ἽΟτι τοσαύτη ἐν τοῖς προαστείαις Κτησιφώντος ἀφθονία τῶν ἐπιτηδεύων ἦν ὥστε τὴν περιουσίαν κίνδυνον τοῖς στρατιώταις φέρειν μήποτε ὑπὸ τρυφῆς διαφθαρῶσιν.

6. (*Exc. de Sent.* 23)

ἽΟτι ἔοικε τὸ ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἄλλως ἐπίφορον εἶναι καὶ κάταντες πρὸς τὸ βάσκανον. καὶ αἱ στρατιώται οὐκ ἔχοντες ὅπως ἐπαυῶσιν ἀξίως τὰ πραττόμενα, “τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς” φασὶν “ἐκρῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου”, στρατηγικός τις καὶ περιττός εἰς φρόνησιν ἕκαστος εἶναι βουλόμενος. καὶ τοῖς μὲν ὕλη τις ὑπὴν φλυαρίας· ὁ δὲ τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐχόμενος λογισμῶν ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκείαν ἀνέστρεφεν.

3 φασὶν Niebuhr [φησί cod.

[7. (*Suda* I 437)

ἽΕστι δὲ καὶ ὁ χρησμὸς ὁ δοθεὶς αὐτῷ, ὅτε περὶ Κτησιφώντα διῆγεν·

Γηγενέων ποτὲ φύλον ἐνήρατο μητιέτα Ζεὺς,  
ἐχθίστον μακάρεσσιν Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσι.  
Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς, Ἰουλιανὸς θεοειδής,  
μαρνάμενος Περσῶν πόλιν καὶ τείχεα μακρὰ  
ἀγχεμαχῶν διέπερσε πυρὶ κρατερῷ τε σιδήρῳ,  
νωλεμέως δὲ δάμασσε καὶ ἔθνεα πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα,  
ὅρρα καὶ ἐσπερίων ἀνδρῶν Ἀλαμανικὸν οὐδας  
ὑσμναις πυκνωῶσιν ἐλῶν ἀλάπαξεν ἀρούρας.

(Cf. *Anth. Pal.* 14,148)]

8. (*Suda* I 311)

Εὐνάπιος· τότε δὲ ἴλη τῶν καταφράκτων ἱππέων ὑπὲρ τοὺς υ' ἐς τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας κατερράγη.

(Zosimus 3,19-29)

28

1. (*Exc. de Sent.* 24)

ἽΩσπερ δὲ ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ τοσούτων ἐπικειμένων ἄρχοντος δέοντος τὸ στρατόπεδον τὴν αἵρεσιν περιεσκόπει. καὶ καθάπερ

use Epaminondas' phrase, Julian then put on a Dionysian scene, providing the soldiers with relaxation and enjoyment.<sup>53</sup>

[4. (*Suda* Γ 484)

Julian, while in Persia, gave athletic games.<sup>54</sup>  
(Cf. E 322, H 45)]

5. (*Exc. de Sent.* 22)

The great abundance of supplies in the suburbs of Ctesiphon raised the danger that the soldiers would be ruined by excess.

6. (*Exc. de Sent.* 23)

It seems, besides, that mankind is prone to envy. The soldiers, not having the wherewithal to give due praise to what was being done, “Judged the Achaeans”, as they say, “from the tower”, each wishing to seem a man of strategy and extraordinary wisdom; and they found evidence to support their foolishness. But he, holding to the calculations which he had made at the beginning, turned back towards home territory.<sup>55</sup>

[7. (*Suda* I 437)

There is also the oracle which was given to him in the neighbourhood of Ctesiphon:

“Once all-wise Zeus slew the race of the Earth-born  
Most hateful to the blessed gods who live on Olympus.  
The king of the Romans, god-like Julian,  
Warring at close quarters with the cities of the Persians  
And their long walls, has destroyed them with fire  
And strong steel, and has ceaselessly conquered  
Many tribes and others. And often in battles  
Seizing the lands of the men of the West,  
He has ravaged the fertile fields of the Alamanni.”

(Cf. *Anth. Pal.* 14,148)]

8. (*Suda* I 311)

Then a squadron of heavy cavalry over four hundred strong crashed into the rearguard.<sup>56</sup>

(Zosimus 3,19-29)

28

1. (*Exc. de Sent.* 24)

Since the army, in the middle of a war and confronted by such grave dangers, needed a leader, they began to consider their choice. Just

<οί> ἰατρικοί φασι καταδήλων γενομένων δυεῖν ἀλγυμάτων τὸ  
 ἔλαττον ὑπὸ τοῦ σφοδροτέρου λύεσθαι, οὕτω καὶ τότε θεωρεῖν ἐξῆν  
 ὡς τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τοῦ κατὰ τὸν βασιλέα πάθους ὁ τοῦ πολέμου φόβος  
 5 παρὰ πόδας ἐστὼς καταμαραίνων ἀπήμβλυνεν. τὸ μὲν γὰρ γεγε-  
 νημένον ἦν φανερόν, τὸ δὲ ὅπως εἶκαζε μὲν ἄλλος ἄλλως, ἡπίστατο  
 δὲ οὐδὲ εἷς. πλὴν ἐν τούτῳ γε ᾗδεσαν ὡς αἰρεῖσθαι προσήκέν σφισιν  
 ἄρχοντα. εἰ δὲ καὶ πλῆθος ἦσαν, τοῦτο γοῦν ἡπίσταντο σαφῶς ὅτι  
 10 ἄρχαντος μὲν εὐπορήσουσι, τοιοῦτον δέ, οὐδὲ εἰ πλάττοι θεός, εὐ-  
 ρήσουσιν, ὅς γε διὰ φύσεως ἐξουσίαν καὶ τὸ ἰσομέγεθες τῷ θεῷ  
 ἀγωγῆς τε ἀνάγκην ἐξεβιάσατο πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον ἔλκουσαν, καὶ ἐκ  
 τοσούτων ἀνενεγκῶν κυμάτων οὐρανὸν τε εἶδε καὶ ἐπέγνω τὰ ἐν  
 αὐτῷ καλὰ, τοῖς τε ἀσωμάτοις ὠμίλησε σῶμα ἔχων ἔτι, καὶ βασι-  
 15 λεΐας τε ἔτυχεν οὐχ ὅτι καὶ ἦρα βασιλείας, ἀλλ' ὅτι τὸ ἀνθρώπειον  
 ἐώρα δεομένους βασιλεύεσθαι, φιλοστρατιώτης τε ἦν διαφερόντως,  
 οὐχ ὅτι ἐβούλετο δημαγωγεῖν, ἀλλ' ὅτι τοῦτο ἡπίστατο τοῖς κοινοῖς  
 συμφέρεω.

3 καταδήλων Niebuhr [καταδύτων Mai κατὰ ταῦτόν van Herwerden  
 κατα . . . ὦν legit Boissevain 9 ἄρχοντα Boissevain [ἄρχοντας cod.]

2. (Exc. de Sent. 25)

ἽΟτι πρὸς τὸν Ὀριβάσιον εἰπόντα ὡς οὐ χρὴ τὸν θυμὸν, κἀν  
 ἐπεισπέσῃ, διὰ τῶν ὁμμάτων καὶ τῆς φωνῆς ἐκφορεῖσθαι, “ὄρα  
 τοίνυν” εἶπεν “ἐπειδὴ καλῶς λέγεις, εἰ τοῦτο ἐγκαλέσεις ἔτι  
 δεύτερον”.

2 ἐπεισίῃ edd.

3. (Exc. de Sent. 26)

ἽΟτι φασὶν Ἀλεξάνδρου θειάζοντος ἑαυτὸν ἐκ Διὸς Ὀλυμπιάδα  
 θρυπτομένην φάσκεω, “οὐ παύσεται τὸ μειράκιον διαβάλλον με πρὸς  
 τὴν Ἥραν;”

4. (Exc. de Sent. 27)

ἽΟτι προσαγορεύων ὁ θεὸς τὸν Ἰουλιανὸν φησιν,  
 ὦ τέκος ἀρμελάταο θεοῦ, μεδέοντος ἀπάντων.

5. (Exc. de Sent. 28)

ἽΟτι ὁ Ἰουλιανὸς ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ἴδιον <πατέρα> ἀνακαλεῖ  
 τὸν ἥλιον, οὐχ ὥσπερ Ἀλέξανδρος διαβάλλεσθαι φάσκων πρὸς τὴν  
 Ἥραν ὅτι Ὀλυμπιάς αὐτὸν ἐκ Διὸς ἀνελομένη τοῦτο οὐκ ἀπεκρύ-  
 πτετο, ἀλλ' οὗτός γε ἐπὶ ταῖς τοῦ θεοῦ μαρτυρίαις αἰωρούμενος ἐς  
 τὸν Πλάτωνα ὑποφέρεται, ὥσπερ ὁ ἐκείνου Σωκράτης φησὶ “μετὰ  
 5

1 πατέρα add. Mai 2 διαβάλλεται edd.

as, according to doctors, when two pains appear the lesser is eased by  
 the worse, so then, too, one could observe how fear of the enemy, who  
 was at their heels, weakened and dulled the enormous grief they felt for  
 their Emperor. What had happened was clear. How it happened, there  
 were various theories; no one knew. But this one thing they knew, that  
 they had to choose a leader. Even though they were an ignorant mob,  
 they at least realised clearly that though they would have plenty of  
 leaders they would not find an equal of Julian, even if God created one  
 for them. For he, through the strength of his personality and his  
 stature, as great as that of God, extirpated from himself that governing  
 force of life which drags men down and, raising himself up from deep,  
 deep waters, beheld the heavens and the beauty therein and, though  
 himself clothed in flesh, held converse with the incorporeal spirits.  
 He became Emperor not because he really lusted after kingship but  
 because he observed that mankind needed a ruler; and he was ex-  
 ceedingly solicitous for his soldiers not because he sought common  
 popularity but because he knew that this was to the advantage of the  
 state.<sup>57</sup>

2. (Exc. de Sent. 25)

Oribasius said to him that even if he felt anger he should not  
 show it in his eyes or his voice, to which Julian replied, “You are right.  
 See if you will have to criticise me again”.<sup>58</sup>

3. (Exc. de Sent. 26)

They say that when Alexander proclaimed that he was Zeus’ son,  
 Olympias quailed and said, “Will this boy not stop slandering me before  
 Hera?”

4. (Exc. de Sent. 27)

They say that the god spoke thus to Julian:  
 “O child of the charioteer god, ruler of all”.

5. (Exc. de Sent. 28)

Julian in his letters calls the Sun his own father, not in the sense  
 that Alexander made his false claim, saying to Hera that Olympias,  
 having conceived him of Zeus, did not conceal the fact. But, relying  
 upon the evidence of the god, he looks towards Plato and says, like  
 Plato’s Socrates, “We are with Zeus, others are with another god”.

μὲν Διὸς ἡμεῖς, ἄλλοι <δὲ> μετ' ἄλλου του θεῶν", ταύτην καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν ἡλιακὴν βασιλείαν τινὰ καὶ χρυσὴν σειρὰν ἀναφέρων καὶ συναπτόμενος.

6. δὲ add. Niebuhr e Plat. *Phaedr.* 250B

6. (*Exc. de Sent.* 29)

Ἀλλ' ὅποτε σκῆπτροισι τεοῖς Περσῶν αἶμα  
ἄχρι Σελευκείης κλονέων ξιφείσσι δαμάσσης,  
δὴ τότε σὲ πρὸς Ὀλυμπον ἄγει πυριλαμπὲς ὄχημα  
ἀμφὶ θυελλεῖσι κυκώμενον ἐν στροφάλιγξι,  
λυσάμενον βροτέων ρεθέων πολὺτλητον ἀνίην.  
ἦξεις δ' αἰθερίου φάος πατρώων αὐλήν,  
ἐνθεν ἀποπλαγχθεὶς μεροπήμιον ἐς δέμας ἡλθες.

τούτοις ἀρθέντα τοῖς ἔπεσιν αὐτὸν καὶ λογίοις μάλα ἡδέως φησὶν ἀπολιπεῖν τὸ θνητὸν καὶ ἐπικάμειον. πρόκειται δὲ τῶν λογίων ἄλλαι τινὲς εὐχαί τε καὶ θυσίαι περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς, ὥς ἐκείνῳ μὲν δρᾶν ἀναγκαῖον ἦν ἰσως, ἐς δὲ ἱστορικὸν τύπον καὶ βάρος φέρειν οὐκ ἦν εὐλογον· τὸ γὰρ καθ' ἕκαστα <γράφειν> οὐκ ἦν ἀλήθειαν τιμῶντος, ἀλλὰ διὰ πολυπραγμοσύνην εἰς λήρον ἀποφερομένου καὶ παρολισθανόντος. (Cf. *Suda* I 437)

1 ὅποτε *Suda* I 437 4 θυελλεῖσι *Suda* στροφάλιγξι *Suda*  
[στροφαλίξει *Exc.* 5 λυσάμενον [ρίψαντα *Suda* ρεθέων *Suda* [ροθέων *Exc.*  
9 ἐπικάμειον [ἐπὶ κληρον *Dindorf* 12 γράφειν add. Niebuhr

7. (*Vit. Soph.* 7.4,10)

Ὡς δὲ τὰ πράγματα συντόνως ἀπὸ τῶν μεγάλων ἐκείνων καὶ λαμπρῶν ἐλπίδων ἐς τὸ ἀφανὲς καὶ ἄμορφον κατερράγη καὶ διωλίσθησεν, ὥς ἐν τοῖς διεξοδικοῖς τοῖς κατὰ Ἰουλιανὸν εἴρηται . . .

2 κατερράγη codd. [κατερρήνη Cobet

(*Zosimus* 3,29,1 - 30,1)

29

[1. (*Suda* I 401)

Οὗτος μετὰ Ἰουλιανὸν ἦρξεν· ὃς ἡνῖκα Ἰουλιανὸς αἵρεσιν τοῖς στρατευομένοις ἐτίθει, θύειν ἢ ἀποστρατεύεσθαι, μᾶλλον τὴν ζώην ἀποθέσθαι ἐβούλετο. ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐς Νίσιβιν πόλιν πολυάνθρωπον δύο μόνον ἡμερῶν ἐνδιατρίψας αὐτῇ, ὅσα περ εἶχε χρήματα κατανόησε τοῖς ἐνοικοῦσι μηδενὸς μεταδούς ἢ λόγου φιλανθρώπου ἢ πράξεως ἀγαθῆς· ἀνθρώπος οὐ δι' ἀρετὴν οἰκείαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς δόξαν ἐς τοσοῦτον ἀρχῆς προελθὼν. ἦν μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ παντάπασιν ἀσθενὴς τὸ σῶμα οὔτε πολεμικοῖς ἔργοις ἀγύμναστος· ἀμελέτητος δὲ ὢν καὶ ἀγευστος παιδεύσεως, καὶ ἦν εἶχε φύσιν διὰ ραθυμίαν

This is the golden chain which he casts up and attaches to the kingdom of the Sun.<sup>59</sup>

6. (*Exc. de Sent.* 29)

"But having driven the Persian race headlong with your  
Back to Seleucia conquered by your sword, [sceptre  
A fire-bright chariot whirled amidst storm-clouds  
Shall take you to Olympus freed from your body  
And the much-enduring misery of man.  
Then you shall come to your father's halls  
of heavenly light, from which you wandered  
Into a human frame of mortality."

They say that, elated by these words and their prophecy, he most eagerly abandoned this mortal and transitory existence. This prophecy was preceded by certain other prayers and sacrifices to the gods, which it was perhaps necessary for him to perform, but which are not appropriate for inclusion in a serious formal history. For to include every detail is not the action of one who respects the truth, but of one who is carried away by idle curiosity and slips into empty prattle.<sup>60</sup>  
(Cf. *Suda* I 437)

7. (*Vit. Soph.* 7.4,10)

But when the expedition after its high and bright hopes suddenly collapsed into obscurity and shapelessness and slipped away, as I have described in the narrative on Julian in my History . . .

(*Zosimus* 3,29,1 - 30,1)

29

[1. (*Suda* I 401)

He [Jovian] reigned after Julian. When Julian gave the soldiers the choice of sacrificing to the gods or leaving the army, he preferred to resign.<sup>61</sup> Coming to Nisibis, a rich and populous city, he remained there only for two days, using up all its resources and having neither a kindly word nor a good deed for the inhabitants.<sup>62</sup> He was a man who had been made Emperor not as a result of his own qualities but because of the reputation of his father. For although he was not wholly lacking in bodily strength or experience in war, he was untrained and uneducated, and by his laziness he obscured and impaired what natural

ἡμαῦρου καὶ ἡράνιζεν. οὗτος μετὰ Ἰουλιανόν, ὡς εἴρηται, τῆς 10  
 Ῥωμαίων βασιλείας ἐγκρατὴς γενόμενος, πάντων καταφρονήσας  
 ἐσπούδαζε τοῦ συμβάντος αὐτῷ ἀξιώματος ἀπολαῦσαι, καὶ φεύγων  
 ἐκ Περσίδος ἐσπευδε γενέσθαι τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν ἐθνῶν ἐντὸς εἰς  
 ἐπίδειξιν τῆς τύχης, καὶ τὴν Νίσιβιν πόλιν τοῖς Πέρσαις, πάλαι 15  
 Ῥωμαίοις οὖσαν κατήκοον, ἐκδίδωσιν. ἀπέσκηπτον οὖν αὐτὸν ὥδαῖς  
 καὶ παρυδαῖς καὶ τοῖς καλουμένοις φαμώσσοις, διὰ τὴν τῆς Νισί-  
 βιδος προδοσίαν. ὁ δὲ Ἰοβιανός, ἐκ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ κωηθεὶς τὸν  
 ὑπὸ Ἀδριανοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως κτισθέντα ναὸν χαριέστατον ἐς ἀπο-  
 θέωσιν τοῦ πατρὸς Τραϊανοῦ, παρὰ δὲ τοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ κατασταθέντα 20  
 βιβλιοθήκην εὐνούχῳ τινὶ Θεοφίλῳ, κατέφλεξε σὺν πᾶσιν οἷς εἶχε  
 βιβλίους, αὐτῶν τῶν παλλακίδων ὑραπτουσῶν μετὰ γέλωτος τὴν  
 πυράν. οἱ δὲ Ἀντιοχεῖς ἡγανάκτησαν κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως . . . καὶ τὰ  
 μὲν ἀπέρριπτον τῶν βιβλίων ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος, ὥστε ἀναίρεσθαι τὸν  
 βουλόμενον καὶ ἀναγώσκειν, τὰ δὲ τοῖς τοίχοις προσεκόλλιζον.  
 ἦν δὲ τοιαῦτα· ἡλυθες ἐκ πολέμου, ὡς ὤφρελες αὐτόθ' ὀλέσθαι· καί, 25  
 Δύσπαρι, εἶδος ἀριστε· καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. καί, εἰ μὴ ἐγὼ σε λαβὼν ἀπὸ  
 μὲν φάλα εἴματα δύσω, χλαῖνάν τ' ἡδὲ χιτῶνα, τὰ τ' αἰδῶ ἀμρι-  
 καλύπτει, αὐτὸν δὲ κλαίοντα θοῶς ἐπὶ Πέρσας ἀρήσω. γραῦς δέ τις  
 μέγαν καὶ καλὸν αὐτὸν θεασαμένη μαθῶσά τε ἀνόητον εἶναι ἐφθέγ-  
 ξατο· ὅσον μῆκος καὶ βάθος ἡ μωρία. καὶ ἄλλος δὲ ἰδιώτης ἀπο- 30  
 τολμήσας, μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ βοήσας ἐν τῷ ἵπποδρομίῳ γέλωτα  
 παρέσχε πᾶσιν εἰπὼν κενὰ καὶ ψυχρὰ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἐπράχθη  
 ἂν ἄτοπα, εἰ μὴ Σαλούστιός τις ἔπαυσε τὴν στάσιν. ὁ δὲ Ἰοβιανός  
 χειμῶνος ὄντος ὥδοιπόρει ἐπὶ Κιλικίαν καὶ Γαλατίαν καὶ ἐν Δαδασ- 35  
 τάνοις ἀπέθανε μύκητα πεφαρμαγμένον φαγών. κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἡγε-  
 μονίαν κωδὸς καὶ ἐλευθέριος ἔδοξεν εἶναι.

(Cf. Φ 64; John of Antioch Fr. 181 = Exc. de Virt. 63)]

22 lacunam indicavi

[2. (Suda M 1306)

Μουσωνίος, ἐπὶ Ἰοβιανοῦ ἦν βασιλέως, πάντα, ὅσα ἦν ἀριστα,  
 μικρὰ ἐφάνετο πρὸς τὸν ὄγκον Μουσωνίου καὶ τὴν σὺν τῷ δραστηρίῳ  
 τῆς γνώμης βαθύτητα· δι' ἃ κατὰ λόγον εὐδοκιμῶν τὴν τε ἀλιτενῇ  
 χώραν τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπῆλθε, καὶ ὁ τὴν ἀνθύπατον καὶ μείζονα ἔχων 5  
 ἀρχὴν πρὸς τὰς ἐπιδημίας ἐξίστατο, κἀκεῖνος ἔπαυτα ἐπιῶν ἐν  
 ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις τὴν θάλασσαν ἐπλήρωσε τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας  
 εἰσφορῶν. ἐπεκάλει δὲ οὐδεὶς ἄδικον οὐδὲν τοῖς γνωμένοις· ἀλλὰ  
 παιδιὰ τις ἦν ἅπασιν τοῖς καταβάλλουσι τὰ εἰσφερόμενα· Εὐνάπιος  
 γὰρ ὁ ἐκ Φρυγίας ῥήτωρ ἐπεστάτει τοῖς πραττομένοις.]

(Zosimus 3,30,2 - 35,3)

talent he had. When, as I have said, he became Emperor of the Romans  
 after Julian, ignoring everything else in his eagerness to enjoy the rank  
 that had devolved upon him, he fled from Persia,<sup>63</sup> hurried to reach the  
 Roman provinces in order to publicise his elevation, and handed over to  
 the Persians the city of Nisibis, which had long been subject to the  
 Romans. Therefore, they<sup>64</sup> mocked him in ditties, parodies and in the  
 so-called *famosi* (lampoons) because of the abandonment of Nisibis.  
 Hadrian the Emperor had built a beautiful temple for the worship of his  
 father Trajan, which at Julian's orders the eunuch Theophilus had made  
 into a library. Jovian, at the urging of his wife, burned the temple with  
 all the books in it, his concubines laughing and setting the fire. The  
 Antiochians were angered at the Emperor . . .<sup>65</sup> and some of the pam-  
 phlets they threw on the ground so that whoever wished could pick  
 them up and read them, others they pasted up on walls. These said such  
 things as, "You came back from the war. You should have perished  
 there", and, "Ill-omened Paris, most handsome to look at", and so on,  
 including, "If I do not take you and strip your clothes from you, your  
 cloak and your tunic, which hide your shame, and send you off in haste  
 wailing to the land of the Persians".<sup>66</sup> A certain old woman, observing  
 that he was tall and handsome, but learning that he was stupid, declared,  
 "How high and deep is folly". In the hippodrome to the amusement of  
 all, another daring individual shouted out empty and insipid remarks  
 about his age, and trouble would have ensued had not a certain  
 Salustius<sup>67</sup> stopped the disturbance. Although it was winter, Jovian  
 took to the road to Cilicia and Galatia and died at Dadastana after  
 eating a poisoned mushroom.<sup>68</sup> As a leader he seems to have been  
 affable and open-handed.

(Cf. Φ 64; John of Antioch Fr. 181 = Exc. de Virt. 63)]

[2. (Suda M 1306)

Musonius, during the reign of the Emperor Jovian. Everything  
 that was best seemed diminished by comparison with the profundity  
 and liveliness of his thought. Therefore, since he was justifiably es-  
 teemed, he came to the coastal region of Asia, and the proconsul,  
 though he was the senior, stood aside for Musonius to make the official  
 visits. Musonius went to every place and within a few days filled the sea  
 with the contributions from Asia. No one alleged injustice against what  
 was happening, but all who paid the contributions found them child's  
 play. The rhetor Eunapius the Phrygian oversaw the transactions.<sup>69</sup>

(Zosimus 3,30,2 - 35,3)



## Liber VI

30

(Exc. de Sent. 30)

Ὅτι φησὶν ὁ Εὐνάπιος· περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν παλαιότερων καὶ ὅσα πρὸ ἡμῶν ἀνάγκη συγχωρεῖν τοῖς γράψασιν ἢ τοῖς περὶ ἐκεῖνων λόγοις εἰς ἡμᾶς κατὰ μνήμην ἀγραφον εἰς διαδοχὴν περιφερομένοις καὶ καθήκουσιν· ὅσα δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν γέγονεν, ἀλήθειαν τιμῶντι, καθά φησιν ὁ Πλάτων, παραδοτέον τοῖς ἐντυχάνουσιν.

5

2 *περὶ Niebuhr* [πρὸ cod.

31

1. (Exc. de Leg. Gent. 4)

Ὅτι Βαλεντινιανοῦ ἀνάρρησις ἐν Νικαίᾳ τῆς Βιθυνίας γίνεται, πρεσβεῖαί τε ὅσαι συνεπεφοιτήκεσαν ἐπὶ τοῦτον τοὺς χρυσοῦς ἔχουσαι στεφάνους πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἀνεφέροντο. καὶ πρὸς πάσας ἀπεφάνετο μὲν οὐδὲν ἐπιτρέχων ῥαδίως οὕτως καὶ συντόμως, ἐπηγγέλλετο δὲ ἅπασιν ὡς ποιήσων αὐτίκα μάλα.

5

2 τοῦτον codd. [τοῦτο de Boor 4 ἐπηγγέλλετο Niebuhr] ἀπήγγελλέ τι codd. ἐπηγγέλλετό τι de Boor, ἐπηγγέλλετο . . . ὡς τι Müller

(Zosimus 3,36,1 - 4,1,1)

32

(Zosimus 4,1,1 - 2,2)

33

(Zosimus 4,2,2 - 3,5)

34

1. (Exc. de Sent. 31)

Ὅτι Φίλιππος ὁ Μακεδὼν τὸ μέτρον ἰδὼν τοῦ σφετέρου σώματος (ἐν παλαίστρᾳ γὰρ ἐπεπτώκει), διαναστὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ πτώματος σώφρονα ἀφῆκε λόγον ὡς ὀλίγην κατασχίσων γῆν εἶτα ἐπιθυμοίῃ τῆς ἀπάσης.

2. (Exc. de Sent. 32)

Ὅτι τὸν Θησέα φασὶν οἱ παλαιοὶ ζηλωτὴν Ἡρακλέους γενόμενον μὲν καὶ τῆς μιμήσεως ἐκεῖνης ἀποκερδᾶναι.

## Book VI

30

(Exc. de Sent. 30)

In the case of persons and events before our generation, we must defer to the written authorities or to the reports about them which memory passes down to us via an oral tradition. But contemporary events we must hand down to posterity with due regard for truth, as Plato says.<sup>70</sup>

31

1. (Exc. de Leg. Gent. 4)

Valentinian was acclaimed at Nicaea in Bithynia, and the embassies which had set out bearing golden crowns for [Jovian] now brought them to him. To all he revealed nothing, so quickly and summarily did he deal with them, and he declared to all that he would very quickly take action.<sup>71</sup>

(Zosimus 3,36,1 - 4,1,1)

32

(Zosimus 4,1,1 - 2,2)

33

(Zosimus 4,2,2 - 3,5)

34

1. (Exc. de Sent. 31)

Philip of Macedon after a fall in the *palaestra* observed the size of his own body and, when he had gotten up from the fall, remarked wisely that though he now aimed to possess the whole earth, he would one day possess only a tiny part of it.<sup>72</sup>

2. (Exc. de Sent. 32)

The ancients say that Theseus, becoming the imitator of Heracles, reaped only a small benefit from this imitation.<sup>73</sup>

3. (*Exc. de Sent.* 33)

“Ὅτι τοῦ Προκοπίου τοῦ συγγενοῦς Ἰουλιανοῦ στασιάζαντος καὶ τυραννίδι ἐπιθεμένου Ἡράκλειος ὁ κυνικός προσελθὼν αὐτῷ καὶ κατακροτήσας εὖ μάλα τῇ βακτηρίᾳ τοῦδαφος, “ἄλκιμος ἔσσο” φησὺν “ἵνα τίς σε καὶ ὀψιγόνων εὖ εἴπῃ”.

3 ἔσσο Dindorf [ἔσο cod.

4. (*Exc. de Sent.* 34)

“Ὡςπερ οὖν οἱ φυσικοὶ φασὶ πάσης κινήσεως εἶναι τέλος ἀκίνησιον, ἢ ταῖς ἄλλαις κινήσεσι τὸ κνεῖσθαι δίδωσιν αὐτῇ μένουσα, οὕτως ἂν τις ὑπέλαβε καὶ τότε τὸν πρεσβύτερον Ἀρβιτίωνα παρατυχόντα τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἀτακτον καὶ κυματώδη φορὰν εἰς ὁμαλὸν καὶ λεῖον καταστορέσαι τοῦ λογισμοῦ πάθος· μικροῦ γὰρ ἐξέστη διὰ 5 δειλίαν τῶν κοινῶν πραγμάτων.

5. (*Suda* X 108)

Εὐνάπιος· ὁ δὲ Προκόπιος τοὺς χαριεστέρους ἀναλαβὼν, ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλέα Οὐάλεντα διὰ Φρυγίας συνηπείγετο.

2 συνηπείγετο Niebuhr [συνήπτετο codd.

[6. (*Suda* II 380)

Παραλλάττουσι δὲ ἀλλήλους τῷ διαστήματι τῶν ὁδῶν ψευσθέντες ὅ τε Προκόπιος καὶ Οὐάλης ὁ βασιλεὺς.]

[7. (*Suda* E 936)

Ἐμβάλλουσι δὲ ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς ἐς Λυδίαν ὁ δὲ Προκόπιος ἐς Φρυγίαν τὴν ἄνω.]

8. (*Suda* M 1048)

Καὶ Εὐνάπιος· μικροῦ τὰ πράγματα μετακινήσαντος Ὁρμίσθου τοῦ Πέρσου. (Cf. M 1056)

9. (*Exc. de Sent.* 35)

Μεγαλόψυχον γὰρ καὶ λίαν θεοειδὲς τὸ καὶ τῶν αἰτίων φείδασθαι, οὐκ ἔξω δὲ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως τὸ μὴ καὶ τῶν ἀναιτίων. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ξένον τῆς τιμωρίας λόγῳ γίνεται τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἵνα φόβῳ συνέχηται τὸ ἀρχόμενον· τὸ δὲ ὑπεροπτικὸν τῆς κολάσεως δι' ἀρετῆς ὑπεροχὴν γίνεται, ὥς τῆς βασιλικῆς ἀρχῆς διὰ μέγεθος καὶ ὄγκον ἀρκοῦσης ἑαυτῇ καὶ ἄνευ τιμωρίας. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν, ὅπῃ γνώμης 5 ἔχει τις καὶ κρίνει, οὕτως ἐχέτω.

10. (*Exc. de Sent.* 36)

“Ὅτι ὁ Ποσειδώνιος ἔλεγεν ἀπελθόντος Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸ στρατόπεδον εὐκέναι τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐκτετυρωμένων τῷ Κύκλωπι.

3. (*Exc. de Sent.* 33)

When Procopius, the kinsman of Julian, was in rebellion and aiming at usurpation, Heracleius the Cynic came before him and, striking the ground hard with his staff, said, “Be bold, so that someone of future generations might praise you”.<sup>74</sup>

4. (*Exc. de Sent.* 34)

Just as, according to the natural philosophers, the end of all movement is rest, which itself by its immobility imparts movement to other motions, so you might suppose that on that occasion the old Arbitio, who happened to be present, soothed the Emperor's state of mind from erratic indecision to calm and orderly rationality. For as a result of his timidity [Valens] was only a little way from losing his throne.<sup>75</sup>

5. (*Suda* X 108)

Procopius, receiving the more accomplished of them, moved through Phrygia to do battle with Valens.

[6. (*Suda* II 380)

Procopius and the Emperor Valens, mistakenly taking different roads, missed each other.]

[7. (*Suda* E 936)

The Emperor moved into Lydia, Procopius into Upper Phrygia.]

8. (*Suda* M 1048)

Hormisdas the Persian almost turned things around.<sup>76</sup>  
(Cf. M 1056)

9. (*Exc. de Sent.* 35)

It is magnanimous and very much a characteristic of God to spare even the guilty, while it is within human nature to condemn even the innocent. For the inflicting of unusual punishment springs from the rationale of power whose purpose is to constrain the subject by fear, whereas the omission of punishment derives from great virtue, in that the kingly power, in its greatness and majesty, depends upon itself without resort to punishment. But on these matters let each man judge for himself.<sup>77</sup>

10. (*Exc. de Sent.* 36)

Poseidonius said that when Alexander died the Macedonian army was like the blinded Cyclops.<sup>78</sup>



35

(Suda A1 179)

Αἰλιανός. οὗτος ἐπὶ Οὐάλεντος ἐστρατήγησεν· ἦν δὲ ἐκ  
 Συνέδρων, ἐλεύθερος ἄγαν καὶ ἀνεστηκώς ἐκ παιδὸς τὴν ψυχὴν  
 γενόμενος, ἀρθόνως ἐχορηγήθη τὰ παρὰ τοῦ σώματος. τὰ γὰρ  
 ὄργανα συνεπεπήγει καὶ ἐνέτρεχε τοῖς τῆς ψυχῆς κινήμασι, ὥσθ'  
 ἅμα τι πρᾶξαι ἐδέδοκτο καὶ ἐπέπρακτο· καὶ παιδείας οὔτε ἐντὸς ἦν  
 οὔτε ἁμοιρος, ἀλλ' ἦν ἀγροικότερος, καὶ τὸ θηριώδες τοῦ θυμοῦ καὶ  
 ἀγριον οὐκ ἐξημέρωτο καὶ κατείργαστο ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου.  
 (Cf. A 2329\*, Σ 1316)

3 παρὰ AGT [περί IVM

4 ἐνέτρεχε AFVM [ἐπέτρεχε GIT

36

(Zosimus 4,9)

37

(Exc. de Leg. Gent. 5)

Ὅτι τῷ βασιλεῖ Οὐάλεντι ἡσυχίαν ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκείων καὶ τῶν  
 ὀθνείων ἄγοντι τὸ ἐπιλεκτον ἀγγέλλεται τῶν Σκυθῶν στρατεύμα  
 πλησίον ἤδη που τυγχάνειν, οὗς ὁ Προκόπιος εἰς συμμαχίαν ἐξεκε-  
 κλήκει παρὰ τοῦ Σκυθῶν βασιλέως. γαῦρους εἶναι τὰ φρονήματα  
 ἔλεγον τοὺς προσιόντας καὶ περιμρονητικούς τῶν ὀρωμένων,  
 ὀλιγώρους τε πρὸς τὸ ἀκόλαστον μεθ' ὕβρεως καὶ πολὺ τὸ ἀγέρωχον  
 καὶ θερμὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσι ἔχοντας. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς συντόμως αὐτοὺς ἀπο-  
 τεμὼν τῆς ἐπὶ Σκύθας ὑποστροφῆς κατεῖχεν ἐντὸς ἀρκύων καὶ τὰ  
 ὄπλα παραδοῦναι κελεύσας. οἱ δὲ ἔδοσαν τὴν τῆς γνώμης ὑπεροψίαν  
 μέχρι τοῦ κηῖσαι τὰς κόμας ἐπιδειξάμενοι. διασπείρας οὖν αὐτοὺς  
 κατὰ τὰς πόλεις ἐν ἀδέσμῳ κατεῖχε φρουρᾷ, καὶ καταφρόνησιν ἐνε-  
 ποιεῖτο τοῖς θεωμένοις αὐτῶν τὰ σώματα πρὸς τε μήκος ἀχρεῖον  
 ἐλαυνόμενα καὶ βαρύτερα τοῖς ποσίν, κατὰ τε τὸ μέσον διεσφιγμένα,  
 ἥπερ φησὶν Ἀριστοτέλης τὰ ἔντομα. δεχόμενοι δ' οὖν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰς  
 οἰκίας οἱ τὰς πόλεις οἰκοῦντες καὶ περῶμενοι τῆς ἀσθενείας τὴν  
 ἑαυτῶν ἐξαπάτην γελᾶν ἠναγκάζοντο. τοὺς ἀπῆτει τοὺς γεναίους  
 ὁ Σκυθῶν βασιλεὺς. καὶ ἦν τὸ πρᾶγμα δρῦν καὶ πρὸς τὸν τοῦ  
 δικαίου λόγον οὐκ εὐδίαίτητον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἔφρασκε βασιλεῖ δεδωκέναι  
 κατὰ συμμαχίαν καὶ ὅρκους· ὁ δὲ ἀπέφρασκε βασιλέα μὴ τυγχάνειν  
 καὶ αὐτὸν οὐκ ὁμωμοκέναι. ἐκείνους δὲ προστιθέντος τὸν Ἰουλιανόν,

5 ὀρωμένων [Ῥωμαίων Bekker ὠρισμένων de Boor 10 κώμας Wytttenbach  
 14 δ' οὖν Valesius | δοῦναι A

35

(Suda A1 179)

Aelianus. He was general under Valens. From Syedrae, he was a  
 generous man, noble-spirited even from childhood and well-endowed  
 with physical gifts. His body was so well co-ordinated and responsive to  
 his will, that no sooner had he decided to do something than it was  
 done. He was neither well- nor un-educated, but he was a rough-hewn  
 man, and his natural ferocity and wildness were not fully under the  
 control of his reason.<sup>79</sup>  
 (Cf. A 2329\*, Σ 1316)

36

(Zosimus 4,9)

37

(Exc. de Leg. Gent. 5)

When the Emperor Valens was enjoying a respite from domestic  
 and foreign problems, it was announced to him that the levy of  
 Scythians, which Procopius had summoned to his aid from the Scythian  
 king, was now close at hand. The reports said that their attitude as they  
 advanced was one of arrogance and contempt towards everyone whom  
 they espied, and since this behaviour was only encouraged by failure to  
 call them to account, all suffered from their riotousness and indiscipline.  
 The Emperor, speedily cutting off their retreat to Scythia, caught them  
 in a trap and commanded them to surrender their weapons. This they  
 did, but they showed their arrogance even in the shaking of their hair.  
 Valens dispersed them around the cities, keeping them in free custody,  
 and aroused the scorn of those who observed their physique, which was  
 excessively tall, too heavy for their feet to bear, and pinched at the  
 waist like the insects that Aristotle describes. When the inhabitants of  
 the cities received them into their homes and realised their feebleness,  
 they were forced to laugh at their own mistake.<sup>80</sup> These wondrous men  
 the king of the Scythians demanded back. The issue was a contentious  
 one and not easily to be settled with justice. The Scythian king claimed  
 that he had sent his men to the Emperor under the terms of the treaty,  
 to which Valens replied that neither was Procopius Emperor nor was  
 there a treaty between him and the Scythians. The king then justified  
 his sending of assistance to Procopius on the ground of the latter's

καὶ ὅτι διὰ τὴν ἐκείνου δεδώκει συγγένειαν, . . . καὶ τὰ τῶν πρέσβων ἀξιώματα προστιθέντος, ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀντεφώνει, τοὺς τε πρέσβεις ἔχων τὴν δίκην καὶ τοὺς παρόντας ὡς πολεμίους κατέχεσθαι πολεμίῳ πρὸς συμμαχίαν ἦκοντας. ἐκ τούτων δὲ τῶν προφάσεων ὁ Σκυθικὸς ἀνεγείρεται πόλεμος, τῷ μὲν ἀξιώματι τῶν συνιόντων ἐθνῶν καὶ τοῖς μεγέθεσι τῶν παρασκευῶν ἐπὶ μέγα προβήσεσθαι καὶ χωρήσειν πολυτρόπων συμφορῶν καὶ ἀτεκμάρτου τύχης προσδοκηθεῖς, τῇ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως δξύτητι καὶ προνοίᾳ κατενεχθεῖς ἐπὶ τὸ σταθερὸν καὶ ἀσφαλέστερον.  
(Cf. *Suda* A 4332\*, Σ 982\*)

21 lac. unius fere pag. in A

(Zosimus 4,10-11)

### 38

(Zosimus 4,12)

### 39

1. (*Exc. de Sent.* 37)

Ὁ δὲ Θεόδωρος ὁ κατειλεγμένος τοῖς νοταρίοις ἐν δίκῃ ἐτιμᾶτο παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως· τό τε γὰρ εὖ γεγονέναι προσῆν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ εὖ πεφυκέναι πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἅπασαν, τό τε σῶμα συνήνθει ταῖς ἀρεταῖς, καὶ τὸ ἐπαφρόδιτον ἐν ταῖς συνουσίαις κόσμος ἐδόκει τῶν ἀρετῶν ἐμμελής τις εἶναι καὶ παναρμόνιος. ἀλλ' ἔλαθεν, ἢ φησὶ Ὅμηρος, ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων διαφθαρεῖς καλῶν. τὸ γὰρ ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ὅσοι περὶ στρατείας ἐπὶ τὰ κέρδη καὶ τὰς κοινὰς τύχας ἐπτοημένοι καὶ κεχηνότες, τὴν ἡμερότητα καταμαθόντες αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ πρὸς τὰς ὁμιλίας εὐκρατές καὶ πρόχειρον, ταχὺ μάλα τὴν ἄμαχον καὶ φοβερὰν καὶ τοῖς νοῦν ἔχουσι κολακείαν ὑποδύντες καὶ προβαλόμενοι καθάπερ ἐλέπολιν τινα καὶ μηχανὴν ἄφικτον, ἐξέωσαν τῶν ἀσφαλῶν καὶ σωτηρίων λογισμῶν τὸν νεανίσκον καὶ κατέσεισαν εἰς τὸν μανιώδη καὶ σφαλερὸν τῆς βασιλείας ἔρωτα.

[2. (*Suda* I 14)

Ἰάκωβος· οὕτως πίων φάρμακον ἐπὶ Οὐάλεντος ἐτελεύτησεν. ἦν δὲ ὁ συμβουλευσας αὐτῷ πιεῖν τὸ φάρμακον Λιβάνιος σοφιστής, διὰ τὸ ἐπιζητῆσαι τίς ὁ διαδεχόμενος τὴν βασιλείαν Οὐάλεντος.]

[3. (*Suda* E 3448)

Εὐετήριος· οὗτος ἦν ἐπὶ Ἰοβιάνου βασιλέως, ὃς διὰ μὲν παιδείαν καὶ φύσεως υπερβολὴν οὐδέν τι τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀποδέων, διὰ δὲ μαλα-

kinship with Julian and also raised the issue of his envoys' immunity. Valens countered that the envoys were suffering due punishment and that the reinforcements which had arrived were being held as enemies because they had come as allies of his enemy. From these causes arose the Scythian war which, because of the fame of the peoples involved and the size of their forces, was expected to become a large-scale conflict proceeding with fluctuations of fortune and unexpected developments, but which was brought by the decisiveness and foresight of the Emperor to a calm and safe conclusion.<sup>81</sup>  
(Cf. *Suda* A 4332\*, Σ 982\*)

(Zosimus 4,10-11)

### 38

(Zosimus 4,12)

### 39

1. (*Exc. de Sent.* 37)

Theodorus, one of the notaries, was justly honoured by the Emperor. For he had high birth and a natural proclivity to every virtue, his physical beauty matched his virtues, and his charm in company seemed a suitable and wholly appropriate ornament for his other qualities. But, as Homer says, "his virtues destroyed him unawares".<sup>82</sup> For civilian elements and those civil servants<sup>83</sup> who lusted after wealth and public office, learning of his easy-going nature and his relaxed and approachable social manner, quickly worked up their flattery, a weapon irresistible and fearful even to rational people, wheeled it up like some fatal siege-engine, and, turning the young man away from safe and salutary ideas, aroused in him a crazy and dangerous desire to become Emperor.<sup>84</sup>

[2. (*Suda* I 14)

Jacobus. He died by drinking poison during the reign of Valens. He was advised to do this by the sophist Libanius because he had enquired about the identity of Valens' successor.]

[3. (*Suda* E 3448)

Eueterius. He lived during the reign of the Emperor Jovian. Because of his education and outstanding natural talents he lacked none of

κίαν ψυχῆς καὶ ἀπλότητα πολλοὺς τῶν οὐκ αἰτίων ἐς κρίσιν κατέδρασαν.]

[4. (*Suda* I 292)

Ἰλάριος ὁ ἐκ Φρυγίας, ἐπὶ Ἰοβιανοῦ βασιλέως Ῥωμαίων. κατὰ παιδείαν μὲν ἦν ἀνὴρ οὐ γνώριμος, κοινωνεῖν δὲ αὐτῷ θεὸς ἐδόκει τῆς κοινωνίας τοῦ μέλλοντος, ὥστε ἦν μάντις ἀριστος.]

[5. (*Suda* II 792)

Πατρίκιος· οὗτος ἤκμασεν ἐπὶ Ἰοβιανοῦ βασιλέως· ἦν δὲ ἐκ Λυδίας· ὅς τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν φανομένων ἢ καὶ παρατρεχόντων σημείων τεκμάρσεως ἀκριβῆς ἦν ἐξεταστής.]

[6. (*Suda* Σ 445)

Σιμωνίδης· οὗτος ἦν ἐπὶ Ἰοβιανοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως διὰ φιλοσοφίαν πᾶσιν ἐπισημότατος.]

7. (*Vit. Soph.* 7,6,5)

Καὶ ταῦτα ἔσχεν οὕτως, καὶ ἐν τοῖς διεξοδικοῖς ἀκριβέστερον γέγραπται.

[8. (*Suda* Φ 279)

Φῆστος. οὗτος περὶ τοὺς χρόνους Οὐάλεντος εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐκπέμπεται ἀνθύπατος· τὴν δὲ βασιλικὴν γλῶσσαν ἐπεπίστευτο. πέμπεται δὲ ὁμῶς, τὸν ποιητικὸν καὶ μυθώδη ἔχετον, καὶ εἰ δὴ τις ἄλλος ἐκ Συκελίας ἢ Θετταλίας τοιοῦτος, χρυσὸν ἀποδείξων καὶ πανήγυριν. ἦν δὲ ἡ μανία οὐ θύραθεν, ἀλλ' ἐνδοθεν ἐλύσσα καὶ ἐμαίνετο, ἀνὴρ φύσει πονηρὸς καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἔχων καὶ τὴν ἐν ταῖς κολάσεσιν ἀγριότητά καταλιπὼν εὐδοκιμοῦσαν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις, οὐκ ἔστιν ὃ τι παρανομίας ἀπέλειπε καὶ ἀσελγείας, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοσούτῳ παραφορᾷ ἐρρύη καὶ φόνων, ὥστε καὶ Μάξιμον ξίφει διέφθειρε, Κοίρανον Αἰγύπτιον ἐπισφάξας αὐτῷ· καὶ ἐτι θερμὸς ὢν καὶ ζέων τῷ λύθρῳ πάντας συναντῇ καὶ κατέφλεγε. (Cf. Γ 301, Ε 3996, Θ 599)]

9. (*Exc. de Sent.* 38)

Ὅτι φιλοχρηματίαν φασὶ πηγὴν τινα πάσης κακίας τυγχάνειν, οὐδὲ τῇ κακίᾳ πότιμόν τε καὶ χρήσιμον· ἐξ ἐκείνης γὰρ τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν χρημάτων περιττῆς ἐπιθυμίας τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἄλογον ἀρδόμενον ἔρω τ' ἀνέφυσεν ἀνθρώποις καὶ μάχην· ἔρις δὲ αὐξήθεισα πολέμους ἀνεβλάστησε καὶ φόνους· φόνων δὲ ὁ φύομενος καρπὸς φθορὰ τοῦ γένους καὶ ὄλεθρος· ἃ δὴ καὶ ἐπὶ Οὐάλεντος συνεπράττετο.

(Zosimus 4,13,3 - 15,3)

the ancient qualities. But because of his softness of spirit and frankness he caused many of the innocent men to be brought to judgement.<sup>85</sup>]

[4. (*Suda* I 292)

Hilarius from Phrygia, during the reign of the Emperor Jovian. He was not famous for his education, but God appears to have given him a share in foreknowledge, so that he was an excellent prophet.]

[5. (*Suda* II 792)

Patricius. He flourished under the Emperor Jovian. He was from Lydia. He was an excellent diviner both from celestial bodies and from chance portents.]

[6. (*Suda* Σ 445)

Simonides. He was a very famous philosopher during the reign of the Emperor Jovian.<sup>86</sup>]

7. (*Vit. Soph.* 7,6,5)

Thus these things turned out, which I have described in more detail in my History.<sup>87</sup>

[8. (*Suda* Φ 279)

Festus. During the reign of Valens he was sent to Asia as proconsul. He had been master of the rolls. Nevertheless, he was sent off to prove that, by comparison with himself, the poet's fabled Echetus (and any other murderous tyrant of Sicily or Thessaly) was pure gold and a holiday. He showed no external signs of his madness, but it raged deep within. He was a man naturally wicked and, when he gained authority, he went beyond the savagery of punishment which was the palace's policy and practised every manner of lawlessness and wanton violence. His deranged blood-lust was such that he decapitated Maximus himself, and after him killed Coeranus the Egyptian. But since he was still seething for blood, he killed all his victims together and burned their bodies.<sup>88</sup> (Cf. Γ 301, Ε 3996, Θ 599)]

9. (*Exc. de Sent.* 38)

They say that love of money is a spring from which flow all evils, yet one that is neither drinkable nor usable for evil itself. The irrational part of the mind, drinking from this source and from excessive eagerness for wealth, begets strife and aggression amongst mankind. Strife, when it has grown, brings forth war and murder, and the children of murder are ruin and destruction of the human race. Precisely these things were perpetrated during Valens' reign.<sup>89</sup>

(Zosimus 4,13,3 - 15,3)

## 40

(Zosimus 4,16-19)

## 41

1. (*Exc. de Sent.* 39)

Τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα τῆς συγγραφῆς, οὐδενὸς οὐδὲν σαφὲς λέγειν  
 ἔχοντος ὅθεν τε ὄντες οἱ Οὐννοὶ ὅπη τε κείμενοι τὴν Εὐρώπην πᾶσαν  
 ἐπέδραμον καὶ τὸ Σκυθικὸν ἔτριψαν γένος, ἐκ τῶν παλαιῶν συν-  
 τιθέντι κατὰ τοὺς εἰκότας λογισμοὺς εἴρηται, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἀπαγγελ-  
 λομένων δοξάζοντι πρὸς τὸ ἀκριβές, ὥς ἂν μὴ πρόσω τοῦ πιθανοῦ  
 τὴν γραφὴν ἀπαρτήσαμεν μηδὲ παραφέροι, πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν ὃ  
 λόγος. ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐ ταῦτ' ὅντας πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐκ παιδῶν οἰκίαν μικρὰν  
 καὶ φαύλῃ οἰκήσασιν, εἴτα διὰ τύχης εὖροιαν μεγάλων καὶ λαμπρῶν  
 ἐπιλαβομένοις οἰκοδομημάτων ὅμως διὰ συνήθειαν τὰ ἀρχαῖα θαν-  
 μάσουσι καὶ περιστέλλουσιν, οὕτως αὐτοὶ τὰ προειρημένα γεγράφθαι  
 συγχωρήσαντες ἐτέρων ἀπτόμεθα πάλιν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ὥσπερ οἱ  
 κατὰ τινα θεραπείαν σώματος τὰ πρῶτα χρησάμενοί τινι φαρμάκῳ  
 δι' ὠφελείας ἐλπίδα, κατὰ τὸ κρεῖττον πείρα δοκιμάσαντες ἐπ' ἐκεῖνο  
 μεθίστανται καὶ βέβηκον, οὐ τῷ δευτέρῳ τὸ πρότερον ἀναρροῦντες,  
 ἀλλὰ τῷ δεδοξασμένῳ κακῶς τὸ ἀληθὲς ἐπεισάγοντες, καὶ καθάπερ  
 φῶς ἀπὸ λαμπάδος διὰ τῆς ἡλιακῆς ἀκτίνος ἀφανίζοντες καὶ ἀμβλύ-  
 νοντες, ὁμοίως ἐπιθήσομεν τοῖς εἰρημένοις τὰ ἀληθέστερα, καὶ ἐκείνα  
 διὰ τὴν ἱστορικὴν δόξαν συγχωρήσαντες μένειν καὶ ταῦτα διὰ τὴν  
 ἀλήθειαν ἐφελκυσάμενοι καὶ παραζεύξαντες.

1 τὰ μὲν οὖν Boissvain (legens τι μεν in cod.) [κατὰ μὲν οὖν Mai κατὰ μὲν  
 οὖν (τά) Niebuhr 1-2 λέγειν ἔχοντος van Herwerden (ἔχων λέγοντος cod.  
 3 ἔτριψαν van Herwerden (ἔτριψαν cod. 5 πρόσω Kuiper (προσ cod. ἀπὸ  
 Mai πέρα Polak 11 ἀπτόμεθα scripsi (ἄπομε . . cod. (sec. Boissvain)  
 ἀπτομεν Jordan ἀφόμεθα Boissvain ἀποστε<ροῦμεθα> Mai

2. (*Suda* K 11)

Εὐνάπιος· οἱ δὲ Οὐννοὶ πλατὺν καγχάσαντες ὥχοντο.

(Zosimus 4,20,3-4)

## 42

(*Exc. de Leg. Gent.* 6)

Ὅτι τῶν Σκυθῶν ἡττηθέντων καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Οὐννων ἀναρρι-  
 σθέντων καὶ ἄρδην ἀπολλυμένων τὸ πλῆθος, οἱ μὲν ἐγκαταλαμβα-  
 νόμενοι σὺν γυναῖξιν καὶ τέκνοις διεφθείροντο, καὶ οὐδεμία φειδῶ τῆς

2 τὸ πλῆθος secl. Müller

## 40

(Zosimus 4,16-19)

## 41

1. (*Exc. de Sent.* 39)

The first accounts of the history of the Huns, written at a time  
 when no one had anything clear to say about their place of origin and  
 where they were living when they overran Europe and crushed the  
 Scythian nation, I have collected from the ancient authors and set  
 down according to the criterion of probability. For the material drawn  
 from oral reports I have used the criterion of accuracy, in order that my  
 account not fall short in reliability and my narrative not do violence to  
 the truth. My attitude is not the same as those who, after a childhood  
 spent in a poor and humble house, although later through abundant  
 good fortune they come into possession of a large and eminent mansion,  
 nevertheless out of habit still idealise and cherish their old home.  
 Though I have consented to include the older records on the Huns, I  
 have joined them to other material. This I have done in the spirit of  
 those who, when caring for an ailment, initially use a medicine which  
 they hope will help, but, when they have tried and found a better one,  
 change over to that. For I have not omitted the earlier information for  
 the sake of the later reports, but have subjoined the true version to the  
 erroneous opinions, dulling and obscuring the latter like the gleam of a  
 lamp under the rays of the sun. So I shall add the truer version to that  
 in the records, allowing the latter to remain as a tradition sanctified by  
 history, while joining to it the former for the sake of the truth.<sup>90</sup>

2. (*Suda* K 11)

The Huns went off laughing uproariously.

(Zosimus 4,20,3-4)

## 42

(*Exc. de Leg. Gent.* 6)

The Scythians had been defeated and destroyed and were being  
 utterly extirpated. Those who were captured were massacred with  
 their wives and children. There was no limit to the savagery employed

περὶ τοὺς φόνους ἦν ὡμότητος. τὸ δὲ συναλισθὲν καὶ πρὸς φυγὴν  
 ὀρμήσαν πληθὺς μὲν οὐ πολὺ τῶν εἴκοσι μυριάδων ἀποδόειν, συν- 5  
 ἤλθον ἐς <τὸν Ἰστρον οἱ ἐς> τὸ μάχιμον ἀκμάζοντες ἄνδρες καὶ  
 ταῖς ὄχθαις ἐπιστάντες χεῖράς τε ὠρεγον πόρρωθεν μετὰ ὀλο-  
 φυρμῶν καὶ βοῆς καὶ προέτενον ἱκετηρίας, ἐπιτραπήναι τὴν διάβασιν  
 παρακαλοῦντες καὶ τὴν σφῶν συμφορὰν ὀδυρόμενοι καὶ προσθήκη 10  
 τῇ συμμαχίᾳ παρέξω ἐπαγγελλόμενοι. οἱ δὲ ταῖς ὄχθαις ἐπιτεταγ-  
 μένοι Ῥωμαίων οὐδὲν ἔφασαν πράξω ἄνευ βασιλέως γνώμης. ἐν-  
 τεῦθεν ἀναφέρεται μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλέα ἡ γνώμη· πολλῆς δὲ ἀντι-  
 λογίας γενομένης, καὶ πολλῶν ἐφ' ἑκάτερα γνώμῶν ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ  
 συλλόγῳ ῥηθειῶν, ἔδοξε τῷ βασιλεῖ. καὶ γὰρ ὑπὴν τι ζηλοτυπίας 15  
 αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς συμβασιλεύοντας, οἱ παῖδες μὲν ἦσαν ἀδελφοῦ (καὶ  
 γέγραπται οὕτω πρότερον), τὴν βασιλείαν δὲ διηρῆσθαι κατὰ σφᾶς  
 ἔδόκουν, τὴν διανομὴν οὐκ <ἀν>ενεγκόντες ἐπὶ τὸν θειῶν. τούτων  
 δὴ ἔνεκα, καὶ ὥς μεγάλη προσθήκη τὸ Ῥωμαϊκὸν αὐξήσων, δεχ-  
 θῆναι κελεύει τοὺς ἄνδρας τὰ ὄπλα καταθεμένους.

Πρὶν δὲ τὴν διάβασιν ἐκ βασιλέως ἐπιτραπήναι, Σκυθῶν οἱ 20  
 τολμηρότατοι καὶ αὐθάδεις βιάσασθαι τὸν πόρον ἔγνωσαν, καὶ βια-  
 ζόμενοι κατεκόπησαν. οἱ δὲ διαφθείραντες τὸν ἀποδασμὸν τοῦτον τῆς  
 τε ἀρχῆς παρελύθησαν καὶ περὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ἐκωδύνουν, ὅτι  
 πολεμίους διέφθειραν, οἳ τε παραδυναστεύοντες βασιλεῖ καὶ δυνάμενοι 25  
 μέγιστον κατεγέλων αὐτῶν τὸ φιλοπόλεμον καὶ στρατηγικόν, πολι-  
 τικοὺς δὲ οὐκ ἔφασαν εἶναι. ὁ μὲν γὰρ βασιλεὺς ἐξ Ἀντισχείας ἐπέ-  
 τρεπεν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀχρεῖαν ἡλικίαν πρῶτον ὑποδεξαμένοις καὶ  
 παραπέμψασιν εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἐπικράτειαν καὶ ταύτην ἐς ὁμηρείαν  
 ἀσφαλῶς κατέχουσιν ἐπιστῆναι ταῖς ὄχθαις, καὶ μὴ πρότερον τοὺς 30  
 μαχίμους δέξασθαι διαβαίνοντας μηδὲ τὰ πλοῖα παρασχεῖν ἐς τὴν  
 περαιώσιν, εἰ μὴ τὰ ὄπλα καταθέμενοι γυμνοὶ διαβαίνουσιν. οἱ δὲ  
 ταῦτα ἐπιτραπέντες, ὁ μὲν ἐκ τῶν διαβεβηκότων ἦρα παιδαρίου τινὸς  
 λευκοῦ καὶ χαρίεντος τὴν ὄψιν, ὁ δὲ ἦλῳ ἐκ γυναικὸς εὐπροσώπου  
 τῶν αἰχμαλώτων, ὃς δὲ ἦν αἰχμάλωτος ὑπὸ παρθένου, τοὺς δὲ τὸ 35  
 μέγεθος κατεῖχε τῶν δώρων τὰ τε λυᾶ ὑράσματα καὶ τὸ τῶν  
 στρωμάτων ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα θυσανοειδές· ἕκαστος δὲ ἀπλῶς αὐτῶν  
 ὑπελάμβανε καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν καταπλήσσει οἰκετῶν καὶ τὰ χωρία  
 βοηλατῶν καὶ τὴν ἐρωτικὴν λύσαν τῆς περὶ ταῦτα ἐξουσίας. νικη-  
 θέντες δὲ ὑπὸ τούτων νίκην αἰσχίστην καὶ παρανομωτάτην, ὥσπερ 40  
 τινὰς εὐεργέτας καὶ σωτῆρας παλαιούς μετὰ τῶν ὀπλῶν ἐδέξαντο.

in the killings. After a multitude, almost two hundred thousand in  
 number, had gathered together and turned to flight, the males who  
 were especially fit for war gathered at the Danube<sup>91</sup> and, standing on  
 the bank, stretched out their hands from afar with cries and lamen-  
 tations, begging for pity and asking to be allowed to cross, and, as they  
 bewailed their misfortunes, they promised the Romans that they would  
 provide reinforcements for their auxiliary forces. The Romans in charge  
 of the bank said that they could do nothing without the consent of the  
 Emperor. When the report reached the Emperor, there was a con-  
 siderable debate. After many arguments had been aired on both sides  
 in the imperial consistory, the Emperor decided to admit the Scythians.  
 For he was rather chagrined at his fellow Emperors who, being sons of  
 his brother (as I have noted earlier), had decided to divide up their  
 Empire between themselves without referring the division to their uncle.  
 Because of this and in order that the Roman forces might be greatly  
 increased, he ordered that the men should be received, after first  
 surrendering their weapons.

Before the Emperor had given permission for the crossing, the  
 boldest and most daring of the Scythians planned to force an entrance,  
 and were cut down as they attempted to do so. The officers who had  
 destroyed this group were cashiered and came into danger of their lives  
 because they had destroyed our enemies. Those who enjoyed great in-  
 fluence and power at court mocked their military attitude with its  
 eagerness for war, saying that they had no sense of politics. From  
 Antioch the Emperor ordered them first to receive those persons who  
 were too young for war and to distribute them throughout the Roman  
 dominion, holding them securely as hostages; and they were to guard  
 the bank, allowing none of the warriors to cross and supplying no boats  
 for the crossing, unless they laid down their weapons and crossed un-  
 armed. These were their orders. But one was smitten by a fair and  
 pretty boy amongst those who had crossed, another was taken by the  
 beautiful wife of one of the captives, another was captivated by some  
 maiden, and they were all mesmerised by the valuable gifts given them,  
 linen shirts and coverlets fringed on both sides. Quite simply, each of  
 them had decided that he would fill his house with domestics and his  
 farm with herdsmen and sate his mad lust through the licence which he  
 enjoyed. Overpowered by the Scythians in this disgraceful and criminal  
 manner, they received them with their weapons as if they were some  
 long-standing benefactors and saviours. Having achieved this considerable

5-6 ἀποδόειν, συνῆλθον ἐς <τὸν Ἰστρον οἱ ἐς> τὸ μάχιμον ἀκμάζοντες ἄνδρες  
 scripsi [ἀποδέουσαι συνῆλθον ἐς τὸ μάχιμον ἀκμαζούσας κινήθοντες A. ἀποδέον,  
 σοι pro ἀποδέουσαν et ἀκμαζόντων pro ἀκμάζοντας conl. Müller νικήθοντες  
 pro κινήθοντες Hoeschel 17 ἀν-add. Müller 33 ἦλῳ ἐκ de Boor  
 ἡδέει A ἦλῳ Wyttenbach

οἱ δὲ τοσοῦτον ἀκονιτὶ πρᾶγμα διαπεπραγμένοι καὶ τὴν οἴκοι συμφορὰν εὐτυχίσαντες, οἳ γε ἀντὶ τῆς Σκυθῶν ἐρημίας καὶ τοῦ βαράθρου τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπελάμβανον, εὐθὺς πολὺ τι βάρβαρον ἐν τῷ παρασπόνδῳ καὶ ἀπίστῳ διέφαινον.

Ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἀχρηστος ἡλικία προλαβοῦσα κατὰ τὴν διάβασιν μετὰ βαθείας σπουδῆς καὶ φροντίδος τῶν ταῦτα βεβουλευμένων εἰς τὰ ἔθνη κατεχεῖτο καὶ διεσπείρετο. οἰκέται δὲ καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ παῖδες ἐκεῖνων, οἱ μὲν βασιλικά παρὰσσημα ἔχοντες, τὰς δὲ τὴν ἀβροτέρας ὁρᾶν ἢ κατὰ αἰχμάλων. παῖδες δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ οἰκετικοῦ πρὸς τε τὴν εὐκρασίαν τῶν ἀέρων ἀνέδραμον καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἤβησαν, καὶ πολὺ τὸ ἐπιφυρόμενον ἦν πολέμιον γένος. οἱ μὲν οὖν παλαιοὶ μῦθοι λέγουσι περὶ τὴν Βοιωτίαν καὶ τὴν Κολχίδα δρακοντείων ὀδόντων κατασπαρέντων ἐνόπλους ἅμα τῷ σπόρῳ τοὺς ἀνδρας ἀναπάλλεσθαι· ὁ δὲ καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνος καὶ τὸν μῦθον τοῦτον εἰς φῶς καὶ ἔργον συνήγαγε καὶ ὁρθῆναι κατηνάγκασεν. οὐ γὰρ ἔφθασαν τοῦ Σκυθικοῦ γένους εἰς τὴν ἐπικράτειαν τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν οἱ παῖδες ὥσπερ ὀδόντες διασπαρέντες, καὶ πάντα τὴν μεστὰ θυμοῦ καὶ μανίας καὶ φόνων, ἀνελθόντων αὐτῶν ἐς ἡλικίαν μάχimon παρὰ τὸν χρόνον. τὸ δὲ ἀκμάζον τῆς Σκυθικῆς ἀλκῆς καὶ γενναϊότητος τοῖς ὑποδεξαμένοις ἀντὶ τῶν ἐκβεβληκότων ἐς ἐπανάστασιν εὐθὺς ἐγερθὲν καὶ μαχόμενον πολὺ δεινότερα καὶ τραγικώτερα συνειτόλμησεν ὧν ἔπαθεν. ἡ μὲν γὰρ Θράκη πᾶσα καὶ ἡ συνεχὴς αὐτῇ χώρα Μακεδονία καὶ Θεσσαλία τοιαύτη τίς ἐστὶ καὶ οὕτω πολυύμνητος, ὥστε οὐδὲ εἰς κατὰ ταῦτα ἀναγράφειν λόγος ἦν. τοσαύτην δὲ οὖσαν αὐτὴν καὶ οὕτω πολυάνθρωπον εὐδαίμονα τε ἅμα καὶ εὐανδρον ἡ τῶν Σκυθῶν ἀπιστος καὶ παράλογος ἐπανάστασις ἐξαπιναιίως καὶ παραχρῆμα τῆς διαβάσεως συντολμηθεῖσα καὶ ἀνοιδήσασα κατεστόρευσεν ἐς τοσόνδε καὶ καθημάξενσε ταῖς συμφοραῖς, ὥστε χρυσὸν ἀποδειχθῆναι πρὸς τὰ Θράκια πάθη τὴν Μυσῶν παροιμώδη λείαν. δόξαν <δ> αὐταῖς στασιάζειν ἀξιωμαχου μὴ παρουσίας δυνάμεως ἐς ἄμυναν, τῷ τε πλήθει πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἀφυλάκτους καὶ ἀνόπλους ἐφάνησαν φοβερώτατοι καὶ τῷ φονικωτάτῳ πρὸς τὸ κρατούμενον πάντα ἀνδρῶν ἐχτήρωςαν. περιεωσθήκει δὲ ἐς ἴσον λόγον καὶ Σκύθας Οὐννων μὴ φέρειν ὄνομα καὶ Ῥωμαίους Σκυθῶν. πόλεις γοῦν εὐαρίθμητοι καὶ ὀλίγαι τινὲς διεσώθησαν καὶ ἐπὶ σώζονται τειχῶν ἔνεκεν καὶ οἰκοδομημάτων· ἡ δὲ χώρα καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον ἀπανάλωται, καὶ ἔστιν ἀοίκητον καὶ ἄβατον διὰ τὸν πόλεμον.

Βασιλεὺς δὲ ἐπειδὴ τούτων ἐπύθετο τῶν ἀδιηγῆτων κακῶν, πρὸς μὲν τοὺς Πέρσας ἀναγκαίαν εἰρήνην συνθέμενος, ἐαυτῷ δὲ

goal without effort and turned their misfortunes at home to their own advantage (for instead of the desert of deepest Scythia they were beginning to take over the Roman Empire), they immediately revealed the degree of their barbarism by faithlessly breaking their agreements.

Those too young for war, who had been the first to cross, were scattered thinly across the provinces through the utmost care and wisdom of those who had planned this: their domestics, their wives, their children, boys wearing the badges of royalty, the women (as one could observe) living more splendidly than appropriate for captives. In our favourable climate their children and those of their domestics developed and matured beyond their years — the enemy nation was growing fast! The ancient tales say that when the serpent's teeth were sown in Boeotia and Colchis, armed men sprang up at the very moment of sowing. Our age brought this tale to life and forced us to watch it. For no sooner had the children of the Scythian race been sown in the Roman Empire like teeth, than every place was filled with anger and madness and killing as they came prematurely to warlike age. The flower of Scythian strength and nobility immediately rose up in insurrection and made war, not upon those who had driven them out, but upon those who had received them, and they inflicted sufferings more terrible than they had endured. The whole of Thrace and the neighbouring parts of Macedonia and Thessaly are so beautiful and far-famed that no one description does justice to them. Such it was, so populous, so rich and full of men, when the treacherous and unexpected revolt of the Scythians, a venture which suddenly developed immediately after the crossing, reduced it to such a state and crushed it under such misfortunes that the proverbial plundering of Mysia was heaven compared with the sufferings of Thrace.<sup>92</sup> When they decided to revolt, there was in the vicinity no force strong enough to contain them. Their numbers caused great panic in the unprotected and unarmed civilian population, and the areas which they overran were depopulated as a result of their murderous behaviour. As a result the Romans feared the name of the Scythians no less than the Scythians feared that of the Huns. A few cities, easy to count, were protected (as they still are) by their walls and fortifications, but the countryside was for the most part devastated and it remains uninhabited and untravelled as a result of the war.<sup>93</sup>

The Emperor Valens, when he learned of these indescribable catastrophes, of necessity made peace with the Persians and, repenting that

43 ἀπελάμβανον Niebuhr | ὑπελάμβανεν A ὑπελάμβανον Hoeschel 49-50 τοῦ οἰκετικοῦ Wytttenbach | τὸν οἰκετικόν A τὸ οἰκετικόν Hoeschel 71 δ' add. Müller



πολεμήσας ἐπὶ μεταγνώσει τῆς ὑποδοχῆς, τῷ θυμῷ τε ὑπερέβησε 80  
καὶ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἐντείνων ἑαυτὸν προκαταπέμπει τὸ Σαρακηνῶν  
ἱπικὸν ὡς ἀντισχῆσον τοῖς βαρβάροις. ἤδη γὰρ καὶ τὴν Κωνσταντι-  
νούπολιν κατέτρυχον καὶ τοῖς τείχεσιν ἠνώχλουν περικαυθήμενοι,  
πολέμιόν τε οὐδὲν ὀρώντες ἐς ἀντίπαλον μάχην καὶ τοῖς φρονήμασιν 85  
ἐς πᾶσαν ὕβριν ὠλισθηκότες. ὁ δὲ καὶ περιφανῶς ἔδοξε κάλλιστα  
στρατηγήσαι κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον ἡ τύχη.

(Zosimus 4,20,5 - 22,3)

## 43

1. (*Exc. de Sent.* 40-41)

Ὅτι Μαρκιανὸς ἀνὴρ ἐς ἀρετὴν ἅπασαν ὥσπερ τις κανὼν 5  
ἠκριβωμένος. φιλόκαλος γὰρ ὢν καὶ φιλάγαθος ὁ Μουσώνιος τοὺς  
πανταχόθεν καθεῖλκεν παρ' ἑαυτὸν, ὥσπερ ἡ μαγνήτις λίθος τὸν  
σίδηρον. οὐκ ἦν δὲ βασανίζεω ὁποῖός τις ὁ δεῖνα, ἀλλὰ Μουσωνίου  
φίλον ἀκούσαντα ὅτι καλὸς ἦν εἰδέναι. (Cf. *Suda* M 208)

2 ἀπηκριβωμένος *Suda* 3 εἶλκε *Suda* λίθος om. *Suda*

2. (*Exc. de Sent.* 42)

Ὅτι συνηρῆσθαι τοῦ πολέμου δοκοῦντος Μουσώνιος ἵππον  
ἐπιβάς ἐξῆι τῶν Σάρδεων. καὶ ὁ Θεόδωρος τὸν συγγραφεὰ μετα-  
πεμψάμενος ἐδάκρυσε τὴν ἔξοδον, καὶ ἀνδρὶ τᾶλλα γε ἀτεράμονι καὶ  
ἀτέγκτω δάκρυα κατεχεῖτο τῶν παρειῶν ἀκρατέστερον.

1 συνηρῆσθαι van Herwerden συνηρησθαι Niebuhr

3. (*Exc. de Sent.* 43)

Ὅτι τὸ ἐπὶ Μουσώνιον ἐπίγραμμα τὸ παρὰ Θεοδώρου τοι-  
οῦτόν ἐστιν·

ἐνθα μὲν Αἴας κεῖται ἀρήιος, ἐνθα δ' Ἀχιλλεύς,  
ἐνθα δὲ Πάτροκλος θεόφρων μῆστορ ἀτάλαντος,  
ἐνθα δ' ἐπὶ τρισσοῖσι πανεῖκελος ἠρώεσσι  
ψυχὴν καὶ βίότοιο τέλος Μουσώνιος ἦρωες.

4. (*Exc. de Sent.* 44)

Ὅτι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι κατεκόπησαν παρὰ Ἰσαύρων, καὶ τοῦτω  
ὥσπερ δράματι μεγάλῳ καὶ τραχεῖ τὸ κατὰ Μουσώνιον ἐπεισὸδιον  
οὐκ ἔλαττον ὁ δαίμων ἐπήνεγκεν. ἐνταῦθ' αὖ ποῦ τῆς συγγραφῆς  
ἀφώρισται τὸ πραχθέν, ὅτι τοῖς χρόνοις παρέτενε καὶ συγκατέ-  
στρεψεν ἐπὶ τὰ προσηφηνέμενα, ὥστε τοῖς καιροῖς μὴ πολὺ παραλ- 5  
λάττειν ἐς τὸ τέλος τὴν γραφήν.  
(Cf. *Suda* Δ 1498\*, E 2143\*)

he had received the Scythians, blaming himself and seething with rage,  
concentrated all his efforts upon the war. He sent ahead the Saracen  
cavalry to confront the barbarians, who were already attacking Con-  
stantinople and, settling down to a siege, were beginning to make  
attempts on the walls, since they saw none of the enemy coming out to  
fight them and were already slipping into over-confidence. Under the  
circumstances fortune seems to have planned this very advantageously  
for the Romans.<sup>94</sup>

(Zosimus 4,20,5 - 22,3)

## 43

1. (*Exc. de Sent.* 40-41)

... Marcianus was like a perfect model of every virtue. For Mu-  
sonius, being a lover of beauty and goodness, attracted all to himself  
from all sides as a magnet attracts iron. One did not need to enquire  
after the character of someone, but if he were called a friend of Muso-  
nius', one knew that he was good.<sup>95</sup> (Cf. *Suda* M 208)

2. (*Exc. de Sent.* 42)

When the hostilities seemed to have been ended, Musonius  
mounted a horse and left Sardis. Theodorus summoned the historian  
and wept at Musonius' departure, and the tears poured uncontrollably  
down the cheeks of a man who was otherwise tough and unbending.<sup>96</sup>

3. (*Exc. de Sent.* 43)

The following is Theodorus' epigram upon Musonius:

"There warlike Ajax lies, there lies Achilles,  
There lies Patroclus, a god-like counsellor,  
There lies the hero, alike in all ways  
To all three in his soul and the end of his life,  
Musonius".

4. (*Exc. de Sent.* 44)

The Romans were butchered by the Isaurians, and to this, as if to  
some great and savage tragedy, the god joined the no less terrible affair  
of Musonius. I have inserted this event at this point in my narrative,  
because it linked up with and found its conclusion at the time of the  
actions I earlier described, with the result that chronologically my  
account ends up more or less at the same point.<sup>97</sup>  
(Cf. *Suda* Δ 1498\*, E 2143\*)

5. (*Vit. Soph.* 10,7,13)

Ἐπανέστη δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ Μουσώνιος, εἰς σοφιστικὴν ὁμιλητῆς ὧν αὐτοῦ (περὶ οὗ πολλὰ διὰ τὰς ἄλλας <πράξεις> ἐν τοῖς διεξοδικοῖς γέγραπται).

2 πράξεις add. Giangrande [αἰτίας add. Junius]

(Zosimus 4,20,1-2)

## 44

1. (*Exc. de Sent.* 45)

Ὅτι ὁ βασιλεὺς Οὐάλης κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἡνίκα οἱ Σκύθαι τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἐπέτρεχον παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν πόλιν τὰς πανταχόθεν δυνάμεις συνήγειρεν, ὥς μέγα τι καὶ παράδοξον ἐργαζόμενος. ὅσον δὲ παιδεία ἀναγνώσεως ἰσχύει πρὸς τοὺς πολέμους καὶ ἡ διὰ τῆς ἱστορίας ἀκριβῆς θεωρία πρὸς ἀμαχόν τινα καὶ γραμμικὴν ἔκβαση 5 τελευτῶσι καὶ συνηναγκασμένην καὶ τότε ὁ χρόνος ἀπέδειξεν. πολλῶν γὰρ ἐπὶ πολλοῖς μαρτυρούντων, καὶ τῆς πείρας πόρρωθεν βωκύσης ὅτι οὔτε πολλοῖς οὔτε ὀλίγοις μάχεσθαι προσήκειν ἀπεγνωκόσιν ἑαυτῶν καὶ πρὸς κίνδυνον ἐτοίμως ἔχουσιν, ἀλλ' ὅτι 10 αὐτὰ στρατόπεδα καταλύει συμφέρει χρόνῳ τρίβοντα τὸν πόλεμον καὶ περικόπτοντα τὰς ἀφορμὰς τῶν ἐπιτηδεύων, ὅπως ἕρ' ἑαυτῶν πολεμῶνται δι' ἑνδεῖαν πολλοὶ τυγχάνοντες, καὶ μὴ πρὸς τύχην ἀποκινδυνεύουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀπόρῳ καὶ τὸ κινδυνεύειν ἔχουσιν, ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις οὐσῆς τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως.

3 ἐργαζόμενος cod. [ἐργασόμενος edd.]

12 πολεμῶνται van Herwerden [πολεμοῦντο cod.]

10 χρονοτριβοῦντα Dindorf

2. (*Exc. de Sent.* 46)

Ὡς δὲ ἦν ταιούτων ἀρετῶν κτῆσις . . . σπανιώτερον δὲ οὐδὲν ἀρετῆς ἐν βίῳ διεφθαρμένοι καὶ ἀγωγαῖς ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον προκατεῖλημμένοι.

lac. post κτῆσις indicant edd.

[3. (*Suda* Σ 177)]

Σεβαστιανός. οὗτος ἐπὶ Οὐάλεντος ἦν· ἐγένετο δὲ ἐπὶ τούτου ἀνδρῶν πολεμικῶν ζήτησις· εὐρέθη δὲ οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ πάσης ἐλπίδος κρείττων, οὐδεμιᾶς ἀρετῆς ἀποδέων· οὐδενὸς γὰρ μὴ ἔτι τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπων <ἐλείπετο>, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς παλαιοῖς δίκαιος ἦν 5 παραβάλλεσθαι, καὶ τούτων τοῖς ἄνθρωποις εὐδοκίμοις εἰς ἅπαντα. ὅς γε φιλοπόλεμος μὲν ὢν, ἥκιστα φιλοκίνδυνος ἦν, οὐ δι' ἑαυτὸν, τῶν

4 ἐλείπετο add. Bernhardt

5. (*Vit. Soph.* 10,7,13)

His [Eusebius' of Alexandria] adversary was Musonius, who was a fellow student of the sophistic art, about whom, because of his other activities, I have written much in my History.

(Zosimus 4,20,1-2)<sup>98</sup>

## 44

1. (*Exc. de Sent.* 45)

At the time when the Scythians were overrunning Macedonia, the Emperor Valens arrived at Constantinople and was collecting his forces from all sides since he was facing a great and unexpected task. That occasion illustrated how a literary education has value in war and how those who aim at a goal directly, economically and without a fight are aided by the experience of events gained through reading history. For there is much evidence from many occasions, and experience from olden times shouts out, that one ought not, with forces either large or small, do battle with those who have come to despair of their lives and are ready to face danger. Rather one should destroy such armies by dragging out the war and by cutting off their sources of supplies, so that as a result of starvation their own numbers become their enemy, and they are unable to gamble on fortune, since to risk battle is not an option for them, that initiative lying with their opponents.<sup>99</sup>

2. (*Exc. de Sent.* 46)

Since the possession of such virtues was . . . there is nothing rarer than virtue in lives which have been ruined and conduct which already inclines to evil.<sup>100</sup>

[3. (*Suda* Σ 177)]

Sebastianus. He lived during Valens' reign. During this reign there was a search for good soldiers, and this man was discovered, who exceeded all expectations since he had all the virtues. He fell short of none of his contemporaries and was justly compared even with the most highly and widely esteemed of the ancients. He loved war but refused to take risks, not for his own sake but for that of his men. He

ἀρχομένων δὲ ἔνεκεν. χρημάτων δὲ αὐτῷ πλήθους ἔμελεν, ὅσα τὸ σῶμα διὰ τῶν ὅπλων κοσμήσειν ἔμελλε· τροφὴν δὲ προσήρειτο σκληρὰν καὶ τραχεῖαν, καὶ ὅση καμόντι ἤρκει, καὶ ὁρμωμένῳ πρὸς κάματον οὐκ ἦν κώλυμα. φιλοστρατιώτης δὲ ὢν διαφερόντως, 10 στρατιώταις οὐκ ἐχαρίζετο, ἀλλὰ πᾶσάν τε ἀφήρει πλεονεξίαν τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκείων, καὶ τὸ ἀρπακτικὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἔτρεπεν· ἐκόλαζε δὲ ἰσχυρῶς τοὺς παραβαίνοντας ταῦτα, καὶ τοῖς πειθομένοις εἰς τὸ εὐπορεῖν συνηγωνίζετο. ἀπλῶς δὲ εἰπεῖν, ὑπόδειγμα καὶ 15 χαρακτήρα παρεῖχεν ἑαυτὸν ἀρετῆς. γεγωνὺς δὲ ἐπὶ μεγάλας καὶ λαμπραῖς στρατηγίαις, ὥσπερ ὁ Ῥοδίων κολοσσός, διὰ μέγεθος καταπληκτικὸς ὢν, οὐκ ἔστιν ἐράσμιος, κἀκεῖνος διὰ τὸ ἀφιλοχρήματον θαυμαστός ὢν, οὐκ ἔσχε χάριν· προσκεκρουκῶς δὲ διὰ γνώμης ὀρθότητα τοῖς κατακοιμισταῖς εὐνόχοις τῶν βασιλέων, εὐκόλος ὢν διὰ πενίαν καὶ κοῦρος εἰς μετανάστασιν, διεδέχθη τῆς 20 στρατηγίας. (Cf. K 1947, II 2723)]

14 εὐπορεῖν M. Schmidt [εἶναι codd.

19 τοῦ βασιλέως Π 2723

#### 4 (Exc. de Sent. 47)

Ὅτι Σεβαστιανὸς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Οὐάλεντος εἰληφὺς παρὰ τὴν πάντων ὑπόνοιαν δισχιλίους ἤτησεν ὀπλίτας. τὴν δὲ ἐξουσίαν τῆς αἵρέσεως αὐτὸς ἐπιτραπεῖς, τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ χάριν προσομολογήσαντος, ὅτι κινδυνεύσει περὶ δισχιλίους, εἴτα ἐρομένου τὴν αἰτίαν, δι' ἣν ὀλίγους αἰτοῖται, τὰ λοιπὰ ὁ Σεβαστιανὸς ἔφη τὸν 5 πόλεμον εὐρήσειν· τοῖς γὰρ εὖ πράττουσι πολλοὺς προσθήσεσθαι· πλήθος δὲ μετακαλεῖν ἐξ ἀναγωγίας δύσκολον· ὀλίγων δὲ ἀρχομένων ἐς τὸ καλὸν μεταπλασθέντων, καὶ τῆς ἀγωγῆς ἐπιτυχανούσης, τοὺς κατὰ μικρὸν προσέοντας ῥάδιον ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον ἐνταθῆσεσθαι.

#### [5. (Suda E 374)

Ὁ δὲ Οὐάλης ἐκβακχευθεὶς ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀθρόαν παρήγγειλεν ἔξοδον.]

(Zosimus 4,22,4 - 24,2)

### Liber IX

#### 45

#### 1. (Suda Π 444)

Καὶ Εὐνάπιος· πολὺν διεστῶτας ἀλλήλων χωρεῖν ἐκέλευεν, ὅπως μὴ δοῦποι τὰ ὅπλα, μήτε τῷ παραστάτῃ θλιβόμενα, μήτε τῷ φέροντι διὰ τὸν συνωθισμὸν περικτυπούμενα.

desired wealth only sufficient to equip himself with excellent weapons. He preferred an austere and simple diet, enough to revive his strength but not enough to hinder him at the start of a task. Although he was exceedingly fond of his men, he did not pander to the troops, but erased all of their eagerness to plunder the provincials and directed their rapacity against the enemy. Those who disobeyed these ordinances he punished severely, those who obeyed he helped to become wealthy.<sup>101</sup> In a word, he himself was an exemplar of virtue. He held high and illustrious commands, but just as the Colossus of Rhodes, though striking because of its size, is not loved, so he, though an object of wonderment because of his lack of greed, did not inspire affection. His uprightness annoyed the imperial eunuch-chamberlains, and, because his poverty made him good-natured and easy to remove, he was replaced in his command.<sup>102</sup> (Cf. K 1947, II 2723)]

#### 4. (Exc. de Sent. 47)

When Sebastianus received his command from the Emperor Valens, against all expectations he asked for only two thousand soldiers. He was given leave to choose those whom he wished, and when the Emperor declared himself grateful that he would enter the war with only two thousand men and asked why he had chosen so few, Sebastianus replied that the war itself would discover the rest. "For", he said, "many will join those who enjoy success. But it is a hard task to recall a large number from bad habits. If at first a few are retrained to good discipline and their training brings success, those who gradually join them will easily be improved".<sup>103</sup>

#### [5. (Suda E 374)

Valens in a fury ordered the whole army to march against the enemy.]

(Zosimus 4,22,4 - 24,2)

### Book IX

#### 45

#### 1. (Suda Π 444)

He ordered them to advance in very loose order, so that their weapons should not make a noise, either through swinging against the next man or through clanging against themselves.<sup>104</sup>

2. (*Suda* Σ 1019)

Καὶ Εὐνάπιος· ὁ δὲ φέρων γράμματα ἐν χαλκῷ, στέατι περιπεπλασμένα, καθεὶς ἐν πήρᾳ, ἐπιθεῖς τε καὶ ἄλλους ἄρτους ὁμοίους, ὥς μὴ τινα γινῶναι τὸ ἀπόρρητον. (Cf. A 2202, K 67)

1-2 παραπεπλασμένα GM 2 ὁμοίως GM

3. (*Suda* Π 2351)

Εὐνάπιος· ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τούτους δεξάμενος· κτήματά τε αὐτοῖς καὶ χώραν ἀπένευψε, καὶ προβόλους τε ὑπελάμβανε γενναίους καὶ ἀδαμαντίνους ἔχων πρὸς τὰς ἐκεῖνι τῶν Οὐννων ἐμβολάς.

(Zosimus 4,24,3 - 26,9)

## 46

1. (*Exc. de Sent.* 48)

Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Θεοδοσίος, παραλαβὼν τοσαύτην ἀρχὴν καὶ βασιλείαν, συνεμαρτύρησε τοῖς παλαιῶς ἡλίκον ἐστὶ κακὸν ἐξουσία καὶ ὅτι πρὸς τὰ πάντα στεγανόν τι καὶ μόνιμον πλὴν εὐτυχίας ἀνθρώπος. οὐ γὰρ ἔφθασε παρελθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ καθάπερ 5 μεράκιον νεόπλουτον πατρὸς ἐπὶ πολλῷ χρόνῳ πολλὰ χρήματα σεσωρευκός διὰ σωφροσύνης καὶ φειδῶ, ἀθρόως κυριεῦσαν τῶν πραγμάτων σφοδρόν τινα καὶ παντοῖαν ὀλεθρον κατὰ τῶν εὐρεθέντων μαίνεται, οὕτω καὶ τότε ἦν ὁρῶντα ἐπισκοπεῖν ὥσπερ ἐκ περιωπῆς, τὸν γε ἔμψρονα, μηδένα τρόπον ἀμελοῦμενον κακίας καὶ ἀκολασίας ἐς τὴν κωτὴν τῶν πραγμάτων διαρρηδάν. 10

2. (*Suda* P 294)

Εὐνάπιος· τοσαύτη τις ἦν ἡ πρὸς τὸ ἀσελγέστερον ρύμη τε καὶ φορά, ὥστε οἱ ἄρχοντες τῶν πολέμων ἦσαν πολεμώτεροι.

3. (*Suda* Σ 478)

Εὐνάπιος· ὥστε ὁ σιρομάστης μᾶλλον εὐδοκίμει τοῦ δόρατος.

4. (*Exc. de Sent.* 49)

Ἀπορία γὰρ πρὸς εἰσφοράς ἀκίνδυνον.

(Zosimus 4,27,1 - 29,2)

## 47

1. (*Exc. de Sent.* 50)

Οἱ δὲ Νικοπολίται τῶν ἄλλων Θρακῶν κατεγέλασαν, οἱ τῷ φόβῳ τῆς βασιλείας τὰ δευὰ ἔπασχον, τὸ μὲν βοηθῆσον ἀεὶ δι' ἐλπίδος λεπτήης εἰκάζοντες, τὸ δὲ τῶν κινδύνων ἐνεσθηκὸς πείρα καὶ

2. (*Suda* Σ 1019)

He carried a letter graven on a bronze tablet, covered with dough and placed in a pouch with other similar cakes to prevent the discovery of the secret message.<sup>105</sup> (Cf. A 2202, K 67)

3. (*Suda* Π 2351)

The Emperor received them and gave them supplies and land in the expectation that they would be an excellent and unyielding bulwark against the Hunnic inroads in that area.

(Zosimus 4,24,3 - 26,9)

## 46

1. (*Exc. de Sent.* 48)

When Theodosius became Emperor over such a large territory, he provided proof of the old adages that power is a great evil and that man is a creature steadfast and unyielding in the face of everything except good fortune. For no sooner had he become Emperor than he behaved like a youth who is heir to new wealth accumulated over a long time by the foresight and thrift of his father and who, when he has suddenly 5 come into his inheritance, is seized by a violent desire to dissipate it in every way. Thus, at that time a wise observer could see as if from a watchtower that the Emperor was using every manner of wickedness and excess towards the ruin of the state.

2. (*Suda* P 294)

So strong was the impulse and inclination to excess, that the governors were more hostile than our enemies.

3. (*Suda* Σ 478)

... so that the pit-probe was more esteemed than the spear.

4. (*Exc. de Sent.* 49)

For penury is immune to taxation.<sup>106</sup>

(Zosimus 4,27,1 - 29,2)

## 47

1. (*Exc. de Sent.* 50)

The inhabitants of Nicopolis laughed at the rest of the Thracians, who, because they feared the power of the Emperor, were suffering terribly, persistently clinging to a slender hope of help in the future,

ὄψει διὰ μαλακίαν ὑπομένοντες. οὔτε γοῦν αὐτοὶ φρουράν τινα  
στρατιωτικὴν πεμψθήσεσθαι προσεδόκησαν οὔτε ἐν ἐτέροις ἔθεντο  
τὴν σωτηρίαν, ἀλλὰ τῶν μὴ δυναμένων ἑαυτοὺς ἀμύνειν περιφρονή-  
σαντες ἐς ἐλευθερίαν ἐπικύδυνον ἀπέστησαν.

5 οὔτε Dindorf [οὐδὲ cod.

2. (*Exc. de Sent.* 51)

Ὅτι ἐπὶ Θεοδοσίου οἱ βάρβαροι τὴν Θράκην ἐδήλωσαν κατὰ  
μικρὸν.

[3. (*Suda* E 2040)

Τοιαῦτα καὶ τοσαῦτα ἐπέκλυεν κακά, ὥστε χρυσὸς ἦν αὐτοῖς  
καὶ λευκὴ τις ἡμέρα κρατῆσαι τοὺς βαρβάρους.]

(Zosimus 4,30,1 - 33,2)

#### 48

1. (*Exc. de Sent.* 52)

Τοιοῦτον δέ τι ἰστόρηται γενέσθαι κατὰ τὴν Νέρωνος βασι-  
λείαν, ἀλλὰ περὶ μίαν πόλιν. φασὶ γὰρ τραγῳδὸν τινα διὰ τὴν  
Νέρωνος εἰς ταῦτα φιλοτιμίαν ἐκπεσόντα τῆς Ῥώμης εἶτα πλανᾶσθαι,  
δόξαν αὐτῷ <εἰς . . > καὶ τὸ τῆς φωνῆς πλεονέκτημα πρὸς ἀν-  
θρώπους ἡμιβαρβάρους ἐπιδεικνύναι, καὶ παρελθεῖν εἰς τοιαύτην  
μεγάλην πόλιν καὶ πολυάνθρωπον, συναγεῖραι τε αὐτοὺς εἰς θέατρον.  
καὶ συνελθόντων τὴν μὲν πρώτην ἡμέραν σφαλῆναι τῆς ἐπιδείξεως·  
οὐδὲ γὰρ τὴν ὄψιν ὑπομείναντας τοὺς θεατὰς, ἅτε ἄρτι καὶ πρῶτον  
ἑωρακότας, φεύγειν θλιβομένους περὶ ἀλλήλοις καὶ πατουμένους.  
ὥς δὲ ὁ τραγῳδὸς ἰδίᾳ τοὺς πρῶτους αὐτῶν ἀπολαβὼν τὴν τε τοῦ  
προσωπείου φύσιν ἐδείκνυ καὶ τοὺς ὀκρίβαντας, ὅρ' ὦν τὸ μέγεθος  
εἰς ὕψος παρατείνεται, καὶ συνέπειθεν οὕτως ἀνασχέσθαι καὶ τλῆναι  
τὴν ὄψιν, τότε παρελθὼν εἰς ἀνθρώπους καὶ ὥς μόλις ὑφισταμένους  
τὴν θέαν, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπιεκῶς καὶ μετρίως τῆς φωνῆς αὐτοῦ  
διέγευσσε καὶ τοῦ μέλους (Εὐριπίδου δὲ τὴν Ἀνδρομέδα ὑπεκρίνετο),  
προΐων δὲ σφοδρότερόν τε ἤχησε καὶ ὕρῃκεν αὐθις, εἶτα ἐπήγαγεν  
ἁρμονίαν σύντονον, ἐπὶ ταύτῃ δὲ πάλιν εἰς τὴν γλυκεῖαν περιήνεγκεν.  
ὥρα δὲ ἦν θέρους ὅτι περ ἀκμαιώτατον καὶ τὸ θέατρον κατείχετο.  
καὶ ὁ τραγῳδὸς ἀναπαυσασμένους ἡξίου σφᾶς φοιτᾶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόασιν  
περὶ λήγουσαν καὶ ἀποψύχουσαν ἡμέραν· οἱ δὲ πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν  
πεσόντες καὶ καλωδούμενοι πάσας ἀρίεσαν φωνὰς μήποτε αὐτοὺς

4 εἰς addidi et lacunam indicavi (fortasse Ἀθήνην in lac.) 5 τοιαύτην  
[Ταρσὸν Niebuhr Ἰοπαλὼν Bernhardy 14 αὐτοῦ scripsi [αὐτοῦ cod. αὐτοῦς  
Niebuhr 20 πρὸ Niebuhr [πρὸς cod.

while for the present they weakly endured the dangers which they saw  
and suffered. The Nicopolitans neither expected a military garrison to  
be sent to them nor did they rely on others for their safety, but,  
scorning those who were unable to defend themselves, opted for a  
precarious independence.<sup>107</sup>

2. (*Exc. de Sent.* 51)

During the reign of Theodosius the barbarians gradually de-  
vastated Thrace.

[3. (*Suda* E 2040)

So many woes of this kind beset them that they thought it a  
blessed and happy day if the barbarians conquered them.<sup>108</sup>]

(Zosimus 4,30,1 - 33,2)

#### 48

1. (*Exc. de Sent.* 52)

It is said that something similar happened in Nero's reign, but in  
only one city. For they say that a certain tragic actor, having been  
exiled from Rome by Nero out of his jealousy in these matters, decided  
to go off <to . . > and to exhibit his outstanding voice to men who  
were half barbarian; and he came to this great and populous city and  
invited them to the theatre.<sup>109</sup> When they gathered on the first day the  
performance was a failure, since the audience could not endure the  
sight, which they then saw for the first time, but fled, crushing and  
trampling each other in the process. But when the actor had taken the  
leading men aside and showed them the nature of the mask and the  
boots which increased his height, he persuaded them in this way to  
endure the sight and he came on stage again. Since the people could still  
hardly bear the spectacle, he at first very properly gave them a mild  
taste of his voice and its repertoire (he was performing Euripides' *And-  
romeda*) and as he proceeded he increased his volume, then lowered it,  
then introduced a severe song, and concluded with a sweet melody. It  
was summer and the hottest part of the day, and the theatre was full.  
The actor told them to take a rest and return to the recital at evening  
when it was growing cooler, but they threw themselves grovelling at his  
feet and entreated him in every way not to deprive them of such blessed

ἀποστερήσαι τοιαύτης μακαριότητος καὶ ἡδονῆς. ἐνταῦθα ὁ τραγωδὸς  
 ἄφρεις ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν καὶ τὸ πάθος, — καίτοι γε τὰ πλείστα  
 περιήρητο τῆς τραγωδίας πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἀξυνέτους, ὅγκος τε καὶ  
 βαρύτης λέξεων καὶ τὸ περὶ ταῦτα εἶδος καὶ ἡ τοῦ μέτρου χάρις τὸ τε  
 τῶν ἡθῶν ἐναργές, ὀξύτατόν τε καὶ ἐπιχωρώτατον εἰς ἀκοῆς κήνησιν,  
 καὶ πρὸς τοῦτοις τὸ γνωσκέσθαι τὴν ὑπόθεσιν, — ἀλλ' ὅμως τούτων  
 ἀπάντων γεγυμνωμένος ἐς τοσόνδε τῇ τε εὐφωνίᾳ καὶ τῷ μέλει  
 μόνῳ κατεκράτησεν ὥστε οἱ μὲν ἀνεχώρουν προσκυνοῦντες ὡς θεὸν  
 καὶ τὰ ἐξαίρετα τῶν παρὰ σφίσιν αὐτῷ δῶρα ἐκόμιζον, καὶ τὸν  
 πλοῦτον ὁ τραγωδὸς ἐβαρύνετο. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐβδόμην τῆς ἐπιδείξεως  
 ἡμέραν νόσημα κατέσκηψεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ πάντες οὐ τὰς λέξεις  
 σαφῶς, ἀλλὰ τὸ μέλος, ὡς ἕκαστος εἶχε δυνάμει καὶ φύσει,  
 ἐκβοῶντες, καὶ διαρροίας ἀκρατοῦς ἅμα ἐπιπιπτοῦσης ἐν τοῖς  
 στενωποῖς παρεθνότες ἕκαστος, κακῶς ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀνδρομέδας ἐπι-  
 τριβόμενοι, καὶ ἐχηρώθη τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν ἡ πόλις, ὥστε ἐκ  
 τῶν προσοίκων ἐποικισθῆναι. ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἐκείνων μὲν εὐφωνίαν τε ἦν  
 αἰτιασάσθαι καὶ ἄερος ὑπερβάλλουσαν θερμότητα, ἥ τὸ μέλος διὰ  
 τῆς ἀκοῆς ἐπὶ τὰ κύρια τῶν ψυχικῶν ὀργάνων συνέτηξε καὶ διέ-  
 καυσεν· ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀνθρώπων αἱ μὲν αἰτίαι τοῦ πάθους  
 εὐθεσώρητοι· περὶ τὰ ἔντερα γὰρ ἦσαν ἅπασαι καὶ ὑπὸ γαστέρα· τὸ  
 δὲ καὶ τινας τῶν οὐκ ἀνοήτων πρὸς τοῦτο ὠλισθηκέναι οὐκ εἰς  
 φυσικὴν ἀν τις εἰκότως, ἀλλ' εἰς θεωτέραν ἀνενέγκαι κήνησιν, ὡς  
 πονηλατεῖσθαι σαφῶς τὸ ἀνθρώπων.

25 εἶδος [ἦδος Meineke 30 αὐτῷ Meineke [αὐτοῖς cod. 33 μέλος Dindorf  
 [γένος cod.

## 2. (Exc. de Sent. 53)

Φυλαὶ μὲν γὰρ τῶν πολεμίων <εἰς> τὴν ἀρχὴν διεβεβήκεσαν  
 ἄπειροι, καὶ πλείους ἐπιδιέβρων, οὐδενὸς κωλύοντος· ἀλλ' ἐν τοσού-  
 τοις κακοῖς κέρδος αὐτοῖς ἔδοκε γνήσιον τὸ δωροδοκεῖσθαι παρὰ  
 τῶν πολεμίων. εἶχε δὲ ἐκάστη φυλὴ ἱερά τε οἰκοῦντα τὰ πατρία συν-  
 εφελομένη καὶ ἱερέας τούτων καὶ ἱερείας· ἀλλὰ στεγανὴ τις ἦν λίαν  
 καὶ ἀδαμάντως ἡ περὶ ταῦτα οἰωπὴ καὶ τῶν ἀπορρήτων ἐχεμυνία.  
 ἡ δὲ εἰς τὸ φανερὸν προσποιήσις καὶ πλάσις εἰς τὴν τῶν πολεμίων  
 ἀπάτην διηρυμμένη καὶ συντεθειμένη, Χριστιανοὶ τε εἶναι πάντες  
 ἔλεγον καὶ τινας ὡς ἐπισκόπους αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ θαναταζόμενον σχῆμα  
 καταστολίσαντες καὶ περικρύψαντες, καὶ πολλῆς αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀλώ-  
 πεκος ἐπιχέαντες, εἰς τὸ μέσον προηφίεσαν, πανταχοῦ τὸ ἀφύλακτον  
 διὰ τῶν καταφρονουμένων ὀρκων παρ' ἐκείνοις, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς βασι-  
 λεῦσι σφόδρα φυλαττομένων, ὑποτρέχοντες καὶ κατασκευάζοντες.

enjoyment. Thereupon the actor returned to the stage and launched  
 into a passionate piece. Although most of the qualities of the tragedy —  
 the dignity and profundity of the words and the form used to this  
 purpose, the charm of the metre, the clarity of characterisation, the  
 sharpness and suitability of the tone, and in addition a comprehension  
 of the plot — were lost upon these ignorant people, nevertheless, having  
 worked himself up to this performance, he won them by his melodious  
 singing alone, so that when they left the theatre they worshipped him  
 as a god and brought him as gifts the choicest of their possessions, and  
 the actor was weighed down with riches. On the seventh day after the  
 performance disease fell upon the city, and, since it brought with it an  
 uncontrollable diarrhoea, they all lay about feebly in the streets, singing  
 not the actual words but the tunes, as best they could. Thus they were  
 horribly destroyed by the *Andromeda*, and the city was denuded of its  
 men and women, so that it had to be repopulated from the neighbour-  
 hood. In their case the melodiousness was to blame and the excessive  
 warmth of the air which caused the singing to dissolve through the ears  
 and burn into the seat of the vital organs. But in the case of our con-  
 temporaries the causes of the ailment were easy to see in that they were  
 all centred upon the intestines and the parts below the belly; although  
 the fact that some people who were by no means fools fell into this  
 would reasonably be ascribed not to natural causes but to divine agency,  
 to make it clear that mankind was under attack by the Furies.<sup>110</sup>

## 2. (Exc. de Sent. 53)

For countless tribes had crossed into the Empire and more  
 followed, since there was no one to prevent them. But in so desperate a  
 situation they [i.e. the barbarians] considered it legitimate gain to  
 accept gifts from the enemy. Each tribe had brought along from home  
 its ancestral objects of worship together with their priests and priest-  
 esses, but they kept a deep and impenetrable silence upon these things  
 and spoke not a word about their mysteries. What they revealed was  
 fiction and sham designed to fool their enemies. They all claimed to be  
 Christians and some of their number they disguised as their bishops and  
 dressed them up in that respected garb and, providing for them, as it  
 were, a large fox-skin,<sup>111</sup> brought them forward. Thereby they were  
 able to get access to and appropriate what they rendered unguarded by  
 swearing oaths which they held in contempt but which the Emperors

ἦν δέ τι καὶ τῶν καλουμένων μοναχῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς γένος, κατὰ  
 μίμησιν τῶν παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπιτετηδευμένων, οὐδὲν ἐχούσης τῆς  
 μίμησεως πραγματῶδες καὶ δύσκολον, ἀλλὰ ἐξήρκει φαῖα ἱμάτια  
 σύρουσι καὶ χιτῶνια πονηροῖς τε εἶναι καὶ πιστεῦσθαι, καὶ τοῦτο  
 ὁξέως συνείδον οἱ βάρβαροι τὸ θαυμαζόμενον παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ῥαδίως  
 ἐς παραγωγὴν ἐπιτεθεύσαντες, ἐπὶ τὰ γε ἄλλα μετὰ βαδύτητος καὶ  
 σκέπης ὅτι μάλιστα στεγανωτάτης τῶν ἀπορρήτων τὰ παρὰ σφίσιν  
 ἱερὰ γεννηκῶς τε καὶ ἀδόλως φυλάττοντες. οὕτω δὲ ἐχόντων τούτων,  
 ὅμως ἐς τοσαύτην ἄνοιαν ἐξεπεπτώκεσαν ὥστε συμπεπεῖσθαι  
 σαφῶς καὶ ἀμάχως τοὺς δοκοῦντας νοῦν ἔχειν ὅτι Χριστιανοὶ τέ εἰσι  
 καὶ πάσαις ταῖς τελεταῖς ἀνέχοντες.

15 ἐπιτετηδευμένων Niebuhr [ἐπιτετηδευμένων cod. 19 ἐπὶ scriptis] [ἐπεὶ cod.  
 καὶ Boissevain 21 post φυλάττοντες add. διετέλουν Niebuhr  
 24 ἀνέχοντες Dindorf [ἀνεχον... cod. ἐνέχονται Boissevain]

### 3. (*Exc. de Sent.* 54)

Ὅτι ἐπὶ Θεοδοσίου τοῦ βασιλέως ἐς τοῦτο ἤδη συνέπεσεν  
 ἅπαντα καὶ περιηρέθη κατὰ τινα βίαν ἀπαραίτητον καὶ ἀνάγκην  
 ἀνυπόστατον καὶ θεήλατον ὥς καὶ τὸ τῶν ὄνων γένος, μὴ ὅτι τῶν  
 ἵππων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων γενέσθαι τιμωτέρον. ὁ μὲν οὖν  
 Μακεδὼν Φίλιππος καταzeugνῆναι μέλλων περὶ ἐσπέραν ἤδη, εἴτα  
 πυθόμενος ὥς αὐτὸν δυνατόν, εἰπόντων τῶν κωλυνόντων χιλὸν οὐχ ὑπ-  
 ἄρχειω ἱκανὸν τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις, ἀνέβη τοῦτ' ἐπειπὼν, ὥς οὐδὲν  
 βασιλέως ἀτυχέστερον, ὅς καὶ πρὸς τὸν τῶν ὄνων καιρὸν ζῆν ἀναγ-  
 κάζεται. ὁ δὲ καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνος ἐκωδύνευσεν ὁλος ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄνοις  
 σαλεύειν.

(Zosimus 4,33,3-4)

49

(Zosimus 4,34,1 - 35,1)

50

### (*Exc. de Sent.* 55)

Τοῦ βασιλέως δὲ Γρατιανοῦ τὰ μὲν καθ' ἑκάστον καὶ οἷός τις  
 ἦν αὐτὸς δυνατόν ἦν περιεργάζεσθαι (τὰ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἐπι-  
 κρύπτεται καὶ μάλα στεγανῶς) αὐτὸς πολυπραγμονοῦντι συμπαθεῖν·  
 τὰ γὰρ ἀπαγγελλόμενα παρ' ἑκάστου, πολλὰς καὶ πολυμόρφους τὰς  
 διαφορὰς ἔχοντα, μόνην τὴν ἀλήθειαν ὥσπερ τινα θησαυρὸν ἀπόρ-  
 ρητον οὐ διεγύμνου καὶ ἀπεκάλυπτεν. ὥσπερ οὖν τοῖς γράφουσι τὰς  
 εἰκόνας καὶ τὸ δοθὲν παράδειγμα χαρακτηρίζουσιν ἐπιτείνει τὴν περὶ  
 τὸ πρόσωπον ὁμοιότητα μικρὰ τινα τῶν ὑποκειμένων συμβόλων, καὶ

greatly respected. They also had with them some of the tribe of so-called  
 'monks', whom they had decked out in imitation of the monks amongst  
 their enemies. The imitation was neither laborious nor difficult, but it  
 sufficed for them to trail along grey cloaks and tunics to both become  
 and be accepted as evildoers. The barbarians used these devices to  
 deceive the Romans, since they shrewdly observed that these things  
 were respected amongst them, while the rest of the time, under cover of  
 the deepest secrecy, they worshipped the holy objects of their native  
 rites with noble and guileless intent. Although the situation was such,  
 the Romans had fallen into such folly that even those who appeared to  
 be sensible persons were clearly and readily persuaded that they were  
 Christians and bound by all Christian rites.<sup>112</sup>

### 3. (*Exc. de Sent.* 54)

In the reign of the Emperor Theodosius the whole situation was  
 adverse and unstable under some unavoidable compulsion and in-  
 exorable necessity brought on by the gods, so that even asses were more  
 valuable, not only than horses, but even than elephants. When Philip the  
 Macedonian wished at evening to halt his army and when he learned that  
 he could not because, as those who were advising to the contrary pointed  
 out, there was not enough pasture for the draught animals, he ordered  
 the army to move on, adding that nothing was more unfortunate than a  
 king who was forced to regulate his life according to the convenience of  
 asses. Our age seemed totally to ride upon the backs of asses.<sup>113</sup>

(Zosimus 4,33,3-4)

49

(Zosimus 4,34,1 - 35,1)

50

### (*Exc. de Sent.* 55)

Despite a diligent enquiry I was unable to make a full investigation  
 and gain information on the individual actions of the Emperor Gratian  
 and the qualities he showed therein, since these things were extremely  
 closely guarded secrets in the palace. The reports passed on by indi-  
 viduals contained many and various discrepancies and did not reveal the  
 simple truth, but rather concealed it like some forbidden treasure. A  
 parallel is offered by the portrait painter who seeks to capture the sitter  
 before him. The likeness of the face is captured through some of its

ἢ ρυτίς ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου διακεχαραγμένη ἢ τις ἰονθος παρανατέλλων  
 παρὰ τὸ γένειον ἢ τοιοῦτό τι μικρὸν καὶ παρημελημένον τῶν κατὰ 10  
 τὴν ὄψιν, ὃ παροφθὲν μὲν οὐχ ὑπογράφει τὸ εἶδος, ἀκριβωθὲν δὲ  
 μόνον αἰτίον τῆς ὁμοιότητος γίνεταί, οὕτως ἔξεστι καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦδε τοῦ  
 βασιλέως συλλαμβάνειν οἷός τις ἦν, νέος τε ὢν καὶ ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ βασι-  
 λικῇ τραφεὶς ἐκ παιδὸς καὶ μὴ μεμαθηκώς οἷον τὸ ἄρχον καὶ οἷον τὸ 15  
 ἀρχόμενον· τοῦτο γὰρ μάλιστα διαφαίνει τὸ τῆς φύσεως μέγεθος,  
 ὅταν τὴν προτεθεῖσαν ἀγωγὴν καὶ συνήθειαν ἡ φύσις ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον  
 ἐξώσῃ καὶ βιάσῃται, ἔξεστι δὲ λαβεῖν ἐκ τῶν ὑποκειμένων παρα-  
 δειγμάτων, εἰς δὲ συνωμολόγουν ἅπαντες καὶ ἀντέλεγεν οὐδὲ εἰς τῶν  
 ληρεῖν συνειδυμένων καὶ τὸν κοινὸν φλῆναρον ἡσκηκότων.

9 ἢ Boissvain [η cod. ἢ edd. 14 ἄρχον Meineke [ἄρχων cod. 17 λαβεῖν  
 Boissvain [μαθεῖν Mai 19 ληρεῖν Boissvain [λέγειν edd.]

(Zosimus 4,35,2-6)

51

(Zosimus 4,37)

52

(Zosimus 4,38-40)

53

(Zosimus 4,41)

54

° (Zosimus 4,42-47)

55

(Exc. de Sent. 56)

ἽΟτι ἐπὶ Θεοδοσίου τοῦ Μαξίμου στασιάζσαντος καὶ βαρβάρων  
 κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐκστρατευσάντων φήμη κατέσχε τοῖς βαρβάροις ὥς  
 οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι στρατὸν ὅτι πλεῖστον συλλέγουσι, καὶ συλλογισάμενοι τὸ  
 δεινὸν αἱ βάρβαροι ἐπὶ τὸ σύνθηρες ἀνέδραμον σόφισμα, καὶ κατέδυσαν  
 ἐπὶ τὰς Μακεδονικὰς λίμνας, καὶ συμρανὲς γε ἅπασι κατέστη ὥς ἡ 5  
 Ῥωμαίων βασιλεῖα, τρυφήν μὲν ἀρνούμενη, πόλεμον δὲ αἰρούμενη,  
 οὐδὲν ἀρήσει τῆς γῆς τὸ ἀνῆκοον καὶ ἀδούλωτον, ἀλλὰ δεινὸν γέ τι  
 χρῆμα ταῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσεσιν ὁ θεὸς ἐγκατέμειξεν, ὥσπερ τοῖς  
 ὀστακοῖς τὴν ἐπικίνδυνον χολὴν καὶ τοῖς ῥόδοις ἀκάνθας, οὕτω ταῖς

2 τοῖς βαρβάροις Mai

7 τὸ cod. [ἔτι Kuiper

minor characteristics — a deep furrow on the brow, prominent side-  
 burns, or some similar insignificant detail of the features, which, if  
 overlooked, causes the portrait to fail, but if rendered accurately, is the  
 sole reason why the likeness has been caught. Just so, in the case of this  
 Emperor, one can infer what kind of man he was, since, though still  
 young, he had been Emperor from childhood, and yet had learned  
 neither how to rule nor how to be ruled. For greatness of character is  
 especially shown when one's natural virtue overcomes the conduct and  
 mores that have been implanted in one and forces them to grow better.  
 It is possible to draw a portrait of Gratian from the available examples  
 of his behaviour upon which all agree to a man, even those whose habit  
 it is to spread the usual idle gossip.<sup>114</sup>

(Zosimus 4,35,2-6)

51

(Zosimus 4,37)

52

(Zosimus 4,38-40)

53

(Zosimus 4,41)

54

(Zosimus 4,42-47)

55

(Exc. de Sent. 56)

During the reign of Theodosius, when Maximus had rebelled and  
 the barbarians had launched an attack on the Romans, a report reached  
 the barbarians that the Romans were gathering their largest possible  
 army. The barbarians, contemplating the danger to themselves, resorted  
 to their usual plan and hid in the marshes of Macedonia. It was clear to  
 all that if the Roman state rejected luxury and embraced war, it would  
 conquer and enslave all the world. But God has set a deadly trait in  
 human nature, like the poisonous gall in a lobster or thorns on a rose.



ἐξουσίαις συγκατασπείρας τὴν ἡδονὴν καὶ ῥαθυμίαν, δι' ἣν, πάντα 10  
ἐξὸν εἰς μίαν μεταστήσαι πολιτείαν καὶ συναρμόσαι τὸ ἀνθρώπων,  
αἱ βασιλεῖαι τὸ θνητὸν σκοποῦσαι πρὸς τὸ ἡδὺ καταφέρονται, τὸ τῆς  
δόξης ἀθάνατον οὐκ ἐξετάζουσαι καὶ παρεκλέγουσαι.

13 παρεκλέγουσαι cod. [παραβλέπουσαι van Herwerden

(Zosimus 4,48-50)

## 56

(Vit. Soph. 6,11,1-7)

Οὐ γὰρ ἔφθανεν ἐκεῖνος ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀπιών, καὶ ἥ τε θερα-  
πεία τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν καὶ τὸ Σαραπεῖον ἱερῶν διεσκε-  
δάννυτο· οὐχ ἡ θεραπεία μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ οἰκοδομήματα, καὶ  
πάντα ἐγίνετο καθάπερ ἐν ποιητικοῖς μύθοις, τῶν Γιγάντων κεκρα-  
τηκότων. καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Κάνωβον ἱερὰ ταῦτ' οὗτο ἔπασχον. Θεο- 5  
δοσίῳ μὲν τότε βασιλεύοντι, Θεοφίλῳ δὲ προστατοῦντι τῶν  
ἐναγῶν, ἀνθρώπου τινὸς Εὐρυμέδοντος

ὅς ποθ' ὑπερθύμοισι Γιγάντεσσιν βασιλεὺς  
Εὐαγρίῳ δὲ τὴν πολιτικὴν ἀρχὴν ἄρχοντι, Ῥωμανοῦ δὲ τοῦ κατ'  
Αἴγυπτον στρατιώτας πεπιστευμένου· οἳτινες, ἅμα φραζάμενοι κατὰ 10  
τῶν ἱερῶν καθάπερ κατὰ λίθων καὶ λιθοξῶν θυμὸν, ἐπὶ ταῦτα  
ἀλλόμενοι, πολέμου δὲ μῆτε ἀκοὴν ὑφιστάμενοι, τῷ τε Σαραπεῖῳ  
κατελυμήναντο καὶ τοῖς ἀναθήμασιν ἐπολέμησαν, ἀνανταγώνιστον  
καὶ ἄμαχον νίκην νικήσαντες. τοῖς γοῦν ἀνδρίασι καὶ ἀναθήμασιν ἐς  
τοσόνδε γενναίως ἐμαχέσαντο, ὥστε οὐ μόνον ἐνίκων αὐτά, ἀλλὰ καὶ 15  
ἐκλεπτον, καὶ τάξιν ἦν αὐτοῖς πολεμικὴ τὸν ὑφελόμενον λαθεῖν. τοῦ δὲ  
Σαραπεῖου μόνον τὸ ἔδαφος οὐχ ὑφείλοντο διὰ βάρος τῶν λίθων, οὐ  
γὰρ ἦσαν εὐμετακίητοι· συγγέαντες δὲ ἅπαντα καὶ ταράξαντες, οἱ  
πολεμικώτατοι καὶ γενναῖοι, καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀναμιάκτους μὲν, οὐκ  
ἀφιλοχρημάτους δὲ προτείναντες, τοὺς τε θεοὺς ἔρασαν νενικηκέναι, 20  
καὶ τὴν ἱεροσυλίαν καὶ τὴν ἀσέβειαν εἰς ἔπαυον σφῶν αὐτῶν κατε-  
λογίζοντο.

Εἶτα ἐπεισῆγον τοῖς ἱεροῖς τόποις τοὺς καλουμένους μοναχοὺς,  
ἀνθρώπους μὲν κατὰ τὸ εἶδος, ὁ δὲ βίος αὐτοῖς σῶδης, καὶ ἐς τὸ  
ἐμφανὲς ἔπασχον τε καὶ ἐποιοῦν μυρία κακὰ καὶ ἄφραστα. ἀλλ' 25  
ὅμως τοῦτο μὲν εὐσεβὲς ἐδόκει, τὸ καταφρονεῖν τοῦ θείου· τυραννικὴν  
γὰρ εἶχεν ἐξουσίαν τότε πᾶς ἄνθρωπος μέλαυναν φορῶν ἐσθῆτα, καὶ  
δημοσίᾳ βουλόμενος ἀσχημονεῖν· ἐς τοσόνδε ἀρετῆς ἤλασε τὸ ἀνθρώ-  
πων. ἀλλὰ περὶ τούτων μὲν καὶ ἐν τοῖς καθολικοῖς τῆς ἱστορίας  
συγγράμμασιν εἴρηται.

30

9 Εὐαγρίου Seeck [Εὐελίου codd.

For in high authority he has implanted love of pleasure and ease, with  
the result that, while they have all the means with which to unite man-  
kind into one polity, our Emperors in their concern for the transient  
turn to pleasure while neither pursuing nor showing interest in the  
immortality which is brought by glory.

(Zosimus 4,48-50)

## 56

(Vit. Soph. 6,11,1-7)

For as soon as he [Antoninus] departed from mankind the cults  
of the gods at Alexandria and at the Serapeum were destroyed, and not  
only the cults but the temples also, and it was all as in the myths of the  
poets when the Giants had won; and the temples at Canobus suffered  
exactly the same fate. Theodosius was then Emperor, and Theophilus  
was the leader of the defiled ones, a man who was a sort of Eurymedon,  
who once ruled the overweening Giants,

and Evagrius was the civil governor of Egypt, and Romanus the mili-  
tary commander. These men, girding their anger at the holy objects for  
a battle against stones and stone-masons and hearing not a sound of  
war, fell upon these things, wreaked destruction on the Serapeum,  
fought with its votive offerings, and won a victory without facing an  
enemy or fighting a battle. They fought so nobly against the statues and  
the votive offerings that they not only conquered but stole them also,  
leaving only the floor of the Serapeum because of the weight of the  
stones, which were difficult to move. Their strategy in this war was that  
the thief should avoid detection, and when they had thrown everything  
into turmoil and confusion, these most warlike and noble men raised  
their hands, stained not by blood but by money, and declared that they  
had defeated the gods and held their temple-robbery and impiety a  
matter for praise.

Then they brought into the holy places the so-called 'monks',  
men in appearance but swine in their way of life, and they both per-  
mitted and themselves performed openly thousands of unspeakable  
indignities, thinking it pious, however, to show contempt for things  
divine. For at that time whoever wore a black cloak and wished to  
behave disgracefully in public had the power of a tyrant, to such a  
height of virtue had mankind come. But these things I have described in  
the general narrative of my History.

## 57

(Exc. de Sent. 57)

“Οτι ὀλιωθηρόν, ὡς ἔοικε, καὶ σφαλερώτερον ἀνθρώπος πρὸς τιμὴν ἢ συμφορὰν. θεραπεύσαντες γὰρ τὸν Τατιανὸν οἱ περὶ τὸν βασιλέα Θεοδοσίον, τιμὰς τε ὑπερφυεῖς ἐκ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ μεταγνώσεις ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγεννημένοις ἐνσπόνδους ποιησάμενοι, καὶ περὶ τῶν μελλόντων οὐρανομήκεις ἐλπίδας ὑποσπείραντες, τοῦτον παρέπεισαν ἀγαγεῖν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Πρόκλον τοῦνομα· ὃν εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον συνέκλεισαν, καὶ τὸν Τατιανὸν ἐπὶ Λυκίας ἀπέπεμψαν τοῦ παιδὸς χηρώσαντες.

5 ὑποσπείραντες Boissevain [ὑποσπείραντες edd.]

(Zosimus 4,51-52)

## 58

[1. (Suda A 81)]

Ἀβρογάστης, Φράγγος, ὃς κατὰ ἀλκὴν σώματος καὶ θυμοῦ τραχύτητα φλογοειδὴς ἦν, δευτεραγωνιστὴς τυγχάνων Βαῦδωνος. ἄλλως τε ἦν καὶ πρὸς σωφροσύνην πεπηγώς τε καὶ διηρθρωμένος, καὶ πρὸς χρήματα πόλεμον πολεμῶν ἀσπονδόν. διέφερε γοῦν τῶν εὐτελῶν στρατιωτῶν ὅσον γε εἰς πλοῦτον οὐδέν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐδόκει τῷ βασιλεῖ Θεοδοσίῳ χρήσιμος, ὃς γε πρὸς τὸν Οὐαλεντιανοῦ τρόπον, ἀρρενωπὸν ὄντα καὶ δίκαιον, καὶ τὸ παρ’ αὐτοῦ βάρος ἐπετίθει, καθάπερ ὀρθὸν καὶ ἀστραβὴ τινα κανόνα τοῖς βασιλείοις, πρὸς τὸ μηδὲν τῶν περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν παραβλάπτεσθαι ἢ ἀμαρτάνεσθαι.]

[2. (John of Antioch Fr. 187 = Exc. de Ins. 79)]

“Οτι ἐπὶ Θεοδοσίου τοῦ βασιλέως Οὐαλεντιανὸς ὁ νέος βασιλεὺς ἀγγέλλεται ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς τοιαύτης τεθυνηκέναι. ὁ τοῦτου πατὴρ Οὐαλεντιανὸς γυναῖξί πλείοσω ἐχρήσατο παρὰ τοὺς διατεταγμένους Ῥωμαίων νόμους· ἡ τοῦτον τοῦτου δευτέρα γυνὴ θυγάτηρ μὲν ἐλέγετο γεγενῆσθαι Ἰούστου, Μαγνηντίου δὲ γυνὴ τοῦ τυραννήσαντος κατὰ τοὺς Κωνσταντίου χρόνους, διὰ νεότητά τε οὐ τυχούσα τέκνων ἐξ ἐκείνου χηρεύουσα καὶ ἐγκρατευομένη διετέλει. ἥς διὰ κάλλους ὑπερβολὴν ἐρασθεὶς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀγεται ταύτην κατὰ δεύτερον γάμον. ἐξ ἥς Οὐαλεντιανὸς ὁ νέος ὁ Θεοδοσίῳ συμβασιλεύσας ἐτέχθη, καὶ Γάλλα ἡ Θεοδοσίῳ συναφθεῖσα μετὰ τὴν Φλακίλλης τελευτήν, καθ’ ὃν καιρὸν τὸν τε Μάξιμον ἐνίκα καὶ τὸν Οὐαλεντιανὸν ἔσωξεν· ὥστε ὑπῆρχεν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ τῆς βασιλείας καὶ ἡ τῆς κηδεῖας συνάρεια.

Τότε δὴ οὖν τῆς τοῦ Οὐαλεντιανοῦ ἀναφύσεως διαγγελθείσης, μέγιστον κατεῖχε πένθος αὐτόν τε τὸν βασιλέα τῆς ἔω καὶ

## 57

(Exc. de Sent. 57)

Man is a creature more likely to slip and fall in the face of honour than of misfortune. For those around Theodosius paid court to Tatianus, promising him that the Emperor would forget the past and confer upon him extraordinary honours, and, by offering him sky-high hopes for the future, they persuaded him to bring along his son Proculus. The latter they threw into gaol and they exiled Tatianus to Lycia after depriving him of his son.<sup>115</sup>

(Zosimus 4,51-52)

## 58

[1. (Suda A 81)]

Abrogastes, a Frank, second-in-command to Baudo, and one whose physical strength and fierce temper made him like an inferno. Otherwise, his temperance was firm and complete, and he waged an endless war on corruption. His wealth was no more than that of a common soldier. For this reason he seemed to the Emperor Theodosius to be an ideal person to reinforce with his own gravity the habits of Valentinian, which were manly and just, and, as a model of rectitude in the palace, to ensure that no criminal acts or injuries be committed at court.<sup>116]</sup>

[2. (John of Antioch Fr. 187 = Exc. de Ins. 79)]

During the reign of the Emperor Theodosius news came that the young Emperor Valentinian had been killed as the result of a plot, the manner of which was as follows. His father Valentinian had a number of wives contrary to Roman law. His second wife was said to have been the daughter of Justus and the wife of Magnentius who had usurped during the reign of Constantius [II]. Because of her youth she had had no children by Magnentius and was at the time living as a celibate widow. The Emperor fell in love with her because of her great beauty and made her his second wife. Her children were the younger Valentinian, co-Emperor with Theodosius, and Galla, who was married to Theodosius after the death of Flacilla, at the time when he defeated Maximus and saved Valentinian. Thus they were co-Emperors and related by marriage.<sup>117</sup>

When the murder of Valentinian was reported, great grief fell upon the Emperor of the East and the dead man's sister, the Empress

τὴν ἀδελφὴν τοῦ τετελευτηκότος βασιλίδα Γάλλαν, μεγάλην τε ἐμελετᾶτο τοῦ πολέμου σπουδὴ κατὰ τοῦ τὸν φόνον ἐργασαμένου. Ἀρβωγᾶστος δὲ ἦν, ἐκ τοῦ Φράγκων γένους, Βάνδωνος τοῦ πρὸς Γρατιανοῦ τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος τὴν στρατοπεδαρχικὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐπιτραπέντος υἱός, φλογοειδὴς τε καὶ βάρβαρος τὴν ψυχὴν, ὃς τὸν Οὐαλεντινιανὸν βιασάμενος εἰς τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς παρῆλθε στρατηλασίαν· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀντιλέγειν αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ῥώμην. οὗτος γοῦν πολλοὺς τῶν ἐν ἀξιώμασι παρὰ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως βουλὴν διεχειρίζετο, καὶ τούτους οὐ μόνον ἀγνοοῦντος τοῦ κρατοῦντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ κωλύοντος· ἐν οἷς καὶ τὸν Ἀρμόνιον, ὃς Ταύρου μὲν ἦν παῖς τοῦ τὴν ὑπατον διέποντος, ἐπειδὴ τι τὸν Ἀρβωγᾶστην ἐλύπησεν, ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ ξίφος τὴν χεῖρα ἔτρεψεν, ὁ δὲ Ἀρμόνιος τῷ βασιλεῖ τὸ σῶμα παραδοὺς σὺν τῇ ἀλουργίδι κατετέμνετο· ἐκ τούτου τε πολλὴ πρὸς τὸν στρατοπεδάρχην καὶ τὸν βασιλέα γέγονεν ἡ ὑπόνοια. καὶ ὁ μὲν Οὐαλεντινιανὸς τὴν Θεοδοσίου λάθρα μετεπέμπετο συμμαχίαν, ὡς μὴ δυνάμενος φέρειν τὴν τοῦ τυράννου θρασυτητα· πλὴν ὥς τι σοφὸν κατὰ τοῦ τυράννου πράττειν ἠγοούμενος γραμματεῖον αὐτῷ τῆς διαδοχῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ συνεδρίου δίδωσι. ὅπερ δεξάμενος ὁ βάρβαρος καὶ ἀναγνούς παραχρῆμα τοῖς ὄνυξι διεσπάραξεν, λεοντῶδει δὲ τῇ φωνῇ κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ὀργισθεὶς, ἀπῆει πρόκωπον ἔχων τὸ ξίφος. πολέμιος τούτων ἀπεδείχθη φανερός τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ. καὶ ὁ μὲν Οὐαλεντινιανὸς ἐβούλετο παραχρῆμα πρὸς τὸν Θεοδόσιον ἐξιπεύσασθαι, ὁ δὲ βάρβαρος τὴν κατ' αὐτοῦ κίνησιν ἐπιτεύκας, πρὸς τι πολισμάτιον Ἰταλικὸν Βέρναν λεγόμενον διατρίβοντι καὶ βραδυμότερον περὶ τὴν τοῦ πολυχνίου φρουρὰν διαγενομένῳ προσπεσὼν καὶ ἀφύλακτον τοῦτον εὐρὼν ξίφει διεχρήσατο. οὕτω μὲν οὖν Οὐαλεντινιανὸς ὁ νέος βιώσας ἔτη κ', βασιλεύσας δὲ ἔτη η', καταστρέφει τὸν βίον.

Ὁ δὲ Ἀρβωγᾶστος, Εὐγένιον αὐτῷ ἐπὶ σοφιστικὸν ἐγκαθήμενον θρόνον, καὶ ὑπὸ γλώττης εὐδοκμοῦντα, ὁ θεῖος ἐπέστη Ῥιχομήριος, ἡνίκα παρὰ τὸν Θεοδόσιον μετὰ τὴν Μαξίμου νίκην ἐν τοῖς ἐφώcis βασιλείcis ἀπῆγετο. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ῥιχομήριος τὸ σῶμα καμῶν ἐτελεύτα κατὰ τὴν Κωνσταντίνου· τὸν δὲ Εὐγένιον ὁ βάρβαρος βασιλέα τῶν ἐσπερίων ἀποδείξας ἄκοντί γε περιτίθησι τὸ σχῆμα, ὅστις εὐθέως πρεσβεῖαν πρὸς τὸν Θεοδόσιον ἔστειλε πειρώμενος, εἰ ὁμολογήσει φίλος εἶναι καὶ δέχοιτο αὐτὸν βασιλεύοντα.]

23 οὗτος M [οὕτω PS γοῦν [γὰρ edd. 26 τι PS [δὲ M ἐλύπησεν M  
ἐλύπησεν PS 45-46 et 47 Ῥιχομήριος M [Σεριομήριος PS

Galla, and they became very eager for war against the murderer. This was Arbogast, a Frank and a man of fiery and barbarous spirit, the son of Baudo, who had been appointed master of the soldiers by the Emperor Gratian. Arbogast through his warlike prowess compelled Valentinian to allow him to succeed his father as general.<sup>118</sup> He slew many persons of high standing in the Emperor's council, not merely without the Emperor's knowledge but despite his attempts to prevent it. Amongst these was Armonius, the son of Taurus the consul. When he annoyed Arbogast and the latter reached for his sword, Armonius fled to the Emperor for protection, but was run through together with the imperial robe. As a result there was much suspicion between the general and the Emperor. Valentinian secretly sought the active assistance of Theodosius, saying that he could not endure the forwardness of his tyrannical general. However, thinking to outmanoeuvre the tyrant, Valentinian in a council-meeting handed him a rescript announcing his removal from office. The barbarian took it, read it and tore it to shreds with his fingers,<sup>119</sup> and, having roared out his rage at the Emperor, walked out with drawn sword. Thus he showed himself an overt enemy of the Roman state, and Valentinian wished immediately to ride off to Theodosius. The barbarian set out against Valentinian and fell in with him as he was staying at a small town of Italy called Verna<sup>120</sup> and relaxing with the garrison of the tiny place. Catching him unawares, he cut him down with his sword. Thus died the younger Valentinian, having lived for 20 years and reigned for eight.

Arbogast was introduced to Eugenius, who held a sophistic chair and had a high reputation for eloquence, by his uncle Richomer at the time when the latter was leaving to join Theodosius at the eastern court after the victory over Maximus. Richomer fell sick and died at Constantinople, whereas the barbarian made Eugenius Emperor of the western Romans, clothing him in the imperial regalia against his will. Eugenius immediately sent an embassy to Theodosius to inquire whether the latter was willing to be his friend and accept him as Emperor.]

(Zosimus 4,53-55)

(Exc. de Leg. Gent. 7)

Ὅτι ἐπὶ Θεοδοσίου τοὺς πρώτους χρόνους τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ Σκυθῶν ἔθνος ἐξελαυνόμενον τῆς χώρας ὑπὸ τῶν Οὐννων διεβήκεσαν τῶν φυλῶν ἡγεμόνες ἀξιώματι καὶ γένει προσήκοντες. οὗτοι ταῖς τιμαῖς τοῦ βασιλέως ἐξωγκωμένοι καὶ πάντα ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς ὀρῶντες κείμενα στάσω ἐν ἀλλήλοις οὐ μικρὰν ἡγείραν, οἱ μὲν ἀγαπᾶν καὶ δέχεσθαι τὴν παρούσαν εὐδαμονίαν κελεύοντες, οἱ δὲ τὸν οἶκον γεγονότα φυλάττειν ὄρκον αὐτοῖς καὶ μὴ παραβαίνειν ἐκείνας τὰς συνθήκας. αὗται δὲ ἦσαν ἀσεβέσταται καὶ βαρβαρικὸν ἦθος εἰς ὠμότητα παρατρέχουσαι, παντὶ τρόπῳ Ῥωμαίους ἐπιβουλεύειν καὶ πάσῃ μηχανῇ καὶ δόλῳ τοὺς ὑποδεξαμένους ἀδικεῖν, κἂν τὰ μέγιστα ὑπ' αὐτῶν εὖ πάσχωσιν, ὥς ἂν τῆς ἐκείνων ἀπάσης χώρας ἐγκρατεῖς γένωνται. περὶ τούτου μὲν οὖν ἦν αὐτοῖς ἡ στάσις, καὶ διανεμηθέντες ἀλλήλων ἀπερράγησαν, οἱ μὲν τὰ χεῖρῳ προθέμενοι τῆς βουλῆς, οἱ δὲ τὰ εὐσεβέστερα, ἐπικρύπτοντες δὲ ἑκάτερα στάσις τὴν πρόφασιν τῆς ὀργῆς ὅμως. καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τιμῶν οὐκ ἔληγεν, ἀλλ' ὁμοτραπέζους εἶχε καὶ ὁμοσκήνους, καὶ πολὺ τὸ φιλόδωρον ἐς αὐτοὺς ἦν· οὐδαμοῦ γὰρ ἐξεφέρετο καὶ παρεγυμνοῦτο τὰ τῆς φιλαυθείας, ἦν δὲ ἡγεμὼν τῆς μὲν θεωριλῶν καὶ θείας μερίδος Φράβιδος, ἀνὴρ νέος μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν, γεγονώς δὲ εἰς ἀρετὴν καὶ ἀλήθειαν ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων κάλλιστος. θεοὺς τε γὰρ ὠμολόγει θεραπεύειν κατὰ τὸν ἀρχαῖον τρόπον καὶ οὐδεμίαν ὑπέστη πλάσιν εἰς ἀπάτην καὶ διάκρουσιν, ἀλλὰ γυμνὴν καὶ καθαρὰν διέφαινε τὴν ψυχὴν περὶ τοῦ βίου, ἐχθρὸν ὑπολαμβάνων

ὁμῶς Ἀῖδαο πύλῃσιν

ὅς χ' ἕτερον μὲν κεῖσθαι ἐν φρεσίν, ἄλλο δὲ εἶπαι.

γυναῖκα οὖν ἤτησε Ῥωμαῖαν εὐθύς, ἵνα μὴδὲν ὑβρίξῃ διὰ σώματος ἀνάγκην. καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπέτρεψε τὸν γάμον, καὶ ὁ πατὴρ τῆς κόρης (ἐτρέφετο γὰρ ὑπὸ πατρὶ) καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐθαύμασε μακάριον ἑαυτὸν ὑπολαμβάνων, εἰ τοιαῦτον ἔξει γαμβρόν. τῶν μὲν οὖν ὁμοφύλων ὀλίγοι τινὲς τῇν εὐσέβειαν καὶ ἀρετὴν ἀγασθέντες τοῦ νεανίσκου πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνου γνώμην ἐχώρησαν καὶ συνεστήκεσαν, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ δυνατώτεροι τῶν δεδογμένων ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀπριεῖ εἶχοντο καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὥδῃα τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς σφαδάζοντες ἐμεμήνησαν· ὧν ἦρχεν Ἐρίουλφος, ἀνὴρ ἡμιμᾶνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων λυσσωδέστερος. συμποσίον δὲ προτεθέντος αὐτοῖς παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀδροτέρου καὶ πολυτελεστέρου, τὴν παροιμίαν ἀποδεξάντες ἀληθῆ τὴν λέγουσαν· ὥσος

1-2 τοῦ... ἔθνος de Boor (τὸ... ἔθνος codd. ἐξελαυνόμενου scripsi)  
[ἐξελαυνόμενοι codd. 21-22 διάκρουσιν Dindorf [διακρότησιν A διακρότησιν Classen]

(Exc. de Leg. Gent. 7)

During the early years of the reign of the Emperor Theodosius, when the Scythian nation was being driven from its lands by the Huns, the leaders of the tribes who were paramount in reputation and nobility crossed over to Roman territory.<sup>121</sup> They, being loaded with honours by the Emperor and observing that everything was theirs for the taking, came into considerable conflict among themselves. One side said that they should rejoice in and accept their present good fortune, the other that they should keep the oaths that they had sworn at home and not break their pledge. This pledge, a most unholy one that went beyond the normal savagery of the barbarians, was that, even if they were to receive the greatest kindnesses from the Romans, they would plot against them in every way and use every treacherous device to harm those who had taken them in, in order that they might gain possession of all their territory. This was the subject of their conflict and, since they held different views, they split apart, some holding to the worse plan, others to the more honourable, although both factions concealed the cause of their animus. The Emperor continued to honour them, inviting them to dine at his table and visit his rooms, and he gave them many gifts, for no single detail of their quarrel came to light. The leader of the virtuous and god-fearing party was Fravitta, a man young in years but the most remarkable of all in his virtue and honesty. He openly declared that he worshipped the gods after the ancient fashion and he had no inclination towards deceit and evasion, but in his way of life revealed a soul that was transparently pure, holding him an enemy

like the gates of Death

who hides one thing in his heart and speaks another.<sup>122</sup>

He straightway asked for a Roman wife, lest the needs of the body force him to violence. The Emperor permitted him the marriage, and the father of the girl (who was still living at home) was delighted at the match and thought himself lucky to have such a son-in-law. A minority of Fravitta's fellow-tribesmen applauded the young man's honourable and virtuous conduct and adopted the same point of view. The larger and more powerful faction, however, clung fast to their initial opinion and were striving furiously to bring their plot to fruition. Their leader was Eriulf, a half-madman who raged more wildly than the rest. At a very grand and costly banquet thrown for them by the Emperor they showed the truth of the proverb *in vino veritas*. For on that occasion

καὶ ἀλήθεια τοῦ Διονύσου, καὶ τότε ῥήξαντος αὐτοῖς παρὰ πότον τὴν ἐπικρυπτομένην στάσιν, διαλύεται μὲν τὸ συμπόσιον ἀτάκτως, καὶ διὰ θυρῶν ἐχώρου τεθορυβημένοι καὶ παρακεκωηκότες· ὁ δὲ Φράβιδος δι' ἀρετῆς ὑπερβολὴν τὸ καλὸν καὶ δίκαιον κάλλιον ἅμα καὶ θεο- 40 φιλέστερον δοκῆσαι νομίζων, εἰ προσθεῖη τάχος, οὐ περιμένας ἕτερον καιρὸν, ἀλλὰ σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος τῆς πλευρᾶς Ἐριούλου διήλασεν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔκειτο πεσὼν, ὀνειροπολήσας τὴν ἄδικον ἐπιβουλὴν· οἱ δὲ . . . (Cf. *Exc. de Sent.* 58)

39 παρακεκωηκότες [παρωχηκότες Classen 41 προσθεῖη [προσεῖη Niebuhr (Zosimus 4,56)

## 60

[1. (John of Antioch *Fr.* 187 = *Exc. de Ins.* 79)

Οὗς δὲ ὁ Θεοδόσιος ποικίλοις διακρουσάμενος λόγοις καὶ φι- 5 ανθρώποις ἀποκρίσει δελεάσας ἀπεπέμψατο. αὐτὸς δὲ Ῥωμαϊκὸν μὲν τὸν Τιμάσιον, Σκυθικὸν δὲ τὸν Γανᾶν, ἐξ Ἀλανῶν δὲ τὸν Σαούλ ἄρχοντας τῶν στρατοπέδων παραλαβὼν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ Στελχίωνα τοῖς στρατευμασιν ἐπιστήσας (ὅς ἦν μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνέκαθεν τοῦ Σκυθικοῦ γένους, τῆς δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀδελφῆς Σερήνης αὐτῷ προσγαμη- 10 θείσης, βασιλέως οὐδὲν ἀπελείπετο), πολλοὺς τε τῶν Θρακίων Οὐννων σὺν τοῖς παρεπομένοις φυλάρχοις διαναστήσας εἶχετο τῆς πρὸς τὴν Ἰταλίαν πορείας, ὡς ἂν τὸν Εὐγένιον μηδὲν τι προσδοκῶντα ἀπαράσκευον καταλάβοι. ἐξιώντι δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς αὐλῆς ἡ 15 βασίλισσα τελευτᾷ.

Ὅπηνικα δὲ τοῖς τῆς Ἰταλίας προσῆλθεν ὄροις, τῷ παραλόγῳ τῆς ὀξύτητος καὶ τῷ τάχει τῆς ἀφράστου διαδρομῆς ὁ Εὐγένιος 15 ἔπηξεν, ἀνὴρ ἀπειρος πολέμου καὶ σάλπιγγος. ὁ δὲ Ἀρβωγαστὴς ἀντεμάνη ἐπιθυμῶν πολέμου καὶ μάχης καὶ φόνων καὶ πολὺ τῆς ἡμέρας διαγωνισάμενος· καθ' ἣν ὁ ἥλιος ἀφανὴς ἐγένετο τοῖς ἀνθρώποις περὶ μέσην τῆς ἡμέρας ὥραν, ὥστε καὶ ἀστέρας φανῆναι, καὶ νυκτομαχοῦντες ἅπαντες ἀνηλίσκοντο συνδαπανώμενοι ξίρεσιν. 20 ἄχρι μὲν οὖν περὶ τρίτην φυλακὴν τῆς νυκτὸς ἐν ταῦταις τὰ τῶν στρατοπέδων ὑπῆρχεν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ Θεοδόσιος, τότε μὲν ὑπαναχωρήσας, τὸν δὲ θεὸν ἱκετεύσας, καθεύδουσι τῇ ἐξῆς ταῖς ἐναντίοις ἐπιπίπτει, τὸ μὲν πλείστον ἐν ταῖς εὐναῖς, τὸ δὲ ἀνιστάμενον τῶν ὅπλων γε- 25 γυμνωμένον διεχειρίζετο, αὐτὸν τε τὸν Εὐγένιον ζωγρήσας τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀποτέμνει, καὶ μακρῷ δόρατι περιπήξας ἐν ὅλοις τοῖς τῆς Ἰταλίας ὄροις διεπόμευσεν, ὡς ἅπαν τὸ τῶν πολεμίων πλῆθος πρὸς 25

6 post ἀδελφῆς add. θυγατρὸς Müller 6-7 προσγαμηθείσης Müller [προσ-  
μαθείσης codd.

Bacchus with his wine brought into the open the hidden dissension,<sup>123</sup> and the banquet broke up in confusion as they rushed out of the room shouting in their excitement. But Fravitta, realising that the party of justice and right would seem even more just and righteous if he acted quickly, did not wait for another opportunity, but drew his sword and plunged it into Eriulf's side. And he fell down and lay there, having dreamed in vain of his unjust plot. But the . . . (Cf. *Exc. de Sent.* 58)

(Zosimus 4,56)

## 60

[1. (John of Antioch *Fr.* 187 = *Exc. de Ins.* 79)

Theodosius tricked [Eugenius' envoys] with a friendly response to their requests, giving them evasive replies, and sent them home. In command of the forces he placed the Roman Timasius, the Scythian Gainas and the Alan Saul, and he also made Stilicho general, a man who was himself of Scythian descent but enjoyed power equal to the Emperor since he was married to Serena, Theodosius' sister;<sup>124</sup> he also summoned many of the Huns of Thrace, who served under their tribal chieftains. Then he set out for Italy in order to catch Eugenius, who was expecting no move, unawares. As he was leaving the palace the Empress died.

When Theodosius reached the borders of Italy, Eugenius, a man unused to the blast of war, was alarmed by the Emperor's unexpected swiftness and the speed of his advance, which had gone unobserved. But against him raged Arbogast, who was eager for war and fighting and slaughter, and he fought on for the whole of the day. In the middle of the day the sun was eclipsed and the stars appeared, so that the soldiers, fighting a night-battle, were all cut down, the loss of life being great on both sides.<sup>125</sup> This was the situation until about the third watch of the night, when Theodosius withdrew from the battle and prayed to God. Then on the next day he fell upon the enemy while they were asleep, slaughtering the majority in their beds and cutting down unarmed those who leapt up to face him. Eugenius he captured alive and, having cut off his head, stuck it on a long spear and paraded it throughout the territory of Italy, so that all the enemy soldiers came to the victor and

τὸν νενικηκότα χωρεῖν καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ πείθεσθαι διατάγμασιν. ὁ δὲ Ἀρβωγάστης, ἐν τούτῳ τε τὸ μανικὸν τῆς βαρβάρου φύσεως ἀποδείξας, αὐτοχειρίᾳ διεφθάρη τῷ σφετέρῳ περιπεσὼν ξίφει. ἐπὶ τούτοις τε θρίαμβοι κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐγένοντο, καὶ στεφανηρορεῖν τὴν ἀπανταχοῦ τῶν ὑπηκόων γῆν ἐδόκει καὶ πανηγυρίζειν ἐπὶ τῇ 30  
καθαίρεσει τοῦ τυράννου.]

[2. (*Suda* E 2180)

Ὁ δὲ Θεοδοσίος τὴν βασίλισσαν θανοῦσαν ἐπ' ἡματι σχεδὸν τι ἐδάκρυσεν. ἀνάγκη γάρ, καὶ ὁ προκείμενος πόλεμος συνεσκίαζεν αὐτῷ τὸ περὶ τὴν γυναῖκα πάθος.]

(*Zosimus* 4,57-58)

## 61

[(*Philostorgius* 11,2)

Ταῦτα λέγων ὁ δυσσεβὴς περὶ τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου Θεοδοσίου, οὐκ αἰσχύνεται κωμωδεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπ' ἀκρασίᾳ βίου καὶ τρυφῆς ἀμετρίας, δι' ἣν αὐτὸν ἀλῶναι γράφει καὶ τῷ τοῦ ὑδέρου νοσήματι.]

(*Zosimus* 4,59)

## 62

1. (*Exc. de Sent.* 59)

Ὅτι οἱ παῖδες Θεοδοσίου ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ ἔστησαν. εἰ δὲ τὸ ἀληθέστερον, ὅπερ ἐστὶ σκοπὸς ἱστορίας, προστιθέναι δεῖ τοῖς γεγενημένοις, τὸ μὲν ὄνομα ἦν τῶν βασιλέων, τὸ δὲ ἔργον τῶν μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἑῶαν Ῥουρίνου, τὰ δὲ ἐσπέρια Στελίωνος εἰς ἅπασαν ἐξουσίαν· οὕτω γοῦν οἱ μὲν βασιλεῖς ἐπετάττοντο παρὰ τῶν ἐπιτροπευόντων τὰς ἀρχάς, οἱ δὲ ἐπιτροπεύοντες αἰεὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐπολέμουν ὥσπερ βασιλεύοντες, φανερώς μὲν οὐκ ἐναντίας χεῖρας καὶ ὅπλα ἀράμενοι, κρύφα δὲ ἀπάτης καὶ δόλου μηδὲν ὑπολείποντες· διὰ γὰρ μαλακίαν καὶ ἀσθένειαν ψυχῆς τὸ διέρπον καὶ ὑπουλον τῶν μηχανημάτων αὐτοῖς ὡς ἀνδρεῖον . . .

10

10 post ἀνδρεῖον duae paginae desiderantur in cod.

2. (*Suda* P 240)

Ῥουρίνος· οὗτος ἐπὶ Θεοδοσίου ἦν, βαθυγνώμων ἄνθρωπος καὶ κρυψύνοος. ἦσαν δὲ οὗτος τε καὶ Στελίων ἐπίτροποι τῶν Θεοδοσίου παίδων. ἄμφω τὰ πάντα συνήρπαζον, ἐν τῷ πλούτῳ τὸ κράτος τιθέμενοι, καὶ οὐδεὶς εἶχεν ἴδιον οὐδέν, εἰ μὴ τούτοις ἐδοξε. δίκαι τε

obeyed his commands. Meanwhile Arbogast showed his native barbarian madness by falling on his sword and killing himself. A triumph was held for this victory at Rome, and all the provinces were wreathed in celebration of the destruction of the usurper.]

[2. (*Suda* E 2180)

Theodosius mourned the dead Empress for about one day. For the demands of the impending war overshadowed his grief for his wife.]

(*Zosimus* 4,57-58)

## 61

[(*Philostorgius* 11,2)

Although he says these things about the most pious Theodosius, the impious historian [i.e. Philostorgius] is not ashamed to criticise him for intemperate living and excessive luxury which, he says, was the cause of his dropsy.<sup>126</sup>

(*Zosimus* 4,59)

## 62

1. (*Exc. de Sent.* 59)

The sons of Theodosius succeeded him as Emperor. But to give the truer interpretation of the situation (which is the goal of history), they had the name of Emperors whereas the real and absolute power lay with Rufinus in the East and Stilicho in the West. After this manner the Emperors were controlled by the guardians of their regimes, while the guardians themselves, as if they were Emperors, were continually at war with each other, not in open armed conflict but utilising every clandestine device of deceit and treachery. Because their spirits were soft and feeble these furtive and cancerous stratagems <seemed> to them manly . . .<sup>127</sup>

2. (*Suda* P 240)

Rufinus. A secretive and inscrutable man who lived during the reign of Theodosius. He and Stilicho were the guardians of Theodosius' sons. Since they both held wealth to be power they plundered everything, and no one kept any of his possessions unless these men permitted

ἅπασαι πρὸς τούτων ἐδικάζοντο, καὶ πολλὸς ἦν ὄχλος τῶν περιθεόν-  
των, εἴ ποῦ τινι χωρίον ὑπάρχοι παντομγές τε καὶ εὐκαρπον· καὶ ὁ  
δεσπότης εὐθὺς συνήρπαστο, κατηγορίας πεπλασμένης εὐλόγου διά-  
 τωνων ὑρεμένων ἐνηδρευμένος. καὶ ὁ ἀδικούμενος ἡδικοῦτο, τοῦ  
ἀδικούντος κρίνοντας. ἐς τοῦτο δὲ ὁ Ῥουφῖνος ἐχώρησεν ἀμετροκάκου  
πλεονεξίας, ὥστε καὶ ἀνδράποδα δημόσια ἀπημπόλει, καὶ ὅσα δημόσια  
δικαστήρια Ῥουφῖνῳ πάντες ἐδίκασον. καὶ ὁ τῶν κολάκων περὶ  
αὐτὸν ὄχλος ἦν πολὺς. οἱ δὲ κολακες χθές μὲν καὶ πρώην δεδρακότες  
τοῦ καπηλείου καὶ τοῦ τὰ βάρη καλλύνειν καὶ τοῦδαρος κορεῖν, ἄρτι  
δὲ χλαμύδας τὰς τε εὐπαρύρους ἐνδεδυκότες καὶ περόναις χρυσαῖς  
διαπεπερονημένοι καὶ σφραγῖσι χρυσοδέτοις διεσφριγμένοι. τὰ δὲ  
πολλὰ κατὰ Ῥουφῖνον εὖροις ἐν τῇ τοῦ Σαρδιανοῦ Εὐναπίου Χρονο-  
γραφίᾳ. (Cf. A 1562, B 30 and 31, K 269, Π 240 and 1362, Σ  
1032; John of Antioch *Fr.* 188 = *Exc. de Virt.* 67)

5 τούτων Kuster [τούτοις codd. 8 ἐνηδρευόμενος edd. [ἐνηδρευμένης codd.  
15 post διεσφριγμένοι lacunam indicat Müller

### 3. (*Suda* A 1569)

Εὐνάπιος· οὕτως ἀμείλικτοι ἦσαν ἄμρω κατὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν,  
καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐχώρει περιφανέστερον.

### [4. (*Suda* M 203)

Μάρκελλος, μάγιστρος Ἀρκαδίου τοῦ βασιλέως, κόσμος ἀρετῆς  
ἀπάσης ἦ, τό γε ἀρμονικώτερον εἰπεῖν, ἀρετὴ τις ἔμψυχος.

(Zosimus 5,1-3)

63

(Zosimus 5,4)

64

### [1. (John of Antioch *Fr.* 190 = *Exc. de Ins.* 80)

Ὅτι Ῥουφῖνος ὁ ἐπίτροπος Ἀρκαδίου ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς Εὐτροπίου  
τοῦ προκοίτου τῆς Ἀρκαδίου διήμαρτε κηδείας· ἀλλ' ὅμως τῇ πλεο-  
νεξίᾳ καὶ τῇ χαλεπότητι τῶν τρόπων πᾶσιν ὑπέροπτος ἦν, τὸν τε  
βασιλέα οἰκειώτητι τῶν βαρβάρων καταπλήττων καὶ βαρεῖαν ἐπι-  
τιθεῖς ἀνάγκην πρὸς τὸ κοινωνῆσαι τῆς ἀλουργίδος αὐτῷ· ποτὲ δὲ  
καὶ πλῆθος βαρβάρων εἰσαγαγών, ὧν Ἀλάρικος ἡγείτο, πᾶσαν ὁμοῦ  
τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα διεπόρθει, ὥς καὶ δῆλος  
ἅπασιν γενέσθαι τῇ τῆς τυραννίδος ἐπιβουλῇ.

2 κηδείας de Boor [κηδίας codd.

it. Since all lawsuits were referred to them, many persons raced around  
the Empire to see if anyone owned an estate that was fertile and bore  
many different crops. Its owner was immediately arrested<sup>128</sup> and en-  
snared by a plausible charge laid by someone who had been suborned  
for the purpose; and the victim of this injustice was condemned, since  
its originator was also the judge. Rufinus became so excessively greedy  
that he sold the public slaves, and everyone gave verdicts in the public  
courts to suit Rufinus. He was surrounded by a great crowd of flatterers,  
who yesterday and the day before were runaway tavern-servants and  
bench-cleaners and floor-sweepers, but who now had put on robes with  
lovely purple borders pinned up with golden pins, their fingers squeezed  
with signets set in gold. You can find many attacks upon Rufinus in  
the Chronography of Eunapius of Sardis.

(Cf. A 1562, B 30 and 31, K 269, Π 240 and 1362, Σ 1032; John of  
Antioch *Fr.* 188 = *Exc. de Virt.* 67)

### 3. (*Suda* A 1569)

In truth so cruel were they, and the reality of this became more  
obvious.<sup>129</sup>

### [4. (*Suda* M 203)

Marcellus, *magister* of the Emperor Arcadius, a paragon of all  
virtues or, to speak more accurately, virtue personified.<sup>130</sup>

(Zosimus 5,1-3)

63

(Zosimus 5,4)

64

### [1. (John of Antioch *Fr.* 190 = *Exc. de Ins.* 80)

Rufinus the guardian of Arcadius was foiled in the marriage<sup>131</sup>  
through the plotting of Eutropius, Arcadius' chamberlain. But because  
of his greedy and cruel ways he despised everyone and terrified the  
Emperor by his close relations with the barbarians. Bringing heavy  
pressure to bear upon Arcadius to make him co-Emperor, Rufinus on  
one occasion actually introduced a force of barbarians led by Alaric  
and ravaged the whole of Greece and the regions near to Illyria. As a  
result it was clear to all that he was plotting usurpation. He secretly

Ὁ μὲν γὰρ ὑπέχαιρε καὶ τὸν κοινὸν ὀλεθρον ἰδίαν κρηπίδα τῆς  
 βασιλείας ὑπελάμβανεν· ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐν ἀφασίᾳ διετέλει. οὐ μὴν καὶ 10  
 ὁ Στελίων ἐνταῦθα ὅμοιος ἦν, ἀλλὰ διέπλευσε μὲν αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν  
 Ἑλλάδα, καίτοι μηδὲν προσήκουσαν τοῖς τῆς ἐσπερίας τέρμασι, τὰς  
 τῶν ἐνοικούντων οἰκτεῖρας συμφοράς· καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους σπάνει  
 τῶν ἀναγκαίων διαφθείρας ἔπαυσε τῆς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ὀρμῆς.  
 συγκαλεσάμενος δὲ Γαῶν, ὃς τότε τῶν ἐσπερίων στρατοπέδων 15  
 ἑξαρχος ἦν, ἀρτύει τὴν κατὰ Ῥουφίνου σκευήν· ὅτε δὴ καὶ ὁ τοῦ  
 Ἀρκαδίου στρατὸς ἐκ τε τῆς Εὐγενίου καθαιρέσεως καὶ τῆς τῶν  
 βαρβάρων τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα διώξεως ἐπὶ τὴν Κωνσταντίνου  
 πόλιν ἐχώρει. ὁ μὲν γὰρ βασιλεὺς κατὰ τοὺς παλαιῶς νόμους εἰς  
 ὑπάντησιν τῶν στρατοπέδων ἐκ τῆς πόλεως προῆλθεν, καὶ ὁ Γαῶς 20  
 αὐτὸν ἐφρούρει, πᾶσα δὲ ἦν ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸν τῆς αὐλῆς ἑπαρχον  
 συνεξέναι· Ῥουφίνος τε ἦν καὶ ἅμα τε ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ τῶν στρατο-  
 πέδων Αὐγουστος ὀνομάζεται, καὶ Ῥουφίνος κατετέμνητο, ταύτης τε  
 ἔτυχε τῆς τελευτῆς. παῖδες δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ γαμετὴ πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν 25  
 κατέφυγον, διηρπάζοντο δὲ ἀκωλύτως ἅπαντα ὅσα κατὰ τὴν δυνασ-  
 τεῖαν ἐκτήσατο.]

16 κατὰ secl. edd.

22 τε ἦν PS [δέ ἦν M τις ἦν Cramer]

2. (*Vit. Soph.* 7,3,4)

Καὶ ταῦτά γε οὕτως· ἅμα τε γὰρ ὁ ἐκ Θεσπιῶν ἐγίνετο, πατήρ  
 ὢν τῆς Μιθριακῆς τελετῆς, καὶ οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν πολλῶν καὶ ἀδιη-  
 γήτων ἐπικλυσθέντων κακῶν, (ὥν τὰ μὲν ἐν τοῖς διεξοδικοῖς τῆς  
 ἱστορίας εἴρηται, τὰ δέ, ἐὰν ἐπιτρέπη τὸ Θεῖον, λελέγεται), ὃ τε 5  
 Ἀλλάρικος ἔχων τοὺς βαρβάρους διὰ τῶν Πυλῶν παρήλθεν, ὥσπερ  
 διὰ σταδίου καὶ ἵπποκρότου πεδίου τρέχων.

1 ἐκ Θεσπιῶν codd. [αὐτ ἐκ Θεσπιῶν αὐτ ἐκ Θεσπίσεων Giangrande Ἀγόριος  
 Οὐέττιος Cumont 2 post μακρὰν lacunam indicat Boissonade 4 ὃ τε  
 scripsi [ὅτε codd., ὁ [τε] Giangrande]

3. (*Vit. Soph.* 8,1,10 - 2,3)

Τοῖς τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἱερεῖς, εἰς μακρόν τι γῆρας ἀνύσας, ὅς γε ἦν  
 ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐνετήκοντα, συναπώλετο· πολλῶν καὶ ἄλλων ἐν τῷδε τῷ  
 χρόνῳ τῶν μὲν διὰ λύπην προϊέντων τὸν βίον, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν βαρ-  
 βάρων κατεκόπτοντο . . . καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τοῖς διεξοδικοῖς, ἐὰν τῷ 5  
 δαίμονι δόξῃ, γραφήσεται, οὐ τὸ καθ' ἑκάστον ἔχοντα, ἀλλὰ τὸ κοινὸν  
 ἐκεῖ σαφέστερον λελέγεται.

(Zosimus 5,5-7)

rejoiced and regarded the universal destruction as the starting point of  
 his own attempt on the throne. The Emperor remained incapable of  
 action, but Stilicho adopted a different policy in these circumstances.  
 Out of pity for the misfortunes of the inhabitants of Greece he sailed  
 there, even though it was not part of the western Empire, and having  
 destroyed the barbarians by starvation, he withdrew from his assault  
 upon the inhabitants.<sup>132</sup> Summoning Gainas, who was at the time a  
 general of the western army, he made ready his plot against Rufinus.  
 When Arcadius' army on its return from the destruction of Eugenius  
 and the pursuit of the barbarians in Illyria was approaching Constanti-  
 nople, the Emperor, following the ancient custom, went out from the  
 city to greet the army, and Gainas guarded him; and it was absolutely  
 necessary that the praetorian prefect (which Rufinus was) accompany  
 the Emperor. At one and the same time the Emperor was hailed  
 Augustus by the army and Rufinus was cut down; and this was his end.  
 His wife and children fled to the church, and they<sup>133</sup> seized for them-  
 selves without hindrance all that he had accumulated during his period  
 of power . . .<sup>134</sup>]

2. (*Vit. Soph.* 7,3,4)

These things turned out as [the hierophant] said. For as soon as  
 the man from Thespieae, who was the father of the Mithraic ritual,  
 became hierophant, shortly afterwards many indescribable disasters  
 swept over the land (some of which I have described in the narrative of  
 my History and others will be set down, if God permits), and Alaric  
 with his barbarians passed through Thermopylae as if he were racing  
 over a running track or a plain flat enough for horses.<sup>135</sup>

3. (*Vit. Soph.* 8,1,10 - 2,3)

Having lived to a great age (he was over ninety) [Priscus] perished  
 at the same time as the temples of Greece. At this time there were  
 many who threw away their lives out of grief, and others were cut  
 down by the barbarians . . . If the divine power permits, I shall set  
 these things down in the detailed narrative of my History, where they  
 will be clearly described not as they affected individuals but as they  
 affected the state.<sup>136</sup>

(Zosimus 5,5-7)



## 65

1. (*Suda* E 3776)

Εὐτρόπιος ὁ εὐνούχος, ἐπίτροπος Θεοδοσίου τοῦ βασιλέως. καὶ φησιν Εὐνάπιος· ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ῥουφίνος ἀνὴρ τε ὢν ἢ δοκῶν, καὶ ἐν ἀξιώμασι γεγωνῶς, καὶ ποικίλαις ἡμιλήσας τύχαις, οὐ παρὰ λόγον οὐδὲ τοῦ πρέποντος ἐκτὸς ἐδόκει κατεξανίστασθαι τῆς νεωτερίζουσης ἅπαντα τύχης. ὁ δὲ θαλαμηπόλος εὐνούχος, παραλαβὼν τὸ ἐκείνου κράτος, ἐς τοσόνδε κατέσεισεν ἅπαντα καὶ κατεβρόντησεν, ὥστε οὐ μόνον Ῥουφίνος ἦν αὐτός, ἀλλ' ὁ τοῦ μύθου Σαλμωνεύς μικρόν τι χρῆμα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἦν, ὅς γε ὢν εὐνούχος, ἀνὴρ εἶναι κατεβιάζετο. καὶ οἱ μὲν μῦθοί φασιν τὴν Γοργόνα φανείσαν ἄμα τε φαῖνεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἰδόντας μεταβάλλειν εἰς λίθον· ὁ δὲ καθ' ἡμᾶς βίος λῆρόν τινα περιττόν καὶ φληναφόν τὸν μῦθον ἀπέδειξε. καὶ πολὺν καταχέει διασυρμόν ὁ ἱστορικὸς τουτουὶ τοῦ εὐνούχου, τοῦ βίου αὐτοῦ ἐπάξιον. (Cf. X 473\*)

[2. (*Suda* Π 1293)]

Ὁ δὲ εὐνούχος κατεκράτει τῶν βασιλείων, καὶ περισπειράμενος τὰς αὐλὰς συνέσφιγγεν ἅπαντα, καθάπερ τις γενναῖος ὄφης, καθελίττων εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χρεῖαν. περὶ Εὐτροπίου λέγει.]

3 χρεῖαν Τουρ [χρεῖαν codd.]

[3. (*Suda* T 597)]

Τιμάσιος. οὗτος ἐπὶ Θεοδοσίου τοῦ βασιλέως ἦν· ὃν ὁ Εὐτρόπιος ἐπιστῆσαι τοῖς πράγμασι βουλόμενος, ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας μετεκαλεῖ πρὸς τὰ βασιλεία. ὁ δὲ γαυρὸς τε ἀνὴρ ὢν καὶ ἀγέρωχος καὶ στρατείας ὠμοληκῶς, καὶ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἀγαθὸν ἡγούμενος τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις, τιμὴν καὶ δόξαν καὶ πλοῦτον ἐπικλύζοντα, καὶ τὸ ἔχειν ἑαυτῷ ὃ τι βούλοιο κεχρησθαι καὶ ἀδεῶς, διὰ τε μέθην νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν οὐκ εἰδέναι, οὔτε ἀνατέλλοντα καὶ δύόμενον καθορᾶν ἥλιον, ἴσα καὶ οὐρανοῦ εἶναι νομίσας τὴν μετάκλησιν, ἐκ τῶν ἀλύπων καὶ διακεχυμένων πρὸς ὀλιγωρίαν διατριβῶν ἀπορρηξίας ἑαυτὸν καὶ κατατείνας τὴν ψυχὴν εἰς φιλοδοξίαν, βαρὺς ἀναστὰς ἐκ Παμφυλίας ἐπὶ Λυδίαν ἀνέστρεφεν, ὡς ἂν δὴ τις βασιλεύων ἢ τὸν γε βασιλεία καὶ τὸν εὐνούχον κατὰ πάρεργόν τι παιδιὰν θησόμενος, εἰ βούλοιο. (Cf. Γ 78, Π 855)]

2-3 μετεκαλεῖτο V

4. (*Exc. de Sent.* 60-61)

... μασε καθάπερ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πρὸς τὴν γῆν διενεχθὲν καὶ καταπέσον ἐς τὰ ἀνθρώπων. ὁ μὲν οὖν Βάργος τὴν ἀρχὴν πιστευθεὶς

1 ... μασε Boissevain [...] μασε edd. 2 καταπέσον cod. [κατὰ τοῦτον edd.]

## 65

1. (*Suda* E 3776)

Eutropius the eunuch, guardian of the Emperor Theodosius.<sup>137</sup> Eunapius says: Rufinus was a man, or seemed to be. Having held high office and having experienced various ups and downs, not unexpectedly and (as it seemed) properly he strove against fortune as she changed everything. But the eunuch bedroom-attendant, when he inherited Rufinus' power, shook and demolished everything to such an extent that not only Rufinus but also the mythical Salmoneus were insignificant compared with him; and though he was an eunuch, he strove to be a man. The myths say that when the Gorgon appeared, those who looked at her turned to stone immediately. But our age proved that the myth is so much trash and nonsense.<sup>138</sup> The historian pours much ridicule upon this eunuch, appropriate for the life he lived. (Cf. X 473\*)

[2. (*Suda* Π 1293)]

The eunuch held power in the palace and, coiling around through the halls, like a true serpent seized everything and dragged it off to his lair.]

[3. (*Suda* T 597)]

Timasius. He lived during the reign of the Emperor Theodosius. Eutropius wished to place him in charge of affairs and summoned him from Asia to court. He was an arrogant and haughty man and an experienced soldier, who held that the greatest blessings of mankind were honour, fame and abundant wealth, to have whatever he wanted and to enjoy it in security, to be so drunk as not to distinguish night and day, and never to see the rising or the setting of the sun. Regarding the summons as a message from heaven, he tore himself away from his life of idleness and dissipation verging on neglect of duty and steeled his heart for glory. Full of self-importance he set out from Pamphylia and journeyed to Lydia in the manner of a king or one who would, if he wished, treat the Emperor and the eunuch as mere incidental child's-play. (Cf. Γ 78, Π 855)]

4. (*Exc. de Sent.* 60-61)

... as if sent from heaven to earth and falling amongst mankind.<sup>139</sup> Bargas, having been entrusted with the command, went off

παρὰ τοῦ εὐνούχου ἐξῆει μάλα φαιδρὸς καὶ γεγηθὼς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν,  
ὥς ὃν ἀρχὰς ὑποθησόμενος ἑαυτῷ τῶας πάλω, καὶ μετὰ πολλῶν καὶ  
διεφθαρμένων στρατιωτῶν, πρὸς τὸ πολεμεῖν τοῖς εὐεργέταις· τῷ 5  
γὰρ περιόντι τῆς τόλμης καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τῶν ἐγχειρουμένων πολλοὺς  
ἤδη περιπεφυγῶς κινδύνους, ἐς τὸ ἀκύνδυνον ἤδη πρὸς ἅπαντας καὶ  
λίαν εὐτυχὲς τὴν τόλμαν ἐξεβιάζετο. συνετώτερος δ' ὢν κατὰ πόδας  
ἦει πρὸς τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν. καὶ δῆτα γυνὴ συνῶκει τῷ Βάργῳ· ταύτην 10  
διὰ καθεμένων ἀνθρώπων πάλαι πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν λεγόμενον  
ἀλλοτρίως ἔχουσιν διὰ τῶς ἡρτυμένης καὶ συνεσκιασμένης ἐπι-  
βουλῆς, ἐπὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ὥσπερ ἔχιδναν νωθρὰν καὶ ὑπὸ κρύους κατε-  
ψυγμένην ταῖς ὑποκεμέναις ἐπαγγελίαις ἀνέσθησαν καὶ ὤρθωσαν.  
καὶ τέλος φυγῶν καὶ συλληφθεὶς τὴν τῶν ἀχαρίστων ὑπέσχε δίκην. 15  
καὶ ὁ μὲν ἑαυτὸν μανικώτατον καὶ τὸν εὐνούχον φρονιμώτατον <ἀπο-  
δείξας> ἔκειτο μαρτυρῶν ἡλίκον ἐστὶ τὸ τῆς ἀχαριστίας παρὰ θεῶ  
ἔγκλημα.

11 ἡρτυμένης καὶ συνεσκιασμένης Niebuhr (ἡρτημένης καὶ συσκιασμένης  
15-16 ἀποδείξας add. Niebuhr)

[5. (*Suda* X 80)]

Ὁ δὲ Εὐτρόπιος καιροῦ καὶ τύχης ἀμέτρως τε καὶ χανδὸν  
ἀρνούμενος, καὶ κατεμφορούμενος καὶ πολυπραγμονῶν, ὥστε οὐκ  
ἔλαθε πατὴρ παῖδα μισῶν, ἢ ἀνὴρ γυναῖκα, ἢ μήτηρ τέκνον· ἀλλ'  
ἐξηκουτίζετο ἅπαντα πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνου γνώμην.]

4 ἐξηκουτίζετο ἅπαντα Bernhardy (ἐξηκουτίζετο ἅπαντας codd.)

[6. (*Suda* Δ 326)]

Πάντες δευμαίνοντες τοῦ εὐνούχου Εὐτροπίου τὴν ἀκοὴν ἐξε-  
στήκεσαν, καθάπερ οἱ μνηστῆρες τὸν Ὀδυσσεῖα γυμνωθέντα τῶν  
ρακίων ἰδόντες.]

3 ρακίων codd. [ρακέων Gaisford]

[7. (*Suda* Σ 897)]

Ὅτι ἐπὶ Εὐτροπίου τοῦ εὐνούχου, τοῦ ἐπιτρόπου Θεοδοσίου τοῦ  
βασιλέως, τὸ τῶν εὐνούχων ἔθνος διὰ τὴν ἐκείνου βαρύτητα καὶ  
δυναστείαν ἐς τοσοῦτον ἐπέδωκε καὶ παρετάθη πλήθους, ὥστε τινὲς  
ἤδη καὶ τῶν γενειάδας ἐχόντων, εὐνούχοι βουλευθέντες καὶ Εὐτρόπιον 5  
γενέσθαι προσελπίζοντες τῆς ψυχῆς ἀφηρεύθησαν σὺν τοῖς ὄρχεσι,  
τὸ τοῦ Εὐτρόπιου ἀπολαύσαντες. χρυσοὶ τε ἀνδριάντες ἀνίσταντο  
πανταχοῦ, καὶ οἰκοδομήματα διτγείρετο καὶ κατελαμβάνετο παρ'  
αὐτοῦ σεμνότερα τῆς ὅλης πόλεως.]

6 τὸ τοῦ Εὐτρόπιου ἀπολαύσαντες scripsi [τὸν Εὐτρόπιον ἀπολέσαντες codd.,  
del. Kuster τοῦτο τοῦ Ε. ἀπολαύσαντες Tourp]

to take it up beaming with joy and happiness, thinking to lay the  
groundwork for another assault on his benefactors, this time with the  
help of a large number of corrupted soldiers. Since he had escaped  
many dangers as the result of his growing daring and the enormity of  
his undertakings, he forced this daring upon the erstwhile impunity and  
great good luck that he had enjoyed in his dealings with everyone. But  
Eutropius was cleverer and followed hard upon Bargus' heels with his  
own plot.<sup>140</sup> Bargus had a wife who, being long alienated from her  
husband, was like a torpid snake chilled by the cold. Some men, sent  
for this purpose following a secret plan that had already been laid,  
roused her to action against her husband by promising rewards. The  
upshot was that Bargus tried to flee, was captured and paid the penalty  
for his ingratitude; and, having shown that he was the more crazy and  
the eunuch the cleverer, he bore witness to how serious the crime of  
ingratitude was in the eyes of God.

[5. (*Suda* X 80)]

Eutropius made endless and eager use of his opportunities and  
good fortune and he immersed himself so much in his meddling that if  
a father hated his son, a husband his wife, a mother her daughter, none  
escaped his notice. Everything flew swiftly to his knowledge.]

[6. (*Suda* Δ 326)]

All in fear shrank from the prying ears of Eutropius, as the suitors  
did from Odysseus when they saw him stripped of his rags.<sup>141</sup>

[7. (*Suda* Σ 897)]

In the time of Eutropius the eunuch, the guardian of the Emperor  
Theodosius,<sup>142</sup> because of the former's importance and power the tribe  
of eunuchs became so numerous that even some persons who had  
beards, in their eager haste to become eunuchs and Eutropiuses, lost  
their wits and their testicles, enjoying the advantages of Eutropius.  
Golden statues of him were set up everywhere, and he built splendid  
palaces more magnificent than the whole city.]

## 8. (Exc. de Sent. 62)

“Ὅτι ὁ εὐνοῦχος τοῦτον τοσοῦτον ὄντα καὶ τηλικαῦτον ἐκβαλὼν τοῦ βίου, εὐνοῦχος ἄνδρα καὶ [ὁ] δοῦλος ὑπατον καὶ θαλαμηπόλος τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς στρατοπέδοις γεγενημένον, μέγα δὴ τι καὶ ὑπὲρ ἄνδρας ἐφρόνει· καὶ μὴ τίς γε τὸ Ἀβουνδαντίου πάθος, κάκείνου τελέσαντος ἐς ὑπάτους . . .

2 ὁ exp. Mai 5 post ὑπάτους lacunam indicant edd.

(Zosimus 5,8-10)

## 66

## 1. (Exc. de Sent. 63)

Ἀπίθανον μὲν γὰρ τὸ γραφόμενον· πλὴν εἴ τις ἕτερος αὐτὰ γράφειν ἱκανός ἐστι, θαυμάζω αὐτὸν ἔγωγε τῆς ἀνδρείας, καὶ ἀνδρείως ἀποφανέσθω μοι τῆς ἀνεξικακίας χάρις. ἀλλ’ εἰκὸς μὲν τοὺς τὰ ἀκριβέστερα γράψαντας κατὰ χρόνους καὶ κατὰ ἄνδρας καὶ προσποιουμένους ἀσφαλῶς τι λέγειν, ἔς τε χάριν καὶ ἀπέχθειαν ἀναφέρειν τὴν συγγραφήν· τῷ δὲ ταῦτα γράφοντι οὐ πρὸς ταῦτα ἔφερεν ἢ ὁδός, ἀλλ’ ὥς ὅτι μάλιστα ἀνατρέχει καὶ στηρίζοιτο πρὸς ἀλήθειαν. ἐπεὶ καὶ κατὰ τοῦσδε τοὺς χρόνους ἤκουον καὶ συνεπυνθανόμην ὥς ὁ δεῖνα καὶ ὁ δεῖνα γράφουσιν ἱστορίαν· οὐς ἐγὼ οὕτι νεμεσιτὸν λέγω, ἀλλὰ ἐπίσταμαί γε σαφῶς ἄνδρας ἀγερῶχους τε καὶ σκιρτῶντας καὶ ἀληθείας τοσοῦτον ἀρεστηκότας ὅσον ἐντὸς εἶναι ἀναγωγίας. καὶ οὐκ ἐκείνους μέμφομαι, τῆς δὲ ἀνθρωπίνης κρίσεως τὸ λίαν ἀκρατὲς καὶ ὀλισθηρὸν καταμέμφομαι, ὅτι θελγόμενοι καὶ καταγοητευόμενοι τὸ καθ’ ἑκάστον, ἂν ὀνόματος μνησθῇ τις περιτροῦ καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς γνωρίμου, καὶ τι τῶν περὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν ἀκριβέστερον ὑπορῖξαντες ἐξενέγκωσι εἰς τοὺς πολλούς, τὸν τε κροτοδόρυβον ἔχουσιν, ὥς ἀληθῆ λέγοντες καὶ πάντα εἰδότες, καὶ πολλὸς περὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ συνδέων ὁμιλος, μαρτυροῦντες ῥαδίως ὅτι ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχει, καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν τὴν τῆς συγγραφῆς εἰς τὸδε συμβιασάμενοι καὶ κατατείναντες, ὥς ἄρα τοῦτό ἐστιν αἰθέριον καὶ οὐρανόμηκες, ὅπερ αὐτοὶ διὰ βίου τινὰ χλιδὴν ἴδωσι, καὶ ἀπλότητα χαυνότερον ἐπαυοῦντες ἐς τὸ πιστευόμενον καὶ δημῶδες συνάγουσι καὶ καταβιάζονται. ἀλλ’ ὁμῶς εἰ καὶ ἀπίθανόν πως εἴρηται, πολλὰ τε αὐτοῦ τερατωδέστερα καὶ μυθωδέστερα προτέθειται καὶ ἅπαντα τὴν τῆς ἡλιακῆς κινήσεως ἀληθέστερα· μαρτυρεῖ δὲ αὐτοῖς ὁ ἥλιος τοῖς εἰρημένοις. καὶ ῥηθῆσεται γε ἴσως ἕτερα τούτων πολυπλανέστερα καὶ βαθυπλοκώτερα πρὸς ἀπιστίαν· ἀλλὰ ἐξαγγέλλει γε αὐτὰ ἡ συγγραφή μετριώτερον,

21 ἰδόντες καὶ <φι> Kuiper

## 8. (Exc. de Sent. 62)

When the eunuch, a slave and a bedroom-attendant, had deprived a man of such importance, a consul and a soldier, of his way of life, he then formed an ambitious scheme beyond even the powers of men. Lest the fate of Abundantius, who had reached the consulship . . .<sup>143</sup>

(Zosimus 5,8-10)

## 66

## 1. (Exc. de Sent. 63)

The written record is incredible. But if anyone else has the courage to write down these things, I salute him for his bravery and judge him a brave man for his endurance. It was proper that those who both made their accounts as accurate as they could, considering the times when and the persons about whom they were writing, and proposed to write in safety should incline their narrative to favour and disfavour. However, as I record these events, my path has led not in that direction, but to approach and stay as close as possible to the truth.<sup>144</sup> For during these times I heard and learned of various individuals who wrote history. But I also learned (to say nothing reprehensible about them) that they were clearly hasty and undisciplined, and as far from the truth as is the case with indiscipline. Them I do not blame, but I do blame the intemperate and unreliable judgement of mankind in that they are enchanted and bewitched every time if someone of considerable reputation and widely known is mentioned or if they ferret out some detail of the events at court and broadcast it to the public. These people are then applauded as if they were speaking the truth and were all-knowing, and a great crowd rushes to join them, readily testifying that it is as they say and perverting and forcing the objectivity of history to accommodate to this detail (as if it were some divinely important thing) which they observe in the midst of their life of luxury, and, heaping praise upon what is simplistic and vacuous, they twist and re-shape it into a believable version for the public.<sup>145</sup> Nevertheless, if something incredible is set down, details more marvellous and mythical than that are added, and all is more reliable than the course of the sun, the sun being witness to this account! Perhaps other ‘facts’ will be offered, even more remote from the truth than these and more tinged with falsehood. Even so, the history reports them in a temperate tone

καὶ ταῦτα ὑπὲρ τῶν λεγομένων καὶ ὅτι γε φίλος θεὸς καὶ φίλη ἀλήθεια. ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶδα ὅστις γίνομαι ταῦτα γράφω· πολὺ γὰρ τὸ φροντίζειν ἀληθείας· ἀλλ' ὁ γε τοῖς γεγραμμένοις ἀκολουθῶν καὶ πειθόμενος ἀκριβεῖάν τε προσκυνήσει καὶ ἀλήθειαν.

## 2. (Exc. de Sent. 64)

“Ὅτι κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους Εὐτροπίου τοῦ εὐνούχου τῶν μὲν περὶ τὴν ἐσπέραν οὐδὲν ἀκριβῶς γράφω <ἤν> εἰς ἐξήγησιν. τὸ τε γὰρ διάστημα τοῦ πλοῦ καὶ μῆκος μακρὰς ἐποίει τὰς ἀγγελίας καὶ διεφθαρμένας ὑπὸ χρόνου, καθάπερ ἐς χρόνιον καὶ παρέλκουσάν τινα νόσον καταβεβλημένας· ὅς τε πραττόμενοι καὶ στρατευόμενοι εἰ μὲν τῶν ἡσαν τῶν περὶ τὰ κοινὰ καὶ δυναμένων εἰδέναι, πρὸς χάριν καὶ ἀπέχθουν καὶ τὰ καθ' ἡδονὴν ἕκαστος κατὰ βούλησιν ἀπέφηνεν· εἰ γοῦν τις αὐτῶν συνήγαγε τρεῖς ἢ τέσσαρας τὰναντία λέγοντας ὥσπερ μάρτυρας, πολὺ τὸ παγκράτιον ἦν τῶν λόγων καὶ ὁ πόλεμος ἐν χερσίν, ἀρχὰς λαβὼν ἀπὸ ῥηματίων καὶ ὑποθέσεων καὶ συγκεκαυμένων. ταῦτα δὲ ἦν· “Σὺ πόθεν ταῦτα οἶδας;” “Ποῦ δέ σε ὁ Στελίζων εἶδε;” “οὐ δὲ τὸν εὐνούχον εἶδες ἄν;” ὥστε ἔργον ἦν διαλύειν τὰς συμπλοκάς. τῶν δὲ ἐμπόρων οὐδὲν εἰς λόγον πλείονα ψευδομένων ἢ ὅσοις κερδαίνειν βούλονται. ἀλλ' ὅσα τῷ σκωτάτῳ μάρτυρι κατὰ Πίνδαρον χρόνῳ τὴν ἀκριβεστέραν κατάληψιν ἐφευρήσει <γράφω>, ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀσιανὰς συμφορὰς στρέψω τὴν συγγραφήν· τοιοῦτο γὰρ ὁ μακρὸς αἰὼν οὐδὲν ἠνεγκεν, οὐδέ τις περὶ τὸν βίον τὸν ἀνθρώπων ἐνεσχμώθη τοιαύτη φορὰ καὶ κίνησις. ἀλλ' ὅμως οὕτως εἶχε, καὶ τὸ ἀληθὲς ἀσιώπητον, ὥς ἀδικοῖται γε ἄν τις, εἰ διὰ τὸ ἀπίθανον τάληθ' ἢ μὴ γράφοιτο. καὶ τοῦτο γε οὐδὲν διαφέρει δοκεῖ μοι τοῦ πιεῖν τι τῶν δρομέων καὶ πικρῶν ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνα κατακρασθέντα τοῖς σώμασι ἀηδῶς τέλος ἔχει τὴν ὑγίαν καὶ σωτηρίαν, οὕτω καὶ τὰ τερατευθέντα πρὸς τὸ παράλογον οὐ τῆς γραφῆς ἐστὶν ἀηδὲς ἀμάρτημα, ἀλλὰ γλυκὺ τι καὶ πόσιμον διὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῖς ἀκριβῶς ἐξετάξω βουλομένοις γίνεσθαι.

2 ἦν add. Boissevain [ἐξῆν add. Niebuhr 5 πραττόμενοι Boissevain [πρασ-  
τόμενοι cod., πλανώμενοι Niebuhr 7 ἀπέφηνεν Boissevain [ἀπέστειλεν Mai  
ἐπέστειλεν Bekker 13 οὐδὲν εἰς λόγον scripsi [οὐδεὶς λόγος Boissevain  
οὐδὲ εἰς λόγον Mai οὐδὲ εἰς λόγον ἦν Cobet 14 ὅσοις scripsi [ὅσα cod.  
15-16 κατάληψιν ἐφευρήσει <γράφω>, ἐπὶ Boissevain [κατάληψιν. ὅτι ἐπὶ  
edd., aut lac. post κατάληψιν indicant 24 ἐστὶν [ἐστι <τὸ> Niebuhr

(Zosimus 5,11-12)

## 67

## 1. (Exc. de Sent. 65)

Καὶ οὗτος μὲν ἐσώζετο καλῶς πονηρὸς ὢν· ὁμῶς δὲ (τὸν

1 πονηρῶς ἔχων van Herwerden ὁμῶς scripsi [ὁμῶς cod.

in deference to its avowed “love of God and love of the truth”. But I do not know who I am to write these things, for to take thought for the truth is an onerous task. Nevertheless, he who heeds and obeys what I have written will do obeisance to accuracy and to truth.<sup>146</sup>

## 2. (Exc. de Sent. 64)

During the time of Eutropius the eunuch it was impossible to include in a history an accurate account of events in the West. For the length and duration of the sea-voyage made the reports late and useless because they were out of date, as if they had fallen into some chronic and long-drawn-out illness. If any officials or soldiers had access to information on political activity, they related it as they wished, biased by friendship or hostility or a desire to please someone. And if you brought together three or four of them with conflicting versions as witnesses, there would be a great argument which would proceed from passionate and heated interjections to a pitched battle. They would say, “Where did you get this from?” “Where did Stilicho see you?” “Would you have seen the eunuch?” so that it was quite a task to sort out the tangle. From the merchants there was no reasonable information, since they either told many lies or said what they wished to profit from. But when I have set down what will offer the closest sense of what happened in the light of the evidence of time, the wisest witness, as Pindar says,<sup>147</sup> I shall turn my narrative to the disasters of Asia.<sup>148</sup> Eternity has produced no single comparable phenomenon, and the life of mankind has suffered no similar disturbance and innovation. But thus it was, and the truth must not be suppressed, since one would act wrongly in failing to record the truth for fear of incredulity. It seems to me like the drinking of a bitter and pungent medicine for the sake of health. Just as those things, whose entrance into the body is unpleasant, bring health and recovery, so these remarkable tales which verge on the incredible are not unpleasant to be blamed upon my History, but are, to those who want an accurate review of events, something pleasant and potable since they are true.<sup>149</sup>

(Zosimus 5,11-12)

## 67

## 1. (Exc. de Sent. 65)

He, though an evil man, was successfully saved. Likewise, suffering

σπλῆνα γὰρ ἐνόσει) διετεῖται καλῶς ὑπὸ τῆς συνεχοῦς ἱππασίας, κατεπράυνέ τε καὶ τὸ λιθῶδες ὑπεμάλαξε, καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀπῆει τῷ τε σφετέρῳ σώματι πολεμῶν ἢ πολεμήσων καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπαγγέλλων ἀληθέστερον πόλεμον.

2-3 ἱππασίας ἢ κατεπράυνέ τε τὸ λιθῶδες καὶ van Herwerden 4 σώματι [τάγματι Boissevain 5 ἐπαγγέλλων Dindorf [ἐπαγγέλλων cod.

2. (*Exc. de Sent.* 66)

Ἡ δὲ Λυδία πλησιόχωρος οὖσα τὰ δεύτερα ἔμελλε τοῦ ὀλέθρου φέρεσθαι.

3. (*Exc. de Sent.* 67)

Πλὴν ὅσα γε τούτοις ἐν ἐλπίσιν ἦν τὸ σῶζεσθαι· ἐλπίς γὰρ ἐν ἀπορρήτοις <τοῖς> ἔτι ζῶσι παραμύθιον.

2 τοῖς add. Boissevain [ἀπὸ τοῖς Bernhardt ἀπορωτάτοις Kuiper

4. (*Exc. de Sent.* 68)

Ἐπὶ τὰ γε ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις ξίφη καὶ βάρβαροι . . . οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἔννομον ἀπαίτησιν (καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνη τὸ διπλάσιον ὑπερέβαλεν) ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν βαρβαρικὴν καὶ ἄμετρον πλεονεξίαν, ἀκωδύνως εἶχε πρὸς ἕτερον . . .

1 ἐπὶ cod. [ἐπεὶ Boissevain

[5. (*Suda* Λ 268)

Λέων. οὗτος στρατηγὸς ἐπέμνη παρὰ Εὐτροπίου τοῦ εὐνούχου κατὰ τῶν βαρβάρων, εὐκόλος ὢν καὶ διὰ μελέτην μέθης εὐπαράγωγος· ἦν γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸ ἀνδρεῖον ἐπὶ τούτῳ συνηναγκασμένον, πλείους ἔχει παλλακίδας τῶν στρατιωτῶν, καὶ πλείονα πίνει ἢ ὅσα πάντες οἱ ἀνθρώποι πίνουνσι. (Cf. E 3636)]

6. (*Suda* Α 3066)

Εὐνάπιος· καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἀπεστάτει τῆς τοῦ Λέοντος ἐπωνυμίας· οὕτω γὰρ καὶ τὸ ζῶον ποιῶν εἴωθεν.

7. (*Suda* Δ 1025)

Εὐνάπιος· ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ λειπόμενα τῶν πραγμάτων διεξανιστάμενος, ἀνωρθύτο καὶ διηυχενίζετο πρὸς τὸν λεγόμενον Λέοντα, ὅπως αὐτὸν φονεύσειεν.

[8. (*Suda* Σ 793)

Σουβαρμάχιος. οὗτος τῶν δορυφόρων ἦν ἡγεμὼν, πιστότατος τῷ εὐνούχῳ Εὐτροπίῳ, εἶπερ τις ἄλλος· ἔπνε δὲ οἶνον πλείονα ἢ ὅσον ἡδύνατο χωρεῖν· ἀλλ' ὅμως τὰ περὶ γαστέρα διὰ συνήθειαν

as he did with his spleen, he was well served by the continual riding, which eased and softened his stones. He went away battling or intending to do battle with his body, while declaring a more genuine war upon the court officials.<sup>150</sup>

2. (*Exc. de Sent.* 66)

Lydia, being the closest province, was destined to suffer the second round of devastation.<sup>151</sup>

3. (*Exc. de Sent.* 67)

For them these things offered hope of safety; and in unspeakable circumstances hope is an encouragement for those still alive.

4. (*Exc. de Sent.* 68)

. . . against the swords used in these actions, and the barbarians . . . not according to the lawful level of requisition (and that was more than double) but according to the insatiable greed of barbarians. He was in no danger from the other . . .<sup>152</sup>

[5. (*Suda* Λ 268)

Leo. He was a general sent by the eunuch Eutropius against the barbarians, a placid man and easily led because of his addiction to drink. For him manly virtue consisted in having more whores than soldiers and drinking more than anybody. (Cf. E 3636)]

6. (*Suda* Α 3066)

He did not fail to live up to his name, Leo. For his behaviour was like that of the animal.

7. (*Suda* Δ 1025)

He applied himself to the rest of the business, pulled himself together and raised his head against the so-called Lion, seeking how he might slay him.<sup>153</sup>

[8. (*Suda* Σ 793)

Subarmachius. He was count of the domestics and most loyal of all to Eutropius. Although he drank more than he could hold, because he did this habitually and because he took heavy and vigorous exercise

αὐτῷ καὶ γυμνασίαν ἰσχυρὰν καὶ νεανικὴν πάντα φέρει ἐπὶ τὴν  
 φυσικὴν τῶν ὑγρῶν ἔκκρισιν. αἰεὶ γοῦν ἦν, πεπωκώς τε καὶ οὐ  
 πεπωκώς, μεθύων· τὴν δὲ μέθην παρεκάλυπτε σφαλερὸν διαβαίνων  
 τοῖς ποσὶ, καὶ πρὸς τὴν πτώσιν πολεμῶν ὑφ' ἡλικίας καὶ [διὰ νεό-  
 τητα] συνιστάμενος. ἦν δὲ βασιλικῷ μὲν γένει, Κόλχος ἀκριβοῦς  
 τῶν ὑπὲρ Φάσιν καὶ Θερμῶνδαντα, τοξότης <δὲ> ἀριστος, εἴ γε μὴ  
 κατετόξευεν αὐτὸν τὸ περιττὸν τῆς τρυφῆς.]

6 οὐ ante σφαλερὸν add. edd. 7-8 διὰ νεότητα exp. Boissonade 9 δὲ add.  
 Bernhardt

9. (*Exc. de Sent.* 69)

Ὅτι <οὐχ αὐτῷ παρακεκνηκότες καὶ διεφθαρμένοι τὴν  
 γνώμην, ἀλλὰ> δι' ὑπεροχὴν κακῶν εἰς Ἰουλιανοῦ καιροὺς καὶ  
 χρόνους τὸν εὐνοῦχον ἀνέθεσάν τινας Εὐτρόπιον. ὥσπερ οὖν τῶν  
 ἰατρῶν ἔστιν ἀκούειν ὅτι τοῖς φιλοξῶσι βέλτιόν ἐστι σπλῆνα νοσεῖν  
 ἢ κάμνειν ἥπαρ, καὶ ὅσον ὑπὲρ ἥπατος διὰ πνεύμονος ἐπὶ καρδίαν  
 συμπερατοῦται καὶ διέσφικται, οὕτως καὶ τότε συνέβαινε, ὥς ἐν  
 αἰρέσει τῶν αἰσχίστων, εὐδοκμεῖν εὐνοῦχον μανέντα πρὸς παρά-  
 θεσιν τῶν ἐπιλαβουσῶν συμφορῶν. (Cf. *Suda* Π 363\*)

1-2 verba in uncis addita e *Suda* Π 363

10. (*Exc. de Sent.* 70)

Ὅμως ὁ Γαῶς διαφθείρας τὸν πολέμον (ἐπολέμει γὰρ  
 εὐνοῦχῳ μάλα ἐντεταμένως· οὕτω σφόδρα γενναῖός τις ἦν) ἐξ ὧν  
 ἐδόκει κατορθωκέναι, διὰ τούτων ἥττητο. ὑγρότερος γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ  
 κατορθώματος καὶ μαλακώτερος γενόμενος, ὥς ἂν ἦδη τὴν Ῥωμαϊ-  
 κὴν ἀρχὴν συντηρῶς καὶ τοῖς ποσὶν ἐπεμβαίνων αὐτῆς, μαλακώ-  
 τερος ἦν ἀμφοτέρωθεν· καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀργίβιλδον ἐπρεσβεύετο, ὥς  
 τὸ σπουδαζόμενον αὐτοῖς ἔχει τέλος.

6 Ἀργίβιλδον Boissevain [Ἀργίβιλον Mai

11. (*Exc. de Sent.* 71)

Ὅτι Γαῶς καὶ Ἀργίβιλδος ἀπὸ . . . ὁ μὲν ἡγούμενος ὁ δὲ  
 ἐφεπόμενος . . . γνώμενα οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ἕτερον ἐπένθει· σφαγεῖς δὲ  
 ἔκειτο μηδὲ τὸν θάψοντα ἔχων καὶ κατορύσσοντα.

1 Ἀργίβιλδος vel Ταργίβιλδος Boissevain [Ἀργίβιλος Mai post ἀπὸ lacunam  
 xvii litt. indicat Boissevain 2 post ἐφεπόμενος lac. fere xi vers. indicat  
 Boissevain in qua litterae et verba sparsa ac non intelligenda leguntur.

12. (*Suda* E 740)

Εὐνάπιος· οὕτως καὶ τότε ὁ μέγιστος Ἑλληνοδόκης Γαῶς  
 τὸν Ῥωμαϊκὸν δλεθρον ἡθλοθέτει. (Cf. H 154)

his stomach was able to accept and pass all the liquid naturally. Whether  
 he had been drinking or not, he was perpetually drunk, but he hid the  
 fact because his walk was naturally unsteady and he was able, since he  
 was a young man, to hold himself firm and avoid falling over. He was of  
 royal blood, a pure Colchian from beyond Phasis and Thermodon, and  
 would have been a first-rate archer had he not been shot down by his  
 own dissipation.]

9. (*Exc. de Sent.* 69)

It was <not through disturbance or loss of wits but><sup>154</sup> because  
 of a surfeit of suffering that some compared the eunuch Eutropius to  
 Julian's day and age. Just as the doctors tell us that for survival it is  
 better to have a sick spleen than to suffer with the liver or with that  
 part of the body which extends through the lungs close to the heart,  
 so it happened that, when they were in the grip of the worst mis-  
 fortunes, people esteemed the mad eunuch in comparison with the  
 evils that were afflicting them.

(Cf. *Suda* Π 363\*)

10. (*Exc. de Sent.* 70)

But when Gainas had destroyed the enemy (for he waged an  
 extremely vigorous campaign against the eunuch, so very noble a man  
 was he), he was overcome by what he thought were his successes. For,  
 as if he had already taken control of the Roman state, he softened and  
 relaxed as a result of his success and thus became easier to deal with.<sup>155</sup>  
 He sent a message to Argibild<sup>156</sup> declaring that they had achieved the  
 goal for which they were working.

11. (*Exc. de Sent.* 71)

Gainas and Argibild . . .<sup>157</sup> the former leading, the latter following  
 . . .<sup>158</sup> nor did he grieve another. But he lay there slaughtered, having  
 no one to bury him or cover his body with earth.

12. (*Suda* E 740)

Then Gainas, the chief judge of the contest, presided over the  
 destruction of the Romans in this manner. (Cf. H 154)

[13. (Suda Π 1939)

Ὁ δὲ Γανῶς ἐξεχώρει τῆς πόλεως, καταλιπὼν αὐτὴν πολυ-  
άνδριον καὶ πολυτελῆ τάφον, οὐπω τεθαμμένων τῶν ἐνφυκκότων.]

(Zosimus 5,13,1 - 19,5)

68

(Exc. de Sent. 72)

Ὅτι Πέρσης ἦν ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἑπαρχος πρὸς χλευασίαν καὶ γέλωτα  
τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν παραφέρων εὐτυχίαν· σανίδας δὲ πολλὰς μικρὰς πρὸς  
ἡμῖς σταδίου συγκομισάμενος, καὶ εἰκόνα τινὰ τῶν ἔργων ὑπο-  
γράφαι βουλόμενος, πάντα ἐνετίθει γελοῖα ταῖς γραφαῖς, καὶ ἀπορ-  
ρήτως τὰ γραφόμενα κατεχλεύαζε διὰ τῆς εἰκόνης. ἀνδρείαν μὲν  
γὰρ βασιλέως ἢ ῥώμην στρατιωτῶν ἢ πόλεμον ἐμφανῆ καὶ νόμιμον  
οὐδαμοῦ τὰ γραφέντα παρεδήλου καὶ συνηνίττετο· χειρὸς δὲ τῆς ὥς  
ἂν ἐκ νεφῶν προτεινομένης ἐπίγραμμα ἦν τῇ χειρί· “θεοῦ χεὶρ ἐλαύ-  
νουσα τοὺς βαρβάρους”· αἰσχροὺς τοῦτο καταγράφειν, ἀλλ’ ἀναγκαῖον.  
καὶ πάλιν ἐτέρωθεν· “βάρβαροι τὸν θεὸν φεύγοντες”, καὶ τούτων ἕτερα  
παχύτερα καὶ ἀηδέστερα, κωθωνίζομένων γραφῶν φληήναρος.

11 ἀηδέστερα Boissevain [δημωδέστερα Jordan

69

1. (Exc. de Sent. 73)

... οὐ καὶ πρότερον ἡ συγγραφή μέμνηται τῆς ἀκμαζούσης  
ἀρετῆς, ἐνόσει τὸ σῶμα ὁ Φράβιδος τῆς ψυχῆς ὑγιαυνούσης πλέον·  
καὶ τό γε σῶμα διαλυόμενον ἤδη καὶ ἀποκολλώμενον εἰς τὴν λύσιν  
συνεγόμενον καὶ διέπλεκεν εἰς πῆξιν τινα καὶ ἀρμονίαν, ὅπως ἂν  
ἀρκέσειεν τῷ κάλῳ.

In cod. legit Mai ἀκμαζούσης ἀρετῆς ... τὸ σῶμα ... τῆς ψυχῆς ... πλέον  
κατὰ σῶμα διαλυόμενον ἤδη ... ἀπὸ ... Verba reliqua supplentur e Suda Φ  
681

2. (Suda Φ 681)

Φράβιδος, οὗτος στρατηγὸς ἦν τῆς ἀνατολῆς, ὃς ἀκμάζων τὴν  
ἀρετὴν ἐνόσει τὸ σῶμα, τῆς ψυχῆς ὑγιαυνούσης πλέον· καὶ τό γε  
σῶμα διαλυόμενον ἤδη καὶ ἀποκολλώμενον εἰς τὴν λύσιν συνεγόμενον  
καὶ συνέπλεκεν εἰς πῆξιν τινα καὶ ἀρμονίαν, ὅπως ἂν ἀρκέσειε τῷ  
καλῷ. ὃς τοὺς ληστὰς ῥαδίως συνείλεν, ὥστε μικροῦ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα  
τῆς ληστείας ἐκ τῆς μνείας τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐκπεσεῖν· ἦν δὲ Ἑλλην  
τὴν θρησκείαν.

6 μνείας A [μνήμη GVM

[13. (Suda Π 1939)

Gainas departed from the city, which he left behind a populous and  
magnificent tomb, the occupants of which had not yet been buried.<sup>159]</sup>

(Zosimus 5,13,1 - 19,5)

68

(Exc. de Sent. 72)

There was a Persian, a prefect at Rome, who reduced the success  
of the Romans to mockery and laughter. Wishing to offer a represen-  
tation of what had been done, he assembled many small panels in the  
middle of the Circus. But all the contents of his painting were laughable,  
and he unwittingly mocked his subject in his presentation. For nowhere  
did the painting show or allude to either the bravery of the Emperor,  
or the strength of the soldiers, or anything that was obviously a proper  
battle. But a hand extended as if from the clouds, and by the hand was  
inscribed, “The hand of God driving off the barbarians” (it is shameful,  
but necessary, to write this down), and on the other side, “The barba-  
rians fleeing God”, and other things even more stupid and odious than  
these, the nonsense of the drunken painters.

69

1. (Exc. de Sent. 73)

... whose outstanding virtue my narrative has remarked earlier.  
While Fravitta's body was sickly, his spirit was in greater health, and  
he glued and wove his body, which was already becoming unglued and  
falling to pieces, back into a solid framework, so as to be equal to his  
glorious task.<sup>160</sup>

2. (Suda Φ 681)

Fravitta. He was a general of the East, a man of outstanding  
virtue. While his body was sickly, his spirit was in greater health, and he  
glued and wove his body, which was already becoming unglued and  
falling to pieces, back into a solid framework, so as to be equal to his  
glorious task. He easily destroyed the brigands so that the word ‘brigan-  
dage’ almost disappeared from the lips of men. In his faith he was a  
Hellene.<sup>161</sup>

## 3. (Suda X 473 and E 1753 combined)

Εὐνάπιος· ὁ δὲ τὰς δυνάμεις ἤθροισε, τὸ χρήμα τῆς διαβάσεως ἐπισπέρχων ἤδη καὶ συμβιαζόμενος καὶ πλὴν ἀγαθῆς ψυχῆς σῶμα οὐκ ἔχων, ὅμως ἔκαμε καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις ἐξήσκει καὶ κατεκόσμη πρὸς τὸ ἀνδρικώτερον.

## 4. (Exc. de Sent. 74)

Ὅτι Φράβιδος ὁ στρατηγὸς Ῥωμαίων νικήσας Γαινῶν περὶ τὴν Χερρόνησον διαμένοντα καὶ τοῦτον μὴ διώξας (ἀσφαλῆς γὰρ ἦν ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ κερδαίνων τὸ ἔργον καὶ Λακωνικός τις ἦν ἐς τὸ τύχην εἰδέναι καὶ μὴ πέραν τοῦ μετρίου ποιεῖσθαι τὴν δίωξιν), καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἀσφαλέστερον βουλευόμενος ἡλίκον ἐστὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τὸ καλῶς 5 στρατηγεῖν ἔδειξεν· οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ ὅσον ἡλίδιον καὶ πηλοῦ παχύ-τερον, στρατηγικοὶ τῶς εἶναι βουλόμενοι καὶ τὸ γεγονὸς ὑποσημαίνοντες διελήρουν καὶ παρεφλυάrouν, τὰς ὀφρὺς ἀνασπῶντες καὶ διαφλεγόμενοι τῷ φθόνῳ πρὸς ἀπίθανόν τινα καὶ μυθώδη κατα-στροφὴν, ἀπὸ μιᾶς γλώσσης καὶ πάθους ἐνός, ὁμόφωνοι κατὰ δόξαν 10 ὑπὸ δειλίας γεγονότες καὶ τῷ παραλόγῳ πληγέντες, τὸν Φράβιδον ἐπεφήμιζον <νικῶν> μὲν εἰδέναι, νίκη δὲ οὐκ εἰδέναι χρῆσθαι. ὁ γὰρ ... ἐπὶ τὴν Χερρόνησον· ἐγκατέλαβεν ... αἰχμάλωτον ὀπίσω σω-τηρίας ... προσηκόντως τύχῳσι· θέαμα τῆς νίκης ἄξιον, καὶ οὗτοι μὲν <προδῆλως ἐθρασύνοντο> καὶ ὑπέσπειρον εἰς τὰ βασίλεια τῷ 15 λόγῳ ποικιλλόντες τε καὶ περιγράφοντες, ὡς βάρβαρος βαρβάρῳ καὶ μύστης μύστη παρέχοι διαφυγὴν καὶ σωτηρίαν· ὁ δὲ Φράβιδος μάλα φαιδρῶς καὶ <λαμπρῶς ἐπανήκει> ἐπὶ τὴν Κωνσταντίνου πόλιν οὕτω τῆς φήμης <κατ' αὐτοῦ> τὸ ἀφανὲς καὶ σκοτεινὸν ὑφέρπον τῆς προφερομένης <καταφρονήσας ὥστε> παρελθὼν εἰς τὰ βασίλεια 20 φαιδρὸς καὶ γεγηθὼς <ἀπάντων ἐκπεπληγ>μένων πρὸς τὸ παρά-λογον τῆς τύχης καὶ θεὸν ὁρᾶν ὑπολαμβάνοντων μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνθρώ-πον (οὕτως τί ἐστὶ τὸ νικᾶν καὶ χεῖρα ἔχειν οὐκ ἤδεσαν), πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα μετὰ ἐλευθερίας <καὶ σφόδρα τὴν φωνὴν> διατευνάμενος

3 τὴν add. Boissevain ante τύχην 9-10 καταστροφὴν Müller [καταστροφὴναι Mai 10 κατὰ [παρὰ Bekker 12 ἐπεφήμιζον Dindorf [ἐπεφήμιζον cod. νικῶν add. Niebuhr 12-13 ὁ γὰρ ... ἐπὶ τὴν Χερρόνησον· ἐγκατέλαβεν Boissevain [ὁ γοῦν ... τὴν Χ. ἐγκατέλειπεν Mai ὁ γοῦν Φράβιδος διέπλευσεν ἐπὶ τὴν Χ. ἐγκατέλαβεν van Herwerden 13-14 σωτηρίας Mai [σω ... Boissevain 14 προσηκόντως τύχῳσι Mai [χειροῦμενον καὶ ἔποιησεν van Herwerden 15 προδῆλως ἐθρασύνοντο Boissevain [πρ ... εἶρα cod. πρᾶγμα ὁλέθρου ... ἐστὶ van Herwerden 17 παρέχοι Boissevain [παρέχων cod. 18 λαμπρῶς ἐπανήκει add. Boissevain [... πρὸς ... Mai γελάσας πρὸς ... van Herwerden 19 <κατ' αὐτοῦ> τὸ ἀφανὲς scripsi [<κατ' αὐτοῦ ψεύδος> ἀφανὲς Boissevain τὸ ἀφανὲς (sine lac.) van Herwerden 19-20 τῆς προ-φερομένης Mai [προσον ... Boissevain 20 καταφρονήσας ὥστε add. Boissevain 21 ἀπάντων ἐκπεπληγ- add. Bekker 23 τί Boissevain [τί Mai 24 καὶ σφόδρα τὴν φωνὴν Boissevain

## 3. (Suda X 473 and E 1753 combined)

He gathered together his forces, even now attending to and organising the matter of the crossing, and, although he had no physical strength to go with his brave spirit, nevertheless he worked hard and equipped and trained his forces for bolder deeds.<sup>162</sup>

## 4. (Exc. de Sent. 74)

When Fravitta, the general of the Romans, had defeated Gainas, who was tarrying in the Chersonese, he did not pursue the latter, since, being secure in his victory, he was saving himself the trouble and in the Spartan manner he recognised his good fortune and did not carry pursuit beyond what was reasonable. In opting for the safer course he demonstrated to the rest the nature of good generalship. But the majority, who were silly people and thicker than mud, wishing to be generals and delivering their views on what had happened, prattled and chattered on. They arched their brows and, consumed by envy at the unbelievable and wonderful outcome, with one voice and one sentiment (they voiced their views in unison out of timidity, and they were stunned by the unexpected event) declared that Fravitta knew how to win a victory, but not how to use it. For he ... to the Chersonese. He would have (?) taken ... prisoner ... a spectacle worthy of the victory.<sup>163</sup> Moreover, these people <apparently plucked up courage> and planted the allegation in the palace, sketching it out and embroidering it with their words, that a barbarian and initiate had allowed his fellow-barbarian and fellow-initiate to escape to safety. But Fravitta returned to Constantinople joyfully and gloriously and he so <scorned the obscure and> murky insinuations <that> he came joyfully and happily into the palace, and all the people, being amazed by his unexpected good fortune, thought that they were looking on a god rather than on a man (so unused were they to victory and physical prowess). Raising his voice he spoke loudly and openly to the Emperor ...<sup>164</sup> hostile to the Roman state. Since as a very straightforward man he was



ἐξεβόησεν . . . τῶν καταφρναττομένων φθόνων καὶ νηστείας καθάρ- 25  
ματα . . . δεῖται τε . . . πόσον ὁ θεὸς δύναται θεῶ μὲν ὅτε βού<λεται>  
τὸ δυν<ατὸν> ἐκείνου κακῶς . . . τηλικούτον ὃν . . . κατὰ πε . . . εως  
ἔργον οἶσθα, βασιλεῦ. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ἔργον . . . ἀλλότριον τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς  
ἀρχῆς. τοῦ δὲ μάλα ἐπινεύοντος πρόσωπον, διὰ γὰρ ἀπλότητα 30  
πολλήν συμπαθήσας πρὸς τὰ λεγόμενα . . . ὑπὸ τῶν εὐνούχων εἶπεν  
ὅτι προσήκόν ἐστιν ἐπινεύειν . . . τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως τοῦτο εἰπόντος ὡς  
αἰτεῖν ἀνάγκη δωρεάν, ὁ Φράβιθος ἤτησεν ἐπιτραπῆναι κατὰ τὸν  
πάτριον νόμον θεραπεύειν θεόν. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς δι' ὑπεροχὴν βασι-  
λικῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ τὴν ὑπατείαν ἐπέτρεψεν· ὁ δ' ἐδέξατο.

26-27 βού<λεται> τὸ δυν<ατὸν> Niebuhr 28 ἀλλότριον Mai [om. Boissevain  
29 μάλα conl. Boissevain [μ.λ. cod. 32 ἤτησεν Cobet ἐφῆσεν Mai

5. (Exc. de Sent. 75)

Ὅτι Φαμέας Ἰμῶλων ἐπικαλούμενος μυρία παρέχων κακὰ  
Ῥωμαίοις, εἴτα Σκιπίωνος στρατηγούντος οὐ δυνάμενος, τὴν δὲ  
αἰτίαν ἐρωτώμενος ἐξείπεν, τὰ μὲν πρόβατα εἶναι ταῦτά, τὸν δὲ ποι-  
μένα σφοδρότερον καὶ τοῦ Ἄργου μᾶλλον πολυωπέστερον.

1 Ἰμῶλων Müller [ὁ Μῶλων cod.

(Zosimus 5,19,6 - 23,2)

70

(Zosimus 5,23,2 - 24,8; cf. Photius *Bibl. cod.* 77 = *Testimonium* 1)

71

[1. (*Suda* A 3752)]

Ἀρβαζάκιος, Ἰσαυρος, ἐπὶ Ἀρκαδίου τοῦ βασιλέως, ὃν Ἀρπα-  
ζάκιον ἐκάλουν διὰ τὸ πλεονεκτικόν. ἦν μὲν γὰρ ἐξ Ἀρμενίας, τοῖς  
τριῶν ἅμα συγκατελιγμένους πάθεισιν, ὥσπερ Ἡφαιστείοις δεσμοῖς  
ἀρρήκτοις ἀλύτοις, καὶ ἐμμένεγε ἐν αὐτοῖς ἔμπεδον. ταῦτα δὲ ἦν ἐρωτο-  
μανία καὶ μέθη καὶ πλεονεξία. οὕτω δὲ εἰς ἔσχατον ὄρον τὰς ἑαυτῶ 5  
δοκαύσας ἀρετὰς ἐπετήδευεν, ὥστε οὐκ ἂν τις ἐπίστευσε <μὴ>  
πειραθεῖς, ὅτι τὰς τρεῖς ἐκεῖνας οὕτως εἰς ἄκρον ἐξήσκησε. μουσουρ-  
γοῖς μὲν γὰρ συνέζη τοσαύταις, ὅσας αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ἀριθμεῖν εἶχεν  
οὐτε ἑτερός τις τῶν διακονουμένων, καὶ οἷγε προσήκοντες αὐτῷ  
λογισταὶ τῶν στρατιωτικῶν ἔργων τὸν μὲν ἀριθμὸν τῶν στρατι- 10  
ωτῶν ἤδεσαν, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῶν ἑταίρων καὶ τὸν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν  
ἀριθμὸν αὐτοῦ διέφυγεν. ὥσπερ οὖν Ὀρόντην τὸν Πέρσην φασὶν  
εἰπεῖν, ὅτι τῶν δακτύλων ὁ μικρότατος καὶ μύρια σημαίνει καὶ ἕνα

6 μὴ add. Portus

grimacing as he spoke, sympathising with what was being said . . . he  
declared through the eunuchs that it was proper to grimace . . .<sup>165</sup> and  
when the Emperor said that he must name a reward, Fravitta demanded  
that he be permitted to worship God in the ancestral manner.<sup>166</sup> The  
Emperor in an excess of kingly virtue granted him the consulship as  
well. And he accepted it.

5. (Exc. de Sent. 75)

Although Phameas, surnamed Himilco, had inflicted countless  
woes upon the Romans, he was unable to do so after Scipio became  
general. When asked the reason, he said that the sheep were the same  
but the shepherd was more energetic and had more eyes than Argus.<sup>167</sup>

(Zosimus 5,19,6 - 23,2)

70

(Zosimus 5,23,2 - 24,8; cf. Photius *Bibl. cod.* 77 = *Testimonium* 1)

71

[1. (*Suda* A 3752)]

Arbazacius the Isaurian, during the reign of the Emperor Ar-  
cadius. They called him Harpazacius ['Grabber'] because of his greed.  
He was from Armenia and was a prisoner of three vices by which he  
remained bound fast as if by the unbreakable and unopenable fetters  
of Hephaestus. These were lust, drink and avarice. He had taken these  
virtues (as he thought them) to such an limit that no one who had not  
seen him would believe that he had polished them to such perfection.  
In his entourage was such a host of ladies devoted to the arts of enter-  
tainment that neither he nor any of his servants could count them; and  
while the military accountants under his command knew the number of  
his soldiers, the number of his mistresses defeated the combined efforts  
of all their fingers. Just as Orontes the Persian is said to have pointed  
out that the little finger stands for both one and ten thousand, so the

ἀριθμόν, οὕτω κακεῖνοι τὰς ἐταίρας κατὰ μονάδας καὶ μυριάδας  
ἡρίθμουν. (Cf. H 657, M 1303, O 624)]

2. (*Exc. de Sent.* 76)

Ἱέραξ ἦν, ὄνομα δὲ τοῦτο ἀνθρώπου κύριον, ὃν εἶδεν ὁ συγ-  
γραφεὺς καὶ διελέχθη πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν τε ἀνεμάξατο διὰ  
τῶν λόγων· καὶ συνελόντι γε εἶπεῖν Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ἦν κορακῶδης μὲν  
κατὰ τὸ ἀπληστον ἐς τροφήν· προσῆν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τρυφή· πρὸς δὲ  
ἡδονὰς ἀλεκτρονῶδης, καὶ οἷός τις ὦν Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ἀσελγέστατος  
γένοιτο καὶ εἴ γέ τι Ἀλεξανδρέως ἀσελγέστερον. ἀλλ' ὅμως ὁ  
συγγραφεὺς αἰδεσθῆναι τὴν τοσαύτην ἀναίδειαν καὶ ἱταμότητα συμ-  
πέισας ἐφ' οἷς ἦν λόγοις ὥχεται ἀπιών, τεθηπότων τῶν παρόντων,  
ὅτι ἀνθρώπος ἐξ Ἀλεξανδρείας γλῶσσάν τε ἐπέσχε καὶ φλυαρίαν  
ἐπέστησε καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον κατέβαψεν ἐρυθμήματι.

3 τῶν λόγων Bekker [τὸν λόγον cod. 5 ἀλεκτρονῶδης Meineke (e Phot.  
Bibl. Cod. 77) ἀσελγέστατος Niebuhr [ἀσελγέστερος cod. 8 λόγοις  
Bekker [λόγος cod. 10 κατέβαψεν Dübner [κατέκρυψεν Niebuhr κατέ-  
κοψεν Müller

3. (*Exc. de Sent.* 77)

Ὁ δὲ πρὸς τὸν Ἰωάννην ἐπιστρέψας τὸν λόγον, “ἀλλὰ σύγε”  
εἶπε “πάντων εἰ τῶν κακῶν αἴτιος, τοὺς τε βασιλέας διατέμνων ἐκ  
τῆς σφῶν αὐτῶν κολλησέως καὶ τὸ θεοπρεπέστατον ἔργον καὶ  
οὐρανόμηκες ὑπορύττων καὶ κατασειών ταῖς σαῖς μηχαναῖς ἐς διά-  
λυσιν καὶ φθοράν. ἔστι δὲ πανόλβιον τι χρῆμα καὶ τεῖχος ἀρρηκτον  
καὶ ἀδαμάντων τοῖς βασιλέας ἐν δύω σώμασι μίαν βασιλείαν  
ἔχοντας φαίνεσθαι”. καὶ οἱ παρόντες τούτων λεγομένων τὰς μὲν  
κεφαλὰς ἀπέσειον ἡσυχῇ καὶ δεδοκότες· ἐδόκει γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἀριστα  
λέγεσθαι, τὸν δὲ Ἰωάννην τρέμοντες καὶ πρὸς τὰ σφέτερα κέρδη  
κεχηνότες (ἡ γὰρ διχοστασία καὶ τοῖς πονηροῖς, ἥπερ εἴρηται, τιμὴν  
ἐχαρίζετο) τῆς κοινῆς σωτηρίας ἀμελήσαντες, καὶ προστησάμενοι  
σφῶν αὐτῶν τὸν Ἰωάννην, τεχνικὸν δὴ τινα ἱερακοτρόφον, τὸν  
Φράβιον ἀρεῖλοντο τῆς ψυχῆς.

5 φθοράν Bekker [φωράν cod. 8 ἐπέσειον Dindorf

4. (*Exc. de Sent.* 78)

Παμφυλία γοῦν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰσαυρικῶν πολέμων πορθουμένη  
χρυσὸν ἐνόμισε τὰς Ἰσαυρικὰς συμφορὰς· καὶ καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς  
διοσημελαῖς ἀστραπῆς κεραυνὸς φοβερώτερος (ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐφόβησε  
μόνον, ὁ δὲ διέφθειρεν), οὕτω καὶ τοὺς Ἰσαυροὺς φρικωδεστάτους  
ὄντας ἀκοῦσαί τε καὶ ἰδεῖν ἀνδρὸς ἀπέδειξε καὶ τρυφερώτατόν τι καὶ  
χλοερὸν ἔαρ ὁ βέλτιστος ἐξ Ἀλεξανδρείας Ἱέραξ, οὕτω πάντα διε-  
ρευνησάμενος καὶ συναρπάσας ἀθρόως ἐπὶ τῷ Φραβίου φόνῳ.

accountants calculated the number of his mistresses in the same way.<sup>168</sup>  
(Cf. H 657, M 1303, O 624)]

2. (*Exc. de Sent.* 76)

Hierax was the name of this man, whom the writer saw and  
argued with, and gained an impression of his soul from his speech. To  
put it in a word, he was an Alexandrian — like a crow in his insatiable  
gluttony, and in his debauchery (he was also lustful) like a rooster —,  
the lewdest kind of Alexandrian and worse, if that is possible. But the  
writer persuaded him with the arguments which he used to be abashed  
at his shamelessness and effrontery, and then walked out; and all  
present were astounded that a man from Alexandria held his tongue,  
stopped his prating and blushed crimson.<sup>169</sup>

3. (*Exc. de Sent.* 77)

He directed his words towards John, saying, “It is you who are  
the cause of all these troubles, destroying the unity of the Emperors,  
undermining with your schemes this most divine and wondrous arrange-  
ment, and laying it low in ruinous collapse. It is a remarkable thing, a  
most firm and unbreachable bulwark for us, that two separate Em-  
perors rule an united Empire”. As this was being said those present  
nodded disagreement silently and in fear.<sup>170</sup> For although they agreed  
wholeheartedly with these words, they were in fear of John and, eager  
for their own gain (for, as I have said, this period of dissension brought  
honours even to worthless men) and taking no account of the welfare  
of the state, they made John, the cunning patron of the hawk,<sup>171</sup> their  
leader and killed Fravitta.

4. (*Exc. de Sent.* 78)

While Pamphylia was being ravaged by the Isaurian war, the  
province thought that the misfortunes inflicted by the Isaurians were  
comparative heaven. Just as in thunderstorms a bolt is more to be  
feared than a flash of lightning (for the latter only frightens whereas  
the former kills), so, too, our noble Alexandrian Hierax, as he ferreted  
out everything after the murder of Fravitta and stole it all, showed  
that the Isaurians, who were most terrible to see and hear, were really  
just a dainty little flower of a green spring day. . . . and, receiving [a

... καὶ παραλαβὼν, ὑπὸ μάλης ἐπειρᾶτο διαφεύγειν αἰτοῦ ρύμην καὶ φορὰν, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἶχεν ἀλασκοπὴν ὁ Λύκιος Ἑρεννιανὸς βικάριος 10  
ὦν· αἰτὸς δὲ γενόμενος αὐτὸν συνήρπασε τὸν Ἰέρακα, καὶ μόλις ἀφῆκεν, εἰ μὴ τετρακισχιλίους ἐκεῖνος αὐτῷ χρυσοὺς ἀπέτισεν.

8 lacunam indicavi cum edd.

9 ἀλασκοπὴν Bekker [ἄλλο σκοπεῖν cod.

10 αὐτὸς Boissevain

(Zosimus 5,25)

## 72

## 1. (Exc. de Sent. 79)

Ὅτι ἐπὶ Πουλχερίας τῆς βασιλείας ἐξέκειτο δημοσίᾳ πωρα-  
κόμενα τὰ ἔθνη τοῖς βουλομένοις ὠνεῖσθαι τὰς ἀρχάς· πᾶσι δὲ  
ἐπιτρέσκοντο μεγάλα τε καὶ μικρὰ φανερώς ἐπὶ τῶν δημοσίων  
τραπεζῶν, ὥσπερ ἄλλο τι τῶν ἐπ' ἀγορᾶς ὠνίων. καὶ ὁ βουλόμενος 5  
Ἑλλησποντον ἀδικεῖν εἶχεν Ἑλλησποντον πριάμενος, καὶ ἄλλος  
Μακεδονίαν ἢ Θράκην, καὶ ὅπως ἕκαστος ἐνόσει πρὸς τὸ ἄδικον ἢ  
ἐχθροὺς ἔχων. ἐξῆν δὲ καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον ἔθνος τὴν μοχθηρίαν  
ὠνεῖσθαι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πρὸς τὸ βλάπτειν τοὺς ὑπηκόους καὶ πολλὰ  
συλλαμβάνειν ἔθνη· τοῦτο γὰρ ὁ βικάριος ἐδύνατο καὶ ἡ ἀνθύπατος 10  
ἀρχή. καὶ δέος ἦν οὐδὲν τῶν ἀθλίων γραμμάτων τοῖς νόμοις ἐντε-  
θνηκότων ὥς δεῖ τὸν ἐπὶ χρήμασι δικάζοντα κολάζεσθαι· ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν  
νόμοι κατὰ τὸν Σκύθην Ἀνάχαρσιν οὐκ ἀραχνίων ἦσαν ἀσθενέστεροι  
καὶ λεπτότεροι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ κονιορτοῦ παντὸς πρὸς τὸ ρεῖν εὐ-  
κόλως καὶ διανεμοῦσθαι παραφορώτεροι. ὁ δὲ τὸ ἔθνος ἢ τὰ ἔθνη 15  
παραλαβὼν, δύο τινὰς ἢ τρεῖς θεραπόντας συνεφελκόμενος κατὰ  
τὴν πλαγίαν εἰσιόντας θύραν, μὴ βουλόμενος λανθάνειν ὅτι τοῦτο  
πράττουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐπιδεικνύμενος ὅτι . . ., διὰ τούτων τῶν σιωπῶντων  
κηρύκων, εἰ δὴ κήρυγμα σιωπῶμενον γίνεται, πρὸς πάντας περι-  
ήγγελλεν, ὥς φησιν Ὅμηρος· “κλήθην εἰς ἀγορὴν κυκλήσκειν ἄνδρα 20  
ἕκαστον μηδὲ βοᾶν, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ πρῶτοις πονεῖτο.” καὶ ὁ ἀρχων  
διὰ τῶν ἀρθόγγων τούτων κηρύκων πρὸς τὸ οὖς ἕκαστω περι-  
ήγγελλεν ὥς πριάμενος εἴη τοῖς ὑπηκόους τόσου καὶ τόσου χρυσίου,  
καὶ πᾶσά γε ἀνάγκη τοῦτο καταβάλλειν ἢ πράγματα ἔχοντας ἐπι-  
τρέπεσθαι θανάτοις καὶ δημεύσεσιν. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἔχοντες καὶ συν- 25  
τελεῖν ἐκ προϋπαρχούσης οὐσίας κατετίθεισαν οἰμώζοντες τὸ ἀρ-  
γύριον· οἱ δὲ ἀποροῦντες δημοσίᾳ κατεδαπανῶντο ταῖς μάστιξι τὰ

1 Πουλχερίας iniuria pro Εὐδοξίας? 6 ἢ Θράκην Boissevain [Κυρήνην edd.

14 παραφορώτεροι van Herwerden [παραφοράμενοι Mai παραφερόμενοι Niebuhr

16 λανθάνειν Jordan [μυθάνειν cod. 17 ὅτι βία (sine lac.) van Herwerden

18-19 πάντας περιήγγελλεν Niebuhr [πάντα περιήγγελλον cod. 23-24 ἐπιτρέπεσθαι Niebuhr

successor?], he covertly tried to escape the strength and speed of the eagle. But Lucius Herennianus, the vicar, kept no blind-man's watch and, becoming an eagle, seized the Hawk and finally let him go only on payment of 4,000 *solidi*.<sup>172</sup>

(Zosimus 5,25)

## 72

## 1. (Exc. de Sent. 79)

During the time of the Empress Pulcheria the provinces were up  
for public sale to whoever wished to buy their governorships. Large and  
small, they were openly offered to all in the public marts like any other  
piece of merchandise. Whoever wished to plunder Hellespontus could  
buy that province, likewise Macedonia or Thrace, wherever he craved to  
commit his crimes or had enemies. Wrongdoers could buy the right to  
oppress the population either of an individual province or of a col-  
lection of provinces, the latter being the prerogative of the vicar or pro-  
consul. Moreover, no one had any fear of the harsh statutes which laid  
down penalties for judges in suits involving property, for they had  
become obsolete; and the laws themselves were not only, as the  
Scythian Anacharsis says, lighter and weaker than spiders' webs, but  
readier than any dust to swirl away and scatter.<sup>173</sup> The man who  
received one or a group of provinces took with himself two or three  
servants who entered his house by the side door. He did not wish it to  
go unnoticed that they were doing this, but he was showing that . . .,  
and through these silent messengers (if a message can be silent) he  
announced to all, in the words of Homer, “to summon each man to the  
assembly by name and not to shout, and he himself went to work with  
the foremost”.<sup>174</sup> The governor, through these voiceless messengers,  
whispered into each man's ear that he had bought the provincials for so  
much gold and it was absolutely necessary that he either pay it up or  
hand over for death and confiscation persons who had some wealth.  
Those who had possessions agreed to pay up from their ready cash,  
lamenting the loss of their money, while those who had nothing paid  
with a public flogging. But there was another scheme afoot. One type

σώματα· πρόφασις δὲ ἦν ἑτέρα τις. εὐρέθη γὰρ γένος ἀνθρώπων δι' ἀπορίαν καὶ ἀπόνοιαν ὀξυθάναντον καὶ φιλοκίνδυνον, οἱ τὰς ὕβρεις οὐκ ἐνεγκόντες ἐπὶ κατηγορίᾳ τῆς ληστείας ὥρμησαν ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς αὐλῆς ἐπαρχον. κἀκεῖνος ἂν ἐπὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα διεσχηματισμένος πάλαι καὶ αὐτὸς ἕτερα τοιαῦτα πάσχων τὸν τε κατηγορηθέντα συνήρπασε καὶ τοὺς κατηγορήσαντας ὡς παρρησιᾶν ἔχοντας ἐπήνεσεν ὅπως. . . οὖν τοιαῦτα γένοιτο· καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα τῆς κρίσεως ἐλθούσης, ἔφρασεν ἂν διὰ τοῦ πιστοτάτου τῶν εὐνούχων· “ἄπιτε, ὦ βέλτιστοι, πάννυθαυμάζοντες ὅτι μετὰ τῶν κεφαλῶν ἄπιτε· κατηγορεῖν γὰρ ἀρχομένοις οὐκ ἔξεστω”. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπήεσαν ψηλαίφροντες τὰς κεφαλὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς λόγοις καὶ ἀγαπῶντες, ὅτι ἔχουσι συνηρμοσμένας· ὁ δὲ νυκῆσας τὴν Καδμεῖαν μακρῶ πλέον ἦν ἀθλιώτερος καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν πριάμενος ὅλης τῆς ὑπαρχούσης οὐσίας καὶ τὸ κέρδος τῆς ἀρχῆς προσκαταβαλὼν ταῖς τοσαύταις ἐνέδραις καὶ λόχοις. πᾶσαι γοῦν οἰκίαι πρὸς τοῦτον ἐκενώθησαν ἂν τὸν δόλον· καὶ βᾶστα ἦν ὁρᾶν τοὺς ἄρξαντας δεδημευμένους, ὥσπερ που καὶ ὁ κωμικός φησιν· “ἄρξαντος ἀνδρὸς δημόσια τὰ χρήματα”. ὁ δὲ ἀγνοῶν τίς κωμικός, οὐδὲ ἀναγνώσκων ἄξιός τινι συγγραφῇ. οὕτω γοῦν καὶ ὁ Ἑρεννιανὸς τότε τὸν Ἰέρακα τῶ πολλὰ μὲν ὑπερέσθαι, τῶ πολλὰ καταβαλεῖν συλλαβῶν ἀπέδειξε δικαίως ἀποτίνοντα τιμωρίας τοῦ κατὰ Φράβιθον φόνου. ὁ δὲ Ἰέραξ καλούμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ πλείονα καταθέντος ὥσπερ αἰετοῦ συνειλημμένος ἀηδῶν ἦν Ἡσιόδειος οὐ δυναμένη πρὸς κρείττονα ἀντιφερίζειν. καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ αἰετὸς οὐδὲν διέφερεν ἀηδόνας, πλὴν ὅσα καὶ εἰς τὸν τοῦ μύθου κολοῖον ἐτέλει, τῶν ἰδίων πτερῶν ὥσπερ ἀλλοτρίων ἐστερημένος.

30 πάλαι Niebuhr [πάλιν Mai 32 ὅπως. . . οὖν cod. [ὀποσακισοῦν Kuiper ὀπωσποτοῦν van Herwerden ὀπωσοῦν Mai 36 ἀρχομένοις van Herwerden [ἀρχομένους Mai 38 ἀθλιώτατος edd. 41 ἐκενώθησαν Boissevain [ἐκενοῦντο Mai βᾶστα Jordan [μάλιστα Mai 42 δεδημευμένους Bekker [δεδηκεισμένους Mai 44 συγγραφῇ Boissevain [γραφήν Mai 45 τῶ πολλὰ Bekker [τὰ πλείονα Mai et Boissevain

## 2. (Exc. de Sent. 80)

“Ὅτι ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς βασιλίδος οὐκ ἦν τινα παρὰ τὴν Κωνσταντίνου πόλιν μὴ τοῦτο ἀκοῦσαι· “τί δὲ σύ, πάντων ἀνδρῶν θαυμασιώτερε, πόλεων οὐκ ἄρχεις καὶ ἐθνῶν;” καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν τοῦ κατὰ <τὸν> μῦθον ἰοῦ τῶν διψάδων δυνατώτερος.

2-3 θαυμασιώτερε Mai [θαυμασιώτατε van Herwerden 4 τὸν add. Dindorf

## 3. (Exc. de Sent. 81)

Ὁ δὲ Στελίκων οὐκ ἐφόνευσε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἀλλὰ ζῆν αἰσχροῦς ἡνάγκαζε, πάντα ἀφαιρούμενος, καὶ πρὸς τὸ βαρύντατον, ὥς

of man was to be found whose destitution and desperation made him ready to risk danger and death. These men refused to endure the abuses and they laid charges of robbery before the praetorian prefect. He was well prepared to deal with this (since he had long been facing similar charges), and he used to arrest the accused and praise the accusers for their boldness of speech no matter how these things turned out. When the suit came to trial, he would declare through the most trusted of the eunuchs, “Go away, my friends, and be thankful that you leave with your heads. For subjects are not permitted to lay charges against their governor”, and they went away feeling their heads and relieved to have them still on their shoulders. But the accused, having won his Cadmean victory, was far more wretched than his accusers. For he had spent all the wealth he had to obtain his governorship, and in addition had used up the profits of his term of office in evading these snares which had been laid for him. All the households were made destitute by this device, and it was very easy to observe former governors suffering confiscation — as the comedy-writer says, “The possessions of an ex-magistrate are public property”.<sup>175</sup> (Whoever does not recognise the writer is unworthy to read this history.)

In this way, then, when Herennianus arrested Hierax, he made him pay more to escape than he had stolen and thus inflicted upon him a fitting penalty for the murder of Fravitta. The man called Hawk was seized, as if by an eagle, by the man who had paid more and he became like Hesiod's nightingale, unable to compete against the stronger. And the eagle himself differed in no way from the nightingale except that he was also like the jackdaw of the fable, since he was stripped of his own feathers as if they were another's.<sup>176</sup>

## 2. (Exc. de Sent. 80)

During the reign of the same Empress at Constantinople, one could not avoid being accosted with the words, “Most amazing of all men, why are you not governing cities and provinces?” This question was more powerful than the fabled poison of the *dipsas*.<sup>177</sup>

## 3. (Exc. de Sent. 81)

Stilicho did not kill the men but forced them to live in shame, taking away all their possessions and reducing and . . . them to the

φῆσι Μένανδρος, τὴν πενίαν θηρίον καὶ . . . ὦν καὶ συστέλλων.

3 θηρίον cod. [φορτίον van Herwerden καὶ . . . ὦν Boissevain {καὶ . . . λέγων Mai

#### 4. (*Exc. de Sent.* 82)

Ὅτι ὕπατον ὅμως διὰ φιλαρχίαν ἡροῦντο αὐτὸν συνάπαντες οἱ χρήματα ἔχοντες ζῆν μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς . . . δεῖν πυρὶ καὶ φόνῳ καὶ σιδήρῳ πάντα δαπανήσασθαι . . . τῆς . . . χῆς ἐν τῷ διαφαίνεσθαι ὅτι μόνος Στελίων ὑπὲρ ἀνθρωπίνην ἐν . . .

1 ὕπατον ὅμως van Herwerden [ὕπ . . . ὡς Mai 1-2 οἱ χρήματα van Herwerden [οἱ δὲ Mai

(Photius *Bibl. Cod.* 77 = *Testimonium* 1)

### Sedis Incertae

73

(*Suda* A 2447)

Ἀνεκρέμασε τοῖς θεοῖς. Εὐνάπιος.

74

(*Suda* A 2866)

Καὶ αὖθις Εὐνάπιος· πρὸς τὸ ἀφανὲς καὶ ἀόριστον τῆς χώρας ἐκπεσόντες, πρὸς τοὺς φόνους καὶ πρὸς τὴν λείαν ἀπαγορεύοντες.

75

(*Suda* A 3609)

Εὐνάπιος· καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτοὺς διέφθειρον σχωρίους ἀποτραχηλίζοντες.

76

(*Suda* A 4325)

Εὐνάπιος· γυναικῶν δὲ ὕβρις καὶ τὸ ἀτάσθαλον εἰς παῖδας εὖ γεγονότας συνεκρυώθη καὶ νόμος ἦν.

3 ἦν Boissonade [εἶναι codd.

77

(*Suda* B 67)

Εὐνάπιος· εἴτε φιλοχρήματος εἴη καὶ δοῦλος τῶν βαλαντίων· καὶ ταῦτα σαφῶς ἐκπυνθανόμενοι, πρὸς ταῦτα διεστρατήγουν τὸν πόλεμον.

most baneful beast of all, as Menander calls poverty.<sup>178</sup>

#### 4. (*Exc. de Sent.* 82)

Nevertheless, all together out of lust for power those who had wealth destroyed the consul himself . . . to live rather than . . . everything ought to have been consumed by fire and slaughter and steel . . . in the obvious fact that Stilicho above mankind . . .<sup>179</sup>

(Photius *Bibl. Cod.* 77 = *Testimonium* 1)

### Unplaced Fragments<sup>180</sup>

73

(*Suda* A 2447)

He hung up for the gods.

74

(*Suda* A 2866)

Coming into the unknown and endless region and wearying of slaughter and rapine.

75

(*Suda* A 3609)

They killed them by strangling them with cords.

76

(*Suda* A 4325)

Abuse of women and depravity towards well-born children was sanctioned by law.<sup>181</sup>

77

(*Suda* B 67)

. . . if he were greedy for money and a slave to the purse. When they learned these things for certain, they made them the object of the war.

## 78

1. (*Suda* Δ 809)

Ὁ δὲ τὰ φρονήματα καὶ τοὺς θυμοὺς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀνιέρει, καὶ διαυχενίζεσθαι πρὸς τὸ ἀγέρωχον ταῖς μελέταις ἐξεκάλει καὶ φιλοκίνδυνον. (Cf. A 2428\*)

[2. (*Suda* Δ 1025)

Ἔτερα δὲ οὐ πολὺ τι μείω ἀνωρθοῦτο καὶ διηυχενίζετο, ἀλλὰ τούτων βαρύτερα καὶ κεραυνῶ προσεμφορῇ . . .]

## 79

(*Suda* Δ 919)

Εὐνάπιος· κατὰ τούτους τοὺς χρόνους ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνδρώδους γυναικὸς ἔργον τι κατετολμήθη καὶ συνεπράχθη γενναῖον οὕτω καὶ ἀνδρῶδες, ὥστε ἄπιστον εἶναι διενεγκεῖν εἰς τὴν διήγησιν.

## 80

(*Suda* E 498)

Καὶ τὰλλα πάθη κατὰ τὴν ἐκμελῇ λύραν ἐθεραπεύετο, ψῆσιν Εὐνάπιος.

## 81

(*Suda* Z 33)

Εὐνάπιος· ἡ τοῦ ποταμοῦ διάβασις ἡ γέφυρα.

## 82

(*Suda* H 19)

Εὐνάπιος· οἱ δὲ παῖδες ἡβήσαντες καὶ γενόμενοι θυμοῦ καὶ χειρῶν κύριοι.

## 83

(*Suda* Θ 262)

Εὐνάπιος· τῶν δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο βιαζομένων ἄπορον αὐτοῖς ἀποδείξαι καὶ πληθὺς καὶ θέσιν καὶ βέλη καὶ μηχανὰς καὶ μεγέθη ποταμῶν, πρὸς τὸ μὴ πάντως ἡττᾶσθαι σφῶν καὶ ὁμολογεῖν εἶναι χεῖροισιν.

## 84

(*Suda* K 389)

Οἱ γὰρ Κᾶρες κύνα θύουσιν. Εὐνάπιος.

## 78

1. (*Suda* Δ 809)

He stirred the hearts and minds of the troops and, through the training he gave, he made them aspire to noble and dangerous deeds. (Cf. A 2428\*)<sup>182</sup>

[2. (*Suda* Δ 1025)

In other matters almost as important he pulled himself together and held his head high, but more serious than these and like a thunderbolt . . .]

## 79

(*Suda* Δ 919)

During these times a woman of manly virtue undertook and carried out a deed of such nobility and courage that if I set it in my narrative it will not be believed.

## 80

(*Suda* E 498)

And he treated the other passions as one would treat a lyre that was out of tune.

## 81

(*Suda* Z 33)

A river-crossing, a bridge.

## 82

(*Suda* H 19)

The boys reaching puberty and becoming masters of their mental and physical powers.

## 83

(*Suda* Θ 262)

It was the purpose of the Roman efforts to demonstrate to them that their numbers, location, missiles, machines and the size of their rivers would not save them from total defeat and confession of their inferiority.<sup>184</sup>

## 84

(*Suda* K 389)

For the Carians sacrifice a dog.<sup>185</sup>

85

[(*Suda* K 408)]

Ὁ δὲ τὴν καρδίαν ταῖς τιμαῖς ἤδη κεκαρωμένος παρέδωκεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὴν ὁδόν.]

86

(*Suda* K 570)

Ὁ δὲ τοξότης ἤρκει βέλος, εὖστοχος ὦν τοσοῦτους κατακάνειν ὅσα ἤρκει βέλη. Εὐνάπιός φησιν.

87

(*Suda* M 369)

Εὐνάπιος· οὔτε ἄλλως τὸ μεγαλοπρεπὲς κατὰ τὴν δαίταν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἐστὶ φιλοκίνδυνον.

88

(*Suda* M 474)

Καὶ Εὐνάπιος· τῶν αὐτῶν ἐθνῶν γυναῖκά τινα στείλας ἐσθῆτι λευκῇ καὶ στέμμασιν, ὥς δὴ μελεδωνὸν οὔσαν τῆς Συρίας οὕτω δὴ καλουμένης θεοῦ.

1 ἐθνῶν codd. [ἐτῶν Kuster]

89

(*Suda* M 1274)

Εὐνάπιος· οὗτοι μὲν ὥδε μένοντες ὑπεμόσχευον τὸν πόλεμον.

90

(*Suda* M 1436)

Εὐνάπιος· ὁ βαρὺς ἐκεῖνος καὶ μυριέλκτος ἄρις [ὁ πολυέλκτος], καθάπερ ὑπὸ τῆς Μεδείας ὑποψινυριζόμενος καὶ βαρυνόμενος τὴν ψυχὴν, κεκαρωμένος παρέδωκεν ἑαυτόν.

1 βαρὺς [πολύς G ὁ πολυέλκτος del. H. Stephanus 2 βαρυνόμενος del. Toup]

91

(*Suda* Π 857)

Εὐνάπιος· καὶ οἱ μὲν παιδιὰν τινα ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων ἡγούμενοι, τοσοῦτον ἐδυσχέρανον, ὅσον ἡναγκάζοντο βοᾶν καθ' ὅς ἐμβάλοιεν.

85

[(*Suda* K 408)]

His senses now dulled by the honours, he set out on the road.<sup>186]</sup>

86

(*Suda* K 570)

The archer shot an arrow, and his aim was so good that he killed a man with every arrow he shot.<sup>187</sup>

87

(*Suda* M 369)

Otherwise those who live magnificently are unwilling to risk themselves in war.

88

(*Suda* M 474)

They dress a woman who follows the same customs in a white garment and garlands as an attendant of the so-called Syrian goddess.

89

(*Suda* M 1274)

These men, remaining in this way, gradually propagated the war.

90

(*Suda* M 1436)

That noxious serpent with his countless coils, as if he were lulled and his senses stunned by the whispers of Medea, handed himself over.<sup>188</sup>

91

(*Suda* Π 857)

They thought it was some joke played by the enemy, and the more they were forced to shout, the more their anger grew against those whom they were attacking.

92

(Suda P 291)

Ἐς τόξου ῥῦμα περιέπλεον τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις οἱ βάρβαροι, πόλλ' ἄμα βέλη ἀριέντες. Εὐνάπιος· πέτρα δέ τις ἀπεσπασμένη ἐς τόξου ῥῦμα.

93

(Suda Σ 1628)

Εὐνάπιος· τὸν πάντα βίον αὐτοῦ συντεκμηράμενος ἐκ τῶν ἐναργῶν περὶ αὐτὸν συμβόλων τε καὶ σημείων.

94

(Suda Οι 37)

Εὐνάπιος· τοσοῦτου δὲ οἰδοῦντος καὶ ὑποφνομένου κακοῦ.

95

(Suda Ψ 105)

Εὐνάπιος δὲ λέγει ψιλὸν δὲ οἶον κοῦρον.

92

(Suda P 291)

The barbarians sailed around the Romans at the distance of a bowshot, shooting many missiles at them . . . A certain rock a bow-shot away.<sup>189</sup>

93

(Suda Σ 1628)

Deducing the whole of his life from the clear omens and signs about him.

94

(Suda Οι 37)

So great an evil swelling and growing secretly.

95

(Suda Ψ 105)

Eunapius uses *psilos* also in the sense of “light-armed”.



## NOTES TO EUNAPIUS

1. The word appears in the more correct form *ἀλεκτροῦδες* at *Fr.* 71,2.

2. I take *βιβλία* to mean "collections of books" since in the following clause Photius seems to be saying that he has seen the two editions, in one collection on separate rolls in the case, in the other collection on the same roll. Goulet (1980 p.68) translates differently: "chaque édition étant disposée à part en deux tomes distincts". This is possible.

3. This conjecture of Photius' is probably wrong since the title of Zosimus' History, properly *Ἱστορία νέα*, seems to indicate not that it was a second edition, but that it was a 'Modern History' (cf. Cracco Ruggini 1973 pp.181-83; 1976 pp.34f.).

4. The meaning of this fragment is in places obscure. My translation is based upon the view, argued in *Byzantina* 1980, that the work of Dexippus which is being described was a chronicle and not a true history, as Jacoby suggested in *FGrH* II, C, p.305. For many of the details of interpretation the reader is referred to that paper, though in the present translation there are some differences.

5. Since this sentence appears to repeat and expand what has already been said, I have taken *πρόθυρα* to refer to the initial preface. But it could equally well indicate that each of the apparently twelve books (see *Byzantina* 1980 n.19) had a preface.

6. Since this follows after the mention of the preface, it might indicate that dating by the kings of Egypt was used for the chronology of the period before the Greek dating-system.

7. The MS reading *τελεώτερα* seems to jibe well with the principle of inclusion set out below (events of general importance or those connected with an especially distinguished person). The conjecture *παλαιότερα* does not help the sense at all.

8. This (with Jacoby, *loc.cit.* (n.4)) I take to refer to a closing synoptic table listing Olympiads, archons and consuls, and divided into millennia.

9. Thuc. 4,122.

10. This and the following seem to be a declaration that other men of culture — pagan admirers of Julian — have contributed material to the History. This is confirmed by *Fr.* 15.

11. At this point the MS becomes illegible for a number of lines. In addition to the end of this fragment another excerpt from the first

book has also been lost in this lacuna. With the closing sentiment cf. Ammianus 16,1,4.

12. The second passage clearly summarises the first. The portrait of Carinus as a murderous debauchee appears also in the western sources (cf. *SHA* 'Carus' 16; *Epit. de Caes.* 38,7). The particular closeness of Eutropius 9,19 might indicate a common source, and his closing sentence, *ob quae omnibus hominibus invisus, non multo post poenas dedit*, suggests that the lacuna at the end of the second passage should be filled by a reference to Carinus' death. *Suda* Π 401 wrongly refers to the Emperor Macrinus.

13. Usurper in Africa 309-311.

14. Most of the period of Constantine's detention appears to have been spent in the East, but he does seem to have passed through Italy on his way to join his father in early 306 (Anon. Val. 2,2-4).

15. The marriage was celebrated in 313. The Caesars were created on March 1, 317. Crispus was ten years old at the time.

16. The *cursores*, the palatine messengers, were minor functionaries under the disposition of the master of the offices.

17. The version of the deaths of Crispus and Fausta (in 326) is the same as that given by Zosimus (2,29,2). But while the latter says (2,39,1) that Constantine died of disease, Philostorgius' version looks like a propagandistic justification of Constantius' execution of Constantine's brothers, and it would, therefore, not be Eunapius.

18. The account errs in that Constans was the youngest not the eldest brother, and that Constantine was the aggressor; Bidez accepts emendations of the names to remove the errors. The account of Zosimus is even more erroneous (2,41 and Paschoud's note *ad loc.*).

19. This passage is extremely close to Zosimus 2,42,2-3 and 5. The chronological information in the second part of the last sentence would probably not have been in Eunapius. Constans was killed in 350.

20. This note is very like a short note in Zosimus 2,45,2, although the *Epitome* wrongly places it before the usurpation of Nepotian, who was proclaimed in 350, while Decentius was raised in 351.

21. This mutilated sentence closes the lacuna in the *Exc. de Sent.* which began at the end of *Fr.* 1. On the interpretation see n.33 in vol. I p.158.

22. This fragment, typically turgid and obscure, seems to be a prospective note on Julian's successes in Gaul and Constantius' reaction to them. It appears to have followed immediately upon the description of Julian's elevation to Caesar: *βεβουλευσθαι καλῶς* probably refers to the duplicitous motives for sending him to Gaul which Zosimus (3,1,3-2,1) attributes to Constantius. I have taken the reference to *τῶν φύσει πολεμίων* and what follows as an accusation that Constantius encouraged the German invaders against Julian. If this is so, it is far more

direct than Libanius *Or.* 18,52, where a letter of Constantius is mentioned which ceded land west of the Rhine to the Germans. This is usually taken to refer to the Emperor's summoning of the Germans against Magnentius (cf. Zos. 2,53,3; Socr. 3,1), but the direct charge in Eunapius might suggest that Libanius implicitly accuses Constantius of working in this way against Julian. Zosimus (3,5,3 and 8,3) certainly implies that Constantius wished to weaken Julian in the face of the Germans.

23. *Ὀστράκον μεταπεσόντος* is a proverb quoted from Plato, *Phaedrus* 241B and it refers to the game of *ὀστρακίδα* in which oyster shells or potsherds are tossed, the dark and light sides being regarded as our 'head' or 'tail'. The sentence probably comes from Eunapius' account of Julian's arrival in Gaul and the immediate improvement of Gallic fortunes (cf. the remark in Amm. 15,8,21, on the hopes which the people of Vienne placed in the Caesar).

24. This refers to the early part of Julian's career in Gaul, of which Julian himself says that he had no real power (*Ep. ad Ath.* 277D-278A. Cf. Liban. *Or.* 18,42; Amm. 25,4,25). Zosimus (3,2,2) says that power was given to Salutius and Marcellus. The former was a civilian and a friend of Julian, and his omission here suggests that the passage from which this sentence was taken dealt solely with military affairs (cf. Socr. 3,1 and Soz. 5,2, who both say that power lay with the generals).

25. Here Eunapius clearly refers only to a work on the battle of Strassburg. Since Libanius (*Or.* 13,25; *Epp.* 35 and 610) seems to speak of more expansive accounts of the Gallic campaigns in general, perhaps there were other pamphlets also. But, as Paschoud (*ad Zos.* 3,2,4) remarks, that is no evidence for the *Commentaries* which the Emperor is sometimes alleged to have written on his campaign. However, I cannot now agree with Paschoud (I p.liii), as I earlier did in vol. I n.36 on p.158, that Zosimus 3,2,4 is taken directly from the present passage. The words of Zosimus, which probably reflect an earlier passage of Eunapius, are a general statement on the sources (including Julian) for the whole of the reign and are, therefore, properly placed at the beginning of the account of the Gallic campaigns. The passage of Eunapius is prefatory only to the account of the battle of Strassburg.

26. This fragment seems to describe a speech made by Julian to his troops after he had received the submission of the Salian Franks and was about to pass through their territory to attack the Chamavi. Its position corresponds to Zosimus 3,6,3 and perhaps to Ammianus 17,8,4.

27. Though separate in the *Exc. de Sent.*, this phrase is clearly part of the line of thought of *Fr.* 18,1.

28. The subject is the brigand Charietto, named in the next passage, who assisted Julian in his campaigns against the barbarians. The position of this fragment is indicated by the summary in Zosimus 3,7,1. The anecdotal interest which Eunapius and Zosimus give to the colourful activities of Charietto stands in contrast with the curt reference in

Ammianus 17,10,5 (in the context of a later campaign against the Alamanni) and the unnamed allusion in Libanius *Or.* 18,104 (who does, however, add the important detail that Charietto and his fellows had turned to brigandage after the failure of Magnentius, whom they had supported).

29. This corresponds closely with Zos. 3,7,3, on the growth of Charietto's band (cf. esp. καθ' ἓνα συνιόντες πλήθος γεγονόσιν). But, typically, Zosimus has omitted the awkward simile of the Pythagorean monad. The name Cercio, that of the Attic brigand killed by Theseus, is here used as a trope of the first brigand to join Charietto.

30. This would refer to Charietto's shaping his brigands into a disciplined guerilla force before offering his services to Julian (cf. Zos. 3,7,3).

31. Of the Meuse, or one of the branches of the Rhine. According to Zosimus (3,6,2) these actions took place around the *Insula Batavorum*, the land between these rivers and the sea. Ammianus (17,8,3) includes Toxandria to the south-west as the sphere of operations.

32. Ammianus (17,8,1; 9,2-3) mentions concern over food-supplies in the context of these operations, and Zosimus (3,5,2), in a passage which should be connected with the war with the Chamavi (the preceding sections 3-4 are intrusive), remarks the transportation of grain from Britain. But only Julian himself (*Ep. ad Ath.* 280A-C) directly mentions the blocking of the British grain-supplies as the reason for the war.

33. Petrus Patricius, *Fr.* 18, is a close summary of this fragment up to this point. Petrus then closes with the words, *τοῦτο δὲ τεκμήριον εἶναι τοῦ σπονδὰς αὐτὸν μὴ ἐθέλειν ποιήσασθαι* ('this [demanding the dead as hostage] proves that he does not wish peace to be made'), a charge not found in Eunapius.

34. The tone of religious theatricality which is here imparted to these (perhaps fictionalised) proceedings is peculiarly Eunapian. Zosimus suppresses it, and it does not appear in Ammianus.

35. *PLRE I* 'Nebisgastes' identifies him as the king of the Chamavi. He could equally well be the son.

36. Eunapius is in error when he implies that this campaign ended the war-year 358. In fact, it took place in the summer and was followed by a crossing of the Rhine and an attack upon some of the Alamannic tribes (Amm. 17,10; Liban. *Or.* 13,75; cf. Paschoud *ad* Zos. 3,6). Eunapius presumably combined this later attack with Julian's invasion of Alamannia in the next year, placing both in 359.

37. This passage can be elucidated by comparison with Ammianus 18,2,8-19 (Zos. 3,4 is a garbled account of all the campaigns of that year). It is from an account of a series of operations against various Alamannic tribes in 359. According to Ammianus (*ibid.* 8-11), Julian had crossed the Rhine somewhere south of Mainz, and Vadomar, in

common with other Alamannic kings, had come north from his territory opposite Augst to sue for peace (*ibid.* 16). Ammianus' version (*ibid.* 18-19), which says that Julian marched south to ravage the territory of other kings for whom Vadomar spoke, does not specifically mention difficulties with Vadomar. But, like Eunapius, he does say that the recovery of prisoners was the primary objective. If Eunapius' number of 3,000 captives is correct (and lists seem to have been available – cf. Zos. 3,4,7), only a small portion returned, since Julian forced the return of prisoners by other tribes also, yet he himself (*Ep. ad Ath.* 280C) puts at 1,000 the total recovered as a result of the three invasions across the Rhine.

38. Constantius had been Caesar since 324.

39. Cf. Ammianus 17,11,1-4, also using historical *exempla*.

40. This fragment, which Müller and Dindorf divide into two, I have kept as one passage, following the punctuation of the *Exc. de Sent.* The second part justifies and expands upon the opening statement of the necessity of describing in order the actions at Constantius' court. The corresponding passage of Zosimus (3,8,3-4) suggests that these actions were the successive demands for troops from Julian, which are alleged to have precipitated the Caesar's revolt (cf. Amm. 20,4,1-2).

41. Julian took Oribasius with him to Gaul for his medical skills (*τέχνη*) and as confidant. What the other virtues of Oribasius were is left unclear, perhaps deliberately (cf. Baldwin 1975 p.90), although skill in interpreting the dreams which confirmed Julian's determination to revolt from Constantius was probably one (cf. Julian *Ep.* 4, ed. Wright).

42. The gist of this fragment seems to be that there was a conspiracy around Julian to revolt from Constantius and that the inner circle numbered seven. Only Oribasius and Euhemerus are named, though *Fr.* 21,1 above might implicate the hierophant, and Zosimus (3,9,1) and Zonaras (13,10) suggest that some military tribunes were involved.

43. The subject is probably not the revolt of the soldiers which led to Julian's acclamation in 360 (so Mai in Müller *ad loc.*), but the desirability of Julian taking the initiative against Constantius in 361 (cf. Zos. 3,9,5; Amm. 21,1,1-6). Julian's advance into Illyricum gained surprise by its speed (cf. the image of a torrent in Liban. *Or.* 18,111).

44. My reading of *Δαρδάνων* for the MS *Ναρδώνων* has been defended in *LCM* 6 (1981) pp.213f. The advance to Naissus in the province of Dardania, evoking the *Δάρδανοι*/Trojans of Homer, leads to the comparison of Julian with *πολύτροπος* Odysseus and by extension with the clever and literate Palamedes. This prefatory discussion of Julian as a source for the Illyrian advance is comparable with *Fr.* 17 on Julian as a source for the battle of Strassburg (see n.25).

45. This and the previous fragment are probably from a speech by Julian before he set off on the Illyrian campaign. Libanius (*Or.* 18,111-

12) stresses the use of strategy and surprise; and with the sentiment of the first fragment cf. Ammianus 21,8,2-3, esp. *inter subita vehementer incertus* [Julianus], *id verebatur, ne contemptus ut comitantibus paucis, multitudinem offenderet repugnantem*.

46. On Julian's measures for the cities cf. Libanius *Or.* 18,146-48. Ammianus (22,6) mentions only the failure of an Egyptian delegation. The rhetor Eunapius is not, of course, the historian, who would have been only thirteen at this time.

47. Ammianus deals with Julian as judge at 22,9,8-11.

48. On Tuscianus see vol. I, p.23 and n.118.

49. The first speech in question is Julian *Or.* 7 'To the Cynic Heracleius'. Perhaps the second is *Or.* 6 addressed 'To the Uneducated Cynics'.

50. Although the *Suda* attributes this action to Salustius (properly Salutius — see *PLRE* I 'Secundus' 3), it is clear from *ἦν ἡ καὶ ἡν Καίσαρ* that the original source was speaking of Julian. There is no corroborative evidence of the claim that Julian honoured Marcellus. Ammianus (22,11,1) only notes the execution of the son.

51. The letter of Julian does not survive. The reference is to the Goths of the Lower Danube, who were raiding Pannonia and Thrace at the beginning of the reign of Valentinian I and Valens (Amm. 26,4,5; 6,11) and who supported the usurper Procopius in 365 (Amm. 24,10,3; Zos. 4,7,2), which led Valens to attack them in 367 (Amm. 27,5). *Κωφῶ . . . κύματι* imitates *Iliad* 14,16.

52. Cf. Ammianus 24,2,10. *Ολοῦντας δονίδας* imitates Thucydides 4,9,1.

53. The saying of Epaminondas is in Plutarch, *Moralia* 193E.

54. Julian defeated the Persians before Ctesiphon and drove them back into the city (Amm. 24,6,8-16; Liban. *Or.* 18,253-55). In *Or.* 18, 249-50 Libanius speaks only of a pause for horse-races before the crossing of the Tigris and the battle before Ctesiphon (cf. Amm. 24,6, 3), but in *Or.* 1,133 he remarks horse-races and athletic contests held after the battle, which would be the ones noted here.

55. This refers probably not to the debate in council over whether to retreat from Ctesiphon or whether to press into the interior of Persia (Amm. 24,7,3), but to the somewhat later protests of the soldiers over the choice of the route home (Amm. 24,8,2). The proverb is based upon Homer, *Il.* 3,141 ff.

56. Perhaps from the account of the retreat from Ctesiphon, either the attack launched by the Persians between the villages of Danatē and Syncē (Zos. 3,27,4; Amm. 25,1,5) or the opening attack in the battle in which Julian was killed (Zos. 3,28,4; Amm. 25,3,4).

57. Nothing corresponding to this *post mortem* tribute to Julian as the philosopher king is found in Zosimus. Ammianus offers both a

speech of Julian in the form of a philosophical deathbed *consolatio* (25,3,15-20) and a formal catalogue of his merits and defects (25,4). The closest to the present passage is Libanius' dirge (*Or.* 18,276-95, esp. 276-80) upon the loss of Julian to the state. The closing theme of the fragment, Julian's care both for the people at large and for the soldiers, draws upon Julian's own *Second Oration* (86D) for this commonplace upon the ideal king (cf. Isocrates, *To Nicocles* 15). The phrase *φιλοστρατιώτης . . . διαφερόντως* is used again, of the general Sebastian, at *Fr.* 44,3 (= *Suda* Σ 177). This fulsome praise of Julian elicited an angry riposte from a Christian reader (possibly Arethas of Patras), which is preserved in the *Exc. de Sent.* (24) under the title of *Στηλιτευτικός κατὰ Εὐναπίου* ('Invective against Eunapius'):

Τί ταῦτα ληρεῖν ἀνέχη, ἐμβρόντητε τῷ ὄντι καὶ ἀνεπιγνώμων τῶν πεφλυαρημένων; τίς γάρ τῶν ἐγγενῶν Ἑλλήσι δογμάτων οὐρανίων μεμύηται μυστηρίων θεατὴν ὑπάρχει τὸν ἀπαλλαττόμενον τῆς ἐντεῦθεν βιοτῆς ἢ συνόμιλον ἀσωμάτων γενέσθαι; καὶ τίνες οἱ ἀσώματοι οὗτοι, εἰ μή που Γαννυμήδης καὶ Ζεὺς ὁ Γαννυμήδους ἐκ 5 Τρώων ἐραστής, δι' οὗ καὶ Ἥρα παραγκωνίζεται ἡ ἀδελφὴ καὶ γαμετὴ τῷ Φρυγί μειρακίῳ; ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν κλέψας ἔχεις τῶν Χριστιανικῶν ὀργῶν, τὰς ἀσωμάτων φημι φρατρίας· ἐπεὶ τῶν γε σῶν δογμάτων μὴ οὐχὶ καὶ ἐμπαθέστερον τῶν κατὰ τὸν φθαρτὸν τοῦτον βίον ἀκρατεστάτων οἱ κατ' οὐρανὸν σοὶ ἀλῶεν μάκαρες βιοῦντες; οἷς 10 Ἥβη μὲν ὀνοχοεῖ, <οἱ δὲ> πολλῶ τῷ νέκταρι μεθυσκόμενοι τὰ ἀπαίσια διεξίσι Τρώων πόλιν εἰσορόωντες. πρὸς τίνα δὲ καὶ τῶν καθ' Ἑλληνίας ἐαυτὸν ἀναφέρων φιλοσόφων ἦρα βασιλείας; πρὸς Ἀντισθένη; πρὸς Διογένη; ἀλλὰ τοῦτοις μὲν ἴσμεν οὕτως ἀπραγμοσύνης μέλον ὥς τὴν κυνῶν ἐξηλωκίας ζῶν καὶ τῇ τούτων ἐγ- 15 καλλωπίεσθαι κλήσει. οὐκ οὐκ ἐπανορθῶν τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίον εἰλετο βασιλεύειν, ὅτι μὴδ' ἐπανώρθωσέ τι, εἰ μὴ πρῶτον μὲν φιλοδοξίας κακῶ λυσσῆματι ἀχάριστος περὶ τὸν εὐεργέτην διαγνώμενος, ἔπειτα καὶ ὅπως τοῖς ἄγουσιν αὐτὸν δαίμοσι τὸ ὀλέθριον ἀφοσιούμενος σέβας λάθαι πρὸς τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ σπουδαζομένων δαυμόνων 20 τοιούτου καὶ τέλους κυρῆσαι, ἀξίου καὶ τῆς ἐκείνων ἀπάτης καὶ τῆς ἐαυτοῦ ἐμπληξίας.

11 οἱ δὲ add. Bekker 17 ὅτι [δοσις van Herwerden 21 κυρῆσαι [κυρῆσας Kuiper

"Why do you continue to babble on in this way? You really are a most ignorant and stupid fool. For who has been so instructed in the native doctrines of the Hellenes that, having escaped this life, he becomes a watcher of the heavenly mysteries or a consort of incorporeal spirits? Who are these incorporeal spirits, if not Ganymede and Zeus, the lover of the Trojan Ganymede? As a result of this affair Hera, Zeus' sister and wife, was thrown out for the Phrygian youth. But you have stolen these things from the Christian mysteries — I mean, the bands of incorporeal spirits. For according to *your* doctrines do not those who live blessed lives in heaven take up those who have been the most passionate debauchees in this mortal life? Hebe pours their wine, and, drunk on an excess of nectar, they recount their unspeakable acts while looking at

the city of the Trojans. Again, to which of the philosophers of the Hellenes did he compare himself when he lusted after kingship? Antisthenes? Diogenes? But we know that they were so concerned to avoid politics that they lived the life of dogs and gloried in that name. He did not choose to rule in order to correct men's lives, for he set nothing aright. First, in his wicked and mad desire for glory he proved ungrateful towards his benefactor, and then, giving his fatal devotion to the demons who were leading him on, unwittingly at the hands of the demons whom he worshipped he met the end that he did, a fitting one for his treachery and stupidity."

58. This and the following passages are from an anecdotal necrology on Julian, possibly similar to Ammianus 25,4. On Julian's readiness to submit to correction, cf. Ammianus 16,7,6 and 25,4,16.

59. This and the preceding two passages are from the same section of the necrology. The story that Olympias rejected Alexander's claim to be the literal son of Zeus is from Plutarch *Vit. Alex.* 3,2. Julian, in contrast, is said by Eunapius to have conceived his relationship with Zeus (identified with Helios, as usual in late Neoplatonic thought – cf. Julian *Or.* 4, 'Hymn to King Helios') as that of an offspring of the father of all mankind (cf. esp. Julian *Or.* 4,131B-C), the particularity of the relationship lying in the excellence of his reign which mirrors that of the Sun. The quotation from Plato is *Phaedr.* 250B, while the reference to χρυσὴν σειρᾶν is to the Platonic gloss (*Theaet.* 153C) on Homer, *Il.* 8,18ff., which explains the golden chain of Homer as that which binds our existence to that of the sun and the heavens.

60. The theme of joy at release from the body is also found in the *consolatio* in Amm. 25,3,15.

61. This first sentence is almost certainly not from Eunapius.

62. Zosimus (3,33,1) mentions the fetching of supplies from Nisibis by the tribune Mauricius. John of Antioch, *Fr.* 181, which comes independently from the same source as the *Suda* article, adds after this sentence, νυκτὸς δὲ ὑπεχώρησε χαίρειν αὐτῇ πολλὰ φράσας, ὥσπερ ἐχθρῷ καὶ νεκρῷ σώματι μηδὲ δάκρυον ἐπιστάλαξας, δι' ἣν αὐτὸς τε ἐσώθη καὶ τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας ἐκ τῶν τοῦ πολέμου κινδύνων διέσωσεν ("Making many excuses, he refused at night to enjoy the facilities of the city and, as if it were the corpse of an enemy, he wept not a tear over it, although it was the means of salvation both for himself and for those who survived the dangers of the war"). Cf. Ammianus 25,8,17.

63. John of Antioch has (probably inaccurately) τὴν Νισιβηνῶν πόλιν φεύγων.

64. John of Antioch makes it clear that these were the people of Antioch and adds that they were angry, οὐχ ἡμιστά δὲ καὶ περὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν δεδιότες, μή ποτε καὶ αὐτοὺς πρόδοιτο, ἀγαπήσας καὶ ἐν ὀλίγῳ μέρει τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς οἰκουμένης κρατεῖν ("and they were particularly concerned for themselves, lest he betray them, too, being content to rule in only a small part of the Roman world").

65. There must have been here a reference to the production of pamphlets, the omission resulting either from clumsy condensation or, as I have marked, a lacuna in the text.

66. Three references to Homer: *Il.* 3,428; 3,39 and 13,769; 2,261-63 (adapted).

67. For the proper form of the name see n.50.

68. Ammianus (25,10,4) confirms Jovian's eagerness to leave and the time of his leaving and offers a number of versions of his death (25, 10,13), but with only a hint (a comparison with Scipio Aemilianus) that he was murdered. John Chrysostom (*Homil. XV in Ep. ad Phil.* 5 [= PG 62 col. 295]) also says that he was poisoned. John of Antioch does not mention Jovian's death but says, καὶ Ἰοβιανὸς μὲν ἐν Δαδα-στάνοις ἀφίκετο τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ δόξαν ἀνακηρύττων. If this is from Eunapius and was set close to the account of Jovian's death, the historian might here have been using a punishment-for-evil motif.

69. Goulet (1980 p.66 n.40) correctly points out that *PLRE* I 'Musonius' 2 is in error to associate this passage with Musonius' vicariate of Asia in 367/8. The *Suda* places this mission of Musonius during the reign of Jovian and makes it clear that his rank (whatever it was) was below that of the proconsul of Asia (who was perhaps Hesperius 6 in *PLRE* I). The mission itself, as Goulet suggests, appears to have been to arrange the collection of a superindiction probably for Constantinople in anticipation of Jovian's arrival with the army (thus τὴν θάλασσαν ἐπλήρωσε, indicating transportation by sea). Musonius stood in for the proconsul, while Eunapius administered the collection itself. (On Eunapius see *Fr.* 24 and n.46).

70. The quotation does not appear in the lexica.

71. Valentinian was acclaimed on Feb. 26th 364. This audience took place between then and Feb. 28th when he left for Nicomedia. The Emperor's reticence resulted from the intense lobbying during these days over whether to appoint a co-Emperor and, if so, whom (Amm. 26,2,3; 4,1); Valens was not acclaimed until March 28th. Eunapius, in drawing the implicit and rather unfair contrast between the terse Valentinian and the expansive Julian in the same situation (*Fr.* 24), reveals the cultivated easterner's distaste for the brusque Illyrian soldier.

72. This could refer, by contrast, to the fatal elation of Procopius at his initial successes against Valens in 365 (cf. Amm. 26,8,13; Zos. 4,7,1).

73. This probably refers to Procopius' justifying his usurpation by his distant relationship with Julian, although he did, in fact, more generally stress his relationship with the Constantinian dynasty (Blockley 1975 p.56).

74. Homer *Od.* 1,302; 3,200.

75. Both Zosimus (4,7,3) and Ammianus (26,9,4) remark the role of Arbitio in saving the day for Valens.

76. This and the previous three passages relate to the last phase of the war in 366. Valens, who had perhaps wintered in Ancyra, moved to Pessinus and then into Lydia where he defeated (or won over) Procopius' general Gomoar at Thyatira, in which battle, according to Zosimus (3,8,1), Hormisd almost tipped the scales for Procopius. Then Valens moved into Phrygia to finish off the usurper at Nacolia (cf. Paschoud, notes *ad* Zos. 4,8).

77. From a tirade against Valens' harsh punishment of the adherents of Procopius (cf. Zos. 4,8,4-5; Amm. 26,10,9-14).

78. Müller (*ad suum* Fr. 35) refers this *sententia* to Procopius' army after his death. But his army had disintegrated by then, and the comparison with Alexander does not seem very apt. Perhaps Eunapius was speaking of the Persian initiative in the East after the death of Julian, who would then be more suitably compared with Alexander. Zosimus (4,10,1), immediately after closing his account of the Procopian revolt, says Οὐάλης . . . ἀνεκόπητο τῆς ἐπὶ Πέρσας ἐλάσεως . . . ("Valens . . . cut short his attack on Persia . . ."), which might be the remains of an Eunapiian passage on Romano-Persian hostilities postponed by the Gothic war (cf. 4,11,4).

79. Aelianus is otherwise unknown. His city of origin was in Isauria.

80. The mistake lay in being awed by the large stature of the Germans.

81. The subject of this passage is the preliminaries to the Gothic campaigns of Valens from 367 to 369, described by Zosimus (4,10-11) and Ammianus (27,5). The Scythian (Gothic) king is almost certainly Athanaric. The levy in question appears not to be the same as the force which Ammianus remarks at 26,10,3, which appears to have arrived before the final crushing of the rebellion. Eunapius appears to see some merit in the position of the Goths, whereas Ammianus (27,5,2) dismisses their arguments as *excusationem vanissimam*. In vol. I pp.13f. I treated the last sentence of this passage as an example of Eunapius' clumsy use of hyperbole. I now wonder whether the whole last part, from τούτους ἀπῆρει τοὺς γενηαίους, is not highly sarcastic, and thus the hyperbole more appropriate than I first thought.

82. I cannot identify this reference.

83. Since no other source says that military men were involved in this conspiracy, I have taken *στρατεία* as the equivalent of late-Latin *militia* = civil service (cf. Zos. 4,14,1, τῶν . . . στρατευομένων).

84. The conspiracy of Theodorus took place in 371. Ammianus (29,1) links this conspiracy with the investigation and punishment of many pagan philosophers which was conducted at about the same time or shortly thereafter, whereas Zosimus (4,13,3-4 and 14-15) keeps the two separate. Paschoud (*ad* Zos. 4,13,3-4) would follow Zosimus in this, but Ammianus may well have been right, since Zosimus (*loc. cit.*) certainly describes a pagan rite of divination connected with the conspiracy,

a rite in which Ammianus says some of the philosophers, whose punishment Zosimus treats separately, participated.

85. Otherwise unknown. Could he be the same person as Euserius (also otherwise unknown) whom Ammianus (29,1,9, 10, 34, 35 and 38) mentions as one of the plotters against Valens and whose characterisation there fits well with that of Eueterius? Ammianus calls him (9) *virum praestabili scientia litterarum abundeque honoratum: Asiam quippe paulo ante rexerat pro praefectis*, and later (34) places him in the group of *honorati* at the heart of the conspiracy who thought only of themselves and tried to pass off the blame onto one another.

86. This and the two preceding passages (to which I have added E 3448) have been traditionally assigned to Eunapius and associated with the account of the plot of Theodorus on the ground that all three persons mentioned are named by Ammianus amongst the plotters (Zosimus names two). The difficulty (beyond the merely tentative attribution to Eunapius) is that the *Suda* places all three in the reign of Jovian. Goulet has suggested (1980 p.67) that this indicates that Eunapius mentioned Maximus' interpretation of the prophecy (*Vit. Soph.* 7,5,4-5; and see the following note) in his account of Jovian's reign. But why Eunapius should have placed it here is hard to see, for Maximus could not have been consulted until Valens' reign. In addition to the present four passages, only one other *Suda* article, M 1306 (also un-attributed and also traditionally placed with Eunapius' fragments, = 29,2) dates its subject, the sophist and official Musonius, to Jovian's reign. One of two conclusions seems likely, either that the five passages in question are not from the History but from some pamphlet on philosophers who flourished under Jovian; or that the four (M 1306 being separate) are from the section on the conspiracy of Theodorus, in which Eunapius, while detailing the philosophers who suffered under Valens (note that Zos. 4,15,1 lists the philosophers together), made the point that, in contrast with Valens, the Christian Jovian allowed them to flourish (cf. *Vit. Soph.* 7,4,10, of the philosophers: *ὁ τε Ἰοβιανὸς ἐβασίλευσε καὶ τιμῶν τοὺς ἀνδρας διετέλεσεν*). This would have been the reference which the *Suda*'s source picked up, a reference that to Eunapius would have had value in that the tolerance of the Christian Jovian (evidence in Seeck 'Jovianus' 1, in *RE* IX 2 col. 2010) was in marked contrast not only with Valens' persecution, but equally importantly with the intolerance of Theodosius I.

87. The preceding passage of the *Vit. Soph.* tells how the philosopher Maximus was asked to interpret an oracle (probably the one of which Ammianus preserves three lines at 29,1,33) by some courtiers (*οἱ . . . περὶ τὰ βασίλεια*, 7,6,3 = *δοσι περὶ στρατείας* of Fr. 39,1 above), whereat he predicted the death of Valens and the deaths of many others, including himself. This, too, suggests that Zosimus has misrepresented Eunapius in separating the conspiracy of Theodorus and the divinations of the philosophers (see n.84 above).

88. On Festus see *Vit. Soph.* 7,6,6-13, Zosimus 4,15,2-3 and Ammianus 29,2,22-28 (who gives his office of *mag. memoriae* at 22).

He was the author of an extant historical *Epitome* (PLRE I 'Festus' 3). Coeranus appears only here and in Ammianus 29,2,25, who calls him Coeranus.

89. From the final chapter of the account of the conspiracy, which would have picked up not only the greed of the conspirators (cf. 39,1, ἐπὶ τὰ κέρδη . . . ἐπτοημένοι) but also the greed of the authorities in pressing the investigations (Zos. 4,14,4; Amm. 29,2,3).

90. The interpretation of this passage which is offered in the present translation differs sharply from the usual ones of, e.g., Chalmers (1953 pp.165-70), Vasiliev (in Maenchen-Helfen 1973 pp.8f.) and Goulet (1980 p.70). Eunapius, using the usual μέν . . . δέ construction (which most scholars have chosen to ignore), simply says that he is incorporating two different versions of the origin and situation of the Huns, the old, inaccurate version of the written records (τὰ μὲν οὖν πρόωτα . . . ἐκ τῶν παλαιῶν) and the new, accurate oral reports (τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἀπαγγελλομένων). The convoluted metaphors that follow this statement simply justify this procedure and make it clear that the old information will be set down first and the new subjoined to it, the order which Zosimus (4,20,3-4) preserves. Thus, Eunapius' concern here is to draw a distinction between two types of sources (a distinction already remarked at *Fr.* 30), and with the expression τὰ πρόωτα he is making no reference to a first edition or part of his own History. Furthermore, there is no indication here or in Zosimus that Eunapius is passing off 'a preposterous hodgepodge' (Maenchen-Helfen *loc. cit.*) on the Huns or even that he offered a full ethnographical digression comparable to that in Ammianus (31,2). He is well aware that the old records are inaccurate and states it firmly.

91. This whole passage is hardly legible in the MS. My own suggestion for the *locus desperatus* derives from the lack of the name of the Danube in the text and the fact that later in the passage Valens gives orders to admit the men.

92. The Mysians were proverbially feeble and could be plundered with impunity (cf. Demosth. *Or.* 18,72; Arist. *Rhet.* 1372<sup>b</sup>33). Eunapius, by developing the inappropriate image of the serpent's teeth in the context of the maturing of the young Goths, obscures the real reasons for their revolt, which were the mistreatment that they suffered at the hands of the Roman authorities, the failure to obtain adequate supplies, and, finally, an attempt upon the lives of their leaders, Alavivus and Fritigern. In contrast with Ammianus (31,5,1-8) the inferiority of Eunapius' information and the blindly 'patriotic' tone of his narrative are clear. Zosimus omits it all.

93. On the devastation cf. Ammianus 31,6,5-8, who, however, makes no remark upon the circumstances at the time of writing. Eunapius' comments seem to suggest that this passage was written soon after the insurrection and thus lend further support to Barnes' view (discussed in vol. I pp.3-5) that the History up to the battle of Adrianople was published around 380.

94. Zosimus (4,20,5-22,1) summarises this passage and keeps strictly to the order of events, although he seems to have added 21,2-3, on a portent that appeared to Valens, for which there is no room in the corresponding part of the Eunapian passage. Moreover, he has omitted all mention of the distribution of the non-combatants through the cities and their growth, which he mentions later (4,26,1-3) in the context of their massacre.

95. Although Boissevain divides this passage into two excerpts (40 and 41), the *Suda* M 208 confirms that the MS is correct in treating it as one. The first part (Μαρκιανός . . . ἡκριβωμένος) is presumably the end of a longer sentence.

96. Emendation of συνηρῆσθαι is unnecessary: συναφρῆν πόλεμον is a Plutarchan usage (*Marius* 45,1; *Lysander* 11,6-7). The identity of the war in question is uncertain. If it were the Isaurian raids on Lycia and Pamphylia in which Musonius was later killed (Amm. 27,9,6-7), Eunapius must here be remarking an end of the hostilities which turned out to be only temporary but at which Musonius set out from Sardis, his seat as vicar of Asia (Amm. *ibid.* 6), perhaps for the devastated areas, where the war flared up again and where he met his death. The identity of Theodorus is uncertain. Perhaps he is the former governor of a province of Asiana (= Theodorus 11 in *PLRE* I).

97. Eunapius seems to be explaining his insertion of the death of Musonius at the hands of the Isaurians, which occurred in 367/8, in an account of the Isaurian raids of 376/7, which are noted by Zosimus (4,20,1-2). The raids of 376/7 were described first and then the earlier fighting and Musonius' death, which, says Eunapius, found its sequel (what that was is not clear) at the later date. Thus, as Paschoud saw (note *ad* Zos. *loc. cit.*), Ammianus (*loc. cit.* at n.96 above) and Zosimus do not describe the same events. Both events were treated together by Eunapius, but Zosimus has omitted the raids of 367/8, while Ammianus does not touch upon those of 376/7.

98. Whereas Eunapius inserted his account of the Isaurian raids after the Hunnic assault on the Goths (and probably also after the crossing of the Danube and the first stage of the revolt), Zosimus has placed his account before all this other material.

99. This disquisition by Eunapius is reflected in the views of Sebastian noted by Zosimus (4,23,6).

100. This probably corresponds to Zosimus 4,22,4, on the corruption of Valens' officers.

101. The emendation ἐς τὸ εὐροπεῖν is suggested by πειθομένους μὲν ἐπαυῶν καὶ δωρεαῖς ἀμεψόμενοις of the parallel passage of Zosimus (4,23,3). The MS reading ἐς τὸ εἶναι apparently makes no sense, unless τὸ εἶναι is a colloquialism for 'wealth', 'possessions', which, my colleague Dr. A. Fotiou tells me, was an usage of Modern Greek before the twentieth century.

102. This part, on Sebastian's resignation of his western command

and migration to the East, is summarised by Zosimus at 4,22,4.

103. Zosimus summarises this at 4,23,2, incorporating some of the vocabulary.

104. The position of this fragment has been suggested by comparison with Zosimus 4,25,2, on a stratagem of the general Modares, which, however, differs in significant details from that described by Eunapius.

105. This passage is placed here by comparison with Zosimus 4,26,6, where the count Julius is said to have communicated secretly (ἐν παραβύστῳ) with the senate of Constantinople over the massacre of the Gothic hostages. But the elaborate precautions described here (and not mentioned by Ammianus, 31,16,8) hardly seem necessary under the circumstances.

106. This and the two preceding *Suda* articles perhaps correspond with the diatribe against the corruption of Theodosius' governors in Zosimus 4,28,3 - 29,2. On the other hand, since the *σιρομάστις* is not only the term for the probe used by tax-collectors to search grain-pits but also the name of a weapon, Σ 478 could be from a note on weaponry.

107. Ammianus (31,11,2) indicates that the Goths were settled around Nicopolis and Beroea for a while in 378 before the battle of Adrianople. Since the present passage relates to 379 (or even 380) the Roman forces appear not to have regained control of parts of Thrace and Moesia II by that date. Thompson (*The Visigoths in the Time of Ulfila* Oxford [1966] p.103) takes Eunapius to mean that Nicopolis opened its gates to the Goths. This is not clear. Eunapius could simply be referring to their self-help, in the manner of Priscus' Asimuntines (*Fr.* 9,3).

108. Cf. Zosimus 4,32,2-3 on the harsh exactions laid by Theodosius upon the cities of Macedonia and Thessaly after the Gothic depredations.

109. Although it differs in a number of important details, the story is very similar to one in Lucian *Hist. Conscr.* 1 about the actor Archelaüs (also reciting Euripides' *Andromeda*) at Abdera in Thrace during the reign of Lysimachus (305-281 B.C.). In Eunapius the name of the city is missing, and editors have tried to restore it from *τοιάντην* of the MS. However, that word is probably sound, since *καὶ παρελθεῖς εἰς τοιάντην* ... and *συναγείρειν τε αὐτοὺς ... ἀνσφραγίσαντα ...* and *πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἡμιβαρβάρους ἐπέδεικνύναι*. In fact, *τοιάντην* points back to the name of the city and suggests that it fell out from an earlier place, most probably after *δόξαν αὐτῷ*. Whether or not *εἰς Ἀβδηρὰν* should be restored there is hard to say. Certainly, *ἡμιβαρβάρους* would fit the Thracians, who had only recently been incorporated into the Empire in Nero's day. But just as other details of the story differ from those in Lucian, so might the name of the city.

110. The passage of Eunapius which preceded this long simile is

probably that summarised at Zosimus 4,33,3-4, which details contemporary depravities, especially of the theatre. In the light of Zosimus' great concern with divine punishment for contemporary wickedness, it is noteworthy that, although he complains of attacks upon pagan believers and shrines, he has omitted the final remark of Eunapius that the Furies were in pursuit of mankind. (The passage of Zosimus is mutilated, but at a point where he is speaking of depravities of the theatre, not of dealings with the gods.)

111. For the proverb of trailing the fox-skin (i.e. laying a false scent) cf. Plato *Rep.* 365C.

112. Although I have followed Boissevain and the older editors in separating this fragment from the one before it in the *Exc. de Sent.*, perhaps the MS should be followed which makes them one continuous passage. In this case the behaviour of the barbarians would be an illustration of the Furies' pursuit of mankind (note especially that at the end of each fragment men of good sense are said to have been deceived). Eunapius' attack appears to be on both Emperors; and the Goths are characterised as true pagans following their ancestral rites, not, as Mai and others have thought, Christians (presumably Arians), an interpretation which makes nonsense of the passage.

113. The sense of this passage, whose theme of instability and divine interference is similar to the two preceding, is not wholly clear. The *sententia* of Philip (in Plutarch *Moralia* 178A and 790B) seems to suggest that 'asses' were meant literally, and thus there would be a reference to the cheapness of human life (*τιμωρέρον* = "more valuable than men"). But the final sentence appears to suggest that the asses are the rulers of the Roman state.

114. Given that Eunapius likes to preface episodes in his narrative with methodological discussion (cf., e.g., *Fr.* 17; 30; 41,1), the present passage with its moralising interest probably introduced the account of the reasons for Gratian's loss of support, represented by Zosimus 4,35,2-3.

115. On Tatianus, the praetorian prefect of the East replaced by Rufinus in 392, and Proculus see *PLRE* I 'Tatianus' 5, 'Proculus' 6. *Chron. Pasch. s.a.* 393 says that Tatianus was forced to watch his son's execution.

116. On Arbogast (misspelled in the *Suda*) see *PLRE* I 'Arbogastes'. He apparently on his own initiative took over Baudo's office (*magister militum*) on the death of the latter some time before 388, when Arbogast marched with Theodosius against Maximus. After the restoration of the young Valentinian II he remained in the West.

117. The first paragraph of this fragment, as is clear from the style and contents, is not from Eunapius. The condemnation of Valentinian's second marriage indicates that it came from a Christian writer (cf. the prayers at the defeat of Eugenius, remarked in the second part = *Fr.* 60,1). In fact, the whole of the fragment (which I have divided into two



parts following the ordering of Zosimus) probably came to John via an intermediary who used a Christian writer in addition to Eunapius. This writer (or the intermediary) wrote in a simpler, more colloquial style than that of Eunapius, inserted chronological computations and was less favourable to Arbogast (as comparison with Zosimus shows).

118. Müller (*ad loc.*), comparing Zosimus 4,53,1, which adds other qualities to Arbogast's warlike prowess, suggests that a lacuna should be marked after *ρώμην*. But the text reflects the intermediary's summary.

119. Literally "with his nails".

120. John or his source is in error. Valentinian was killed at the Gallic city of Vienne (so Zosimus 4,54,3: *ἐν Βιέννῃ Κελτικῇ πόλει*).

121. The sentence as it stands in the MS is ungrammatical, probably as a result of clumsy excerpting; an easy correction is to read *ταῦ ... ἔθνους ... ἐξελαυνόμενον*. This crossing (*pace* Paschoud *ad* Zos. 4,56) would have been subsequent to 378.

122. Homer, *Il.* 9,312-13.

123. This part has been clumsily excerpted by the compiler of the *Exc. de Legat.*, as the parallel passage of the *Exc. de Sent.* shows. The *Exc. de Sent.* (58) reads:

Συμποσίον δὲ προτεθέντος αὐτοῖς παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀδροτέρου καὶ πολυτελεστέρου, τὴν παρομίαν ἀπέδειξαν ἀληθῶν <τὴν> λέγουσαν· "οἶνος καὶ ἀλήθεια τοῦ Διονύσου". διὸ καὶ τὸν θεὸν εἰκότως Λαοῖον καλοῦσιν, ὡς οὐ μόνον διαλύοντα τὰς λύπας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ στεγανὸν τῶν ἀπορρήτων διαχέοντα καὶ διακαλύπτοντα. 5 καὶ τότε ῥήξαντος αὐτοῖς παρὰ πότον τὴν βουλὴν, διαλύεται τὸ συμπόσιον ἀτάκτως.

2 *ἀληθῆ conj.* Boissevain

*τὴν add.* Dindorf.

"At a very costly and grand banquet thrown for them by the Emperor they showed the truth of the proverb, 'The wine and the truth of Dionysus'. Therefore they properly call that god 'The Liberator', since he not only dissolves cares but also spills out and reveals closely guarded secrets. For on that occasion he with his wine brought into the open the plot, and the banquet broke up in confusion."

124. The statement that Serena was Theodosius' sister is an error (which also appears in the MS of Zosimus 4,57,2) and perhaps *τῆς ... ἀδελφῆς* should be corrected to *τῆς ... ἀδελφοῦ θυγατρὸς*, as Müller, *ad loc.*, suggested. On the other hand, the error might be that of John's source, since the whole sentence is clumsily condensed, as is shown by a comparison with Zosimus (*loc. cit.*), who states that Timasius was c.-in-c., Stilicho second-in-command, and that the others (with Baccarius) commanded the allies.

125. This is clarified by Zosimus (4,58,3) who says that at first Theodosius only committed the allies, who were slaughtered.

126. Most of Philostorgius' account is not from Eunapius, but

Eunapius influence on the attack on Theodosius is suggested both by the tone and by the phrase *τρυχῆς ἀμετρία* which Zosimus also uses of Theodosius at 4,33,1.

127. Two pages of the MS have been lost at this point.

128. The parallel part of John of Antioch (*Fr.* 188) ends here. He adds 'Ἐκάτερός τε αὐτῶν τὴν βασιλείαν περιεσκόπει' ("Each watched the Empire carefully"), which presumably refers to the activities of their agents rather than to any vigilance on behalf of the state.

129. The position of this passage is quite uncertain.

130. Marcellus was master of the offices from 394 to 395, having been appointed by Theodosius (*PLRE* I 'Marcellus' 7). If this article is from Eunapius, it perhaps comes from a note on Arcadius' high officials at the beginning of his reign.

131. I.e. of his daughter to Arcadius (see Zos. 5,3).

132. The phrase *ἔπαυσε τῆς <κατὰ> τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ὁρμῆς* is unclear, but it probably springs from poor condensation by John (or his intermediary) of Eunapius and represents the account in the original of the plundering of the provincials by Stilicho's troops after the retreat of Alaric and Stilicho's subsequent withdrawal to Italy (so Zos. 5,7,2-3).

133. Zosimus 5,8,2 suggests that "they" are Eutropius and his cronies.

134. The rest of *Fr.* 190 of John, although it shows some similarities with Eunapius (in Zosimus), is taken from Socrates (6,6).

135. This passage is obscure. For Barnes' interpretation, which I agree with, see vol. I pp.3f. The structure of the sentence is clumsy, and to remove the anacolouthon in the text Giangrande reads *ὁ [τε] Ἀλλάριχος* for *ὅτε Ἀλλάριχος* of the MS. I should prefer to read *ὁ τε* and assume that Eunapius has carelessly treated the genitive absolute clause (which is closely linked to the first main clause) as if it were another main clause. The word *Θεσπιῶν* is obelised by Giangrande, who conjectures *ἐκ Θεσπιάων*. Cumont's suggestion (1888 pp.179-81) 'Ἀγόριος Οὐέττιος' (= Agorius Vettius Praetextatus = *PLRE* I 'Praetextatus' 1) is to be rejected, since it is almost never Eunapius' practice to give two names in this manner and Praetextatus may have been hierophant much earlier (cf. *PLRE, art. cit.*). The MS reading is best retained.

I have omitted the last part of the passage in which Eunapius accuses some monks of opening Thermopylae to Alaric. Zosimus (5,5, 2-8) gives a different version which probably reflects what Eunapius put in his History.

136. I have omitted the material in this passage on the deaths of various sophists, since Eunapius seems to make it clear that these were of concern only in the *Lives* and not in the History.

137. An error for Arcadius, which occurs elsewhere (cf. Cedrenus I p.587, where an Eutropius appears amongst a number of persons who dominated Theodosius II).

138. On the ugliness of Eutropius cf. Claudian *In Eutrop.* 1,110ff.

139. This fragment is separated by Boissevain from the next item (61). The MS marks a colon. Perhaps it should be joined (so Müller *ad suum Fr.* 71). For the subject might be a lucky opportunity, which could refer to the military command (so Zos. 5,10,1) which is mentioned in the next sentence as offering the chance for further plotting against benefactors (in this case Eutropius).

140. The Greek is unclear and probably badly condensed; the translation offers what seems to be the sense. Zosimus (5,10,1) only says that Eutropius anticipated treachery from Bargus and moved first.

141. For the position of this and the previous passage cf. Zosimus 5,10,4.

142. On this error see n.137 above.

143. Mai (approved by Müller, *ad suum Fr.* 72) takes the subject of the first part of this passage (sc. *τούτου*) to be Timasius, pointing out that he was not, however, killed, but exiled. Mai misinterprets *ἐκβαλὼν τοῦ βίου* which refers not to killing but to deprivation of lifestyle through confiscation. However, if *τούτου* is taken to be Timasius, the last part of the passage is awkward, since it reads as though Abundantius had already been discussed. It is better to take the whole passage as referring to Abundantius' exile and the confiscation of his property, remarked by Zosimus 5,10,5. The phrase *μέγα δὲ τι . . . ἐφρόνει* then refers to Eutropius' next enterprise after Abundantius' ruin, the attack on Stilicho, which Zosimus (5,11,1) places after the fall of Abundantius, saying that Eutropius undertook this when he had no one left at Constantinople to worry about.

144. This sentence, like the whole of this passage, is obscure. The present interpretation is at variance with the older ones. I take Eunapius to be speaking first of writers who were publishing contemporaneously with events and who had to distort their narratives in order to avoid retribution. Then he speaks of himself (*τῷ δὲ ταῦτα γράφοντι*), who, presumably writing after the principals were dead or powerless, could be more single-minded in pursuit of the truth.

145. This long sentence is also obscure, but the tone seems to be sarcastic and objects of the attack appear to be both those who release unimportant tidbits of news about the doings in the palace and those who embroider these for the public. Although the structure of the sentence is awkward, with the punctuation I have adopted it does not need emendation.

146. This final sentence Boissevain and the other editors treat as part of what precedes, although the MS marks a break with a colon. The connection is rather awkward, but the sentence seems to be a formula of conclusion, and these are sometimes introduced rather awkwardly.

147. *Olymp.* 10,64.

148. The text and interpretation of this and the previous sentence are unsatisfactory, partly as a result of the illegibility of the MS at this point and probably also because of clumsy condensation. Müller and Dindorf, following Mai, both read *ὅτι ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀσιανὰς* and begin a new fragment, but Boissevain, rightly in my view, treats the whole as one continuous passage. Eunapius appears first to be discussing the deficiencies of a third source of information on the West (*τῶν δὲ ἐμ-πύρων*, as distinct from the officials and soldiers), then to be setting out his principle of selection, and finally to be announcing that after describing these events he will pass on to the misfortunes of Asia.

149. This and the previous fragment both come from a preface or a long discussion which describes the difficulties of collecting reliable evidence, first on the East (66,1) and then on the West (66,2, first part). The reason for treating the East and West together in this way is that the subject is the relations between Eutropius and Stilicho (cf. the corresponding part of Zosimus, 5,11-12, and especially the summary remark at 13,1: *τῆς δὲ βασιλείας ἐκατέρωθεν αἰσῆς ἐν τοῖς*). The juxtaposition of the two principals is reflected in the two questions, "Where did Stilicho see you?" and "Would you have seen the eunuch?" After his discussion of the sources for East-West relations at this period, Eunapius then says (66,2, last part) that he will pass on to the misfortunes of Asia, by which he means the final period of Eutropius' regime (the hyperbole of *τοιούτο . . . κίνησις* and *τεραπευθέντα* suggests the eunuch-consul) and the revolt of Gainas.

150. The subject of the fragment is probably Gainas, but the reference is not to his leaving Constantinople on the pretext of illness (Zos. 5,19,1), which occurred later. Perhaps Eunapius remarks Gainas' hostility to Eutropius' regime at the beginning of the account of the insurrection (cf. Zos. 5,13,1).

151. This perhaps corresponds to Zosimus 5,13,3-4 where Tribigild first devastates Phrygia and is then expected to move on Lydia.

152. This fragment is unintelligible.

153. Perhaps of Gainas, giving support to Tribigild against Leo (cf. Zos. 5,17,1).

154. The addition to the text is from the *Suda* II 363.

155. *μαλακώτερος . . . ἀμφιφάσθαι* is quoted from Homer, *Il.* 22, 373.

156. This seems to be the form of the name in the MS. He is usually called Tribigild.

157. Boissevain would fill this lacuna with *τῆς Φρυγίας ἀνέστρεψαν* based on Zosimus 5,18,4. This procedure is dangerous, in that Zosimus' language is rarely close to that of Eunapius.

158. After *ἐφεπόμενος* Boissevain's text has 10½ lines of scattered words and letters which yield no sense.

159. Probably of Gainas' departure from Constantinople and his plan to take over the city by treachery (cf. Zos. 5,19,1-3).

160. The text is fragmentary at this point. The restorations are the plausible ones of Boissevain's text drawn from the *Suda* Φ 681 (which is printed as the next fragment).

161. This passage is very close to Zosimus 5,20,1.

162. Zosimus 5,20,2 is a (rather longer) paraphrase of this passage (note esp. the shared *ἐξήσκει*). Fravitta is the subject of the passage, and the crossing is that which Gainas proposed to make of the Hellespont and which Fravitta sought to prevent.

163. The MS here is almost illegible. The text given is based upon the readings of Mai and Boissevain. I have placed in the apparatus other readings which the editors thought they could see. A conjectural version of the complete text is offered by Boissevain, but it is too damaged for reconstruction. The best that can be said is that the critics of Fravitta are still speaking and appear to be arguing that he should have crossed to the Chersonese and captured Gainas.

164. Here Boissevain's text marks seven lines of unintelligible phrases, words and letters. The parallel passage of Zosimus (5,21,5) is too condensed to allow any attempt at reconstructing Eunapius from it, but it does suggest that at this point Fravitta attributed his success to his religion.

165. This and the previous lacunae are brief. Eunapius seems to be describing how Fravitta inadvertently infringed court ceremonial.

166. Since Fravitta was romanised (cf. *Fr.* 59) and Eunapius is so sympathetic to him, *τὸν πάτριον νόμον* must refer to Greco-Roman, not German, paganism.

167. Probably Fravitta was compared with Scipio and Gainas with Phameas. Phameas was a Carthaginian cavalry officer in the Third Punic War, an admirer of Scipio Aemilianus, who defected to the Romans (Appian 8,16,107-09).

168. On the saying of Orontes see Aristides, *Or.* 46 (vol. II p.335, ed. Dindorf). On Arbazacius see *PLRE* II 'Arbazacius', where it is suggested that he was of Isaurian descent, but born in Armenia; alternatively his epithet 'Isaurian' could derive not from descent but from close association with that area. For the ordering of this and the following passages see my paper in *Antichthon* (1980) pp.170-76.

169. On Hierax see *PLRE* II 'Hierax', whose interpretation of the evidence on this person seems to be the same as mine (*art. cit.* at n.168 above). The parenthetical phrase in the first line is the excerptor's.

170. Although I know of no exact parallel for the meaning, I have kept the MS *ἀπέσειον* in preference to Dindorf's emendation *ἐπέσειον* (accepted by Boissevain) because it seems to me not only to make sense but also to be quite effective to have the audience disagreeing, but only

reluctantly and out of fear of John. The isolation of the hero Fravitta is thus stressed, and his end becomes more pathetic.

171. I take *λερακοστράων* = *λερακοβοσκόν* (the meaning of the only other example in LSJ) since it makes more sense to have Hierax as the creature of John, the *comes sacrarum largitionum* in 404 and the alleged lover of the Empress Eudoxia (*PLRE* II 'Ioannes' 1).

172. The next passage (*Fr.* 72,1), which is a close continuation of the present one, picks up the imagery of birds of prey, which is suggested, of course, by the name Hierax ('Hawk'). Whether Hierax had bought his governorship (as in the cases remarked in *Fr.* 72,1) or had received it as a reward for the murder of Fravitta is unclear. But it is clear that Hierax was denounced for his robbery before the vicar, who milked him of his ill-gotten gains and more.

173. The saying of Anacharsis is from Plutarch, *Solon* 5,2. The sentence is awkward, although the general sense is clear. Perhaps *ἐν-τεθεμένων* should be read for *ἐντεθνηκότων*.

174. Homer, *Il.* 9,11-12.

175. The author of this is unknown.

176. The fable of the eagle and the nightingale is in Hesiod, *Erga* 202-12, that of the jackdaw that borrowed the peacock's feathers was in the collection of Aesop (cf. Lucian, *Apol.* 4). The point of their use by Eunapius is that Herennianus was just as corrupt as Hierax, and having bought a vicariate rather than a mere governorship, could milk a whole group of provinces. Nevertheless, in the end he, too, lost all, having been denounced before the praetorian prefect (almost certainly Fl. Eutychianus) and milked of both his plunder and his own wealth. If my interpretation of this fragment and *Fr.* 71,4 is correct, the structure of the original would have been as follows: murder of Fravitta; Hierax rewarded with Pamphylia, which he plundered; his replacement and attempt at flight; he is seized and milked by Herennianus; general complaint upon the sale of offices and plundering of provincials, the wealth flowing up to the praetorian prefect; summary on the fates of Hierax and Herennianus. It also follows, as I have argued in *art. cit.* (at n.168 above) p.175, that *Πουλχερίας* is to be regarded as an error for *Εὐδοξίας*, the wife of Arcadius.

177. A snake whose poison was said to cause intense thirst (cf. Aelian *N.A.* 6,51).

178. This is probably a misquotation of number 450 of the single-line sayings (*γνώμαι μονόστιχοι*) of Menander in Meineke *Fr. Com. Gr.* IV p.352: *πενίας βαρύτερον οὐδὲν ἐστὶ φορτίου*. The subject of the fragment might be Stilicho's treatment of his enemies in contrast with the murder of Fravitta by John and his partners.

179. The text is badly mutilated, but Eunapius appears to have returned to the murder of Fravitta and the preoccupation of his enemies with the overwhelming power of Stilicho. After this passage one leaf of

the MS of the *Exc. de Sent.* is missing which contained almost entirely material excerpted from Eunapius.

180. The following are fragments from the *Suda* which are attributed to Eunapius by name or where affinities of language are clear, but which cannot be given a certain or reasonably certain location. Other anonymous articles or parts of articles which have been assigned to him are A 87, 3100, 3508, A<sub>1</sub> 117, 156, Δ 326, E 239, 395, 566, 1011, 1055, 1994, K 539, 683, 745, 824, Λ 490, M 648, 1300, N 244 (cf. T 175), O 786, 806, Π 715, 1173, 1206, Σ 1191, T 865, 1155, T 321.

181. Müller (*ad suum Fr.* 89) suggests that this comes from the same place as *Suda* K 391 (= *Fr.* 5,1). But although the language is very similar, the import of the words differs slightly.

182. The language and sentiments are very like those of *Fr.* 69,3 on Fravitta.

183. For the Eunapiian language cf. *Fr.* 67,7.

184. Although the language is awkward, the passage is probably not mutilated, as Müller (*ad suum Fr.* 92) thought. The subject appears to be diplomatic negotiations in which the Romans were arguing for the capitulation of a territory of some size and technological sophistication (Armenia or Persia?).

185. Doubt has been expressed that this fragment is from Eunapius (cf. Müller *ad suum Fr.* 4 who suggests that Εὐνάπιος refers to K 391 = *Fr.* 5,1).

186. Boissonade (in Müller *Fr.* 68) would refer this to Eutropius or Rufinus, but since the subject is one whose perceptions have been dimmed by honours heaped on him, it more probably refers to such as Timasius (cf. *Fr.* 65,3).

187. Boissonade (in Müller *Fr.* 3) would refer this to a skilled archer at the siege of Cremna during the reign of Probus, and certainly the language is similar to that of Zosimus 1,70,1. But it could also be from elsewhere.

188. Boissonade (in Müller *Fr.* 68) would refer this to Eutropius or Rufinus. The falling into a sense of security might be appropriate of Rufinus just before his murder, but there are other candidates too (e.g. Ablabius, Constantine's praetorian prefect).

189. This first quotation is possibly not from Eunapius. After the second quotation follows a third which has been attributed to Eunapius, but which Adler (*ad loc.*) more plausibly regards as from Arrian.

## OLYMPIODORUS

### Text and Translation

## OLYMPIODORUS

### TESTIMONIUM

(Photius *Bibl. Cod.* 80, pp.166f.)

Ἀνεγνώσθη Ὀλυμπιόδωρου ἱστορικοὶ λόγοι κβ'. ἄρχεται ἀπὸ τῆς Ὀνωρίου τοῦ βασιλέως Ῥώμης τῆς ὑπατείας τὸ ἔβδομον καὶ Θεοδοσίου τὸ δεύτερον, κατέρχεται δὲ μέχρις οὗτο Βαλεντινιανὸς ὁ Πλακιδίας καὶ Κωνσταντίνου παῖς εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῆς Ῥώμης ἀνερρήθη ἀρχὴν.

Οὗτος ὁ συγγραφεὺς Θηβαῖος μὲν ἔστω, ἐκ τῶν πρὸς Αἴγυπτον Θηβῶν τὸ γένος ἔχων, ποιητῆς, ὡς αὐτὸς φησι, τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα, Ἑλλήν τὴν θρησκείαν, σαφὲς μὲν τὴν φράσιν, ἄτονος δὲ καὶ ἐκλελυμένος καὶ πρὸς τὴν πεπατημένην κατενηνεγμένος χυδαῖολογίαν, ὥστε μὴδ' ἄξιός ἐστι συγγραφὴν ἀναγράφειν ὁ λόγος. ὁ καὶ αὐτὸς ἴσως συνιδὼν οὐ συγγραφὴν αὐτῷ ταῦτα κατασκευασθῆναι, ἀλλὰ ὕλην συγγραφῆς ἐκπορισθῆναι διαβεβαιούται· οὕτως ἄμορφος καὶ ἀνίδεος καὶ αὐτῷ τοῦ λόγου ὁ χαρακτήρ κατεφάνετο. καὶ γὰρ οὐδεμίᾳ τῶν ἰδεῶν καλλωπίζεται, πλὴν εἴ τις ἐν τισὶ τῇ ἀφελείᾳ πλησιάζειν ἐκβιάσεται· τῷ γὰρ λίαν ταπεινῷ καὶ ἐξηυτελισμένῳ καὶ ταύτης ἐκπίπτων εἰς ἰδιωτισμὸν ὅλως ὑπενήνκεται. ὕλην δὲ αὐτὸς ἱστορίας ταῦτα καλῶν, ὅμως καὶ λόγοις διαίρει καὶ προοιμίοις πειράται κοσμεῖν, καὶ πρὸς Θεοδοσίον τὸν βασιλέα, ὃς ἀνεψιὸς ἐχρημάτιζεν Ὀνωρίου καὶ Πλακιδίας, Ἀρκαδίῳ δὲ παῖς, πρὸς τοῦτον τὴν ἱστορίαν ἀναφωνεῖ.

### FRAGMENTA

1

1. (*Bibl. Cod.* 80, p.167)

Διαλαμβάνει τούτων περὶ Στελίσχωνος, ὅσῃν τε περιεβέβλητο δύναμιν, καταστὰς ἐπίτροπος τῶν παίδων Ἀρκαδίου καὶ Ὀνωρίου ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν Θεοδοσίου τοῦ μεγάλου, καὶ ὡς Σερῆναν νόμῳ γάμου ἡγάγετο, Θεοδοσίου καὶ ταύτην αὐτῷ κατεγγυήσαντος.

## OLYMPIODORUS

### TESTIMONIUM

(Photius *Bibl. Cod.* 80, pp.166f.)

Read the twenty-two books of history by Olympiodorus. He begins from the seventh consulship of Honorius, the Emperor of Rome, and the second of Theodosius and continues to the time when Valentinian, the son of Placidia and Constantius, was proclaimed Emperor of Rome.

Originally from Thebes in Egypt, this historian was a poet by profession, as he himself says, and in religion a Hellene. His style is clear, but insipid, loosely organised and tending towards triteness and vulgarity, so that his work is hardly worthy to be classed as a history. Perhaps he realised this, since he maintains that what he is offering is not history but material for history<sup>1</sup> — so formless and inept did the style of the work appear even to him. For it displays no stylistic virtues, unless one were to insist that in some passages it comes close to simplicity; and the jejunity and low standards of his writing cause him to descend even from this into complete vulgarity. Although he calls this work 'material for history', he nevertheless divides it into books and tries to dress it up with prefaces. He dedicates the work to the Emperor Theodosius, the nephew of Honorius and Placidia and the son of Arcadius.

### FRAGMENTS

1

1. (*Bibl. Cod.* 80, p.167)

He writes about Stilicho, describing the great power which he acquired when Theodosius the Great appointed him guardian of his sons Arcadius and Honorius, and he tells of Stilicho's marriage to Serena, who was betrothed to him by Theodosius himself.

## 2. (Sozomen 9,4,2-4)

Οὗτος δὲ καὶ πρότερον ἔτι περιόντος Ἀρκαδίου καταστὰς εἰς ἔχθραν τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἄρχουσιν ἐβεβούλευτο πρὸς ἑαυτὰ συγκροῦσαι τὰ βασίλεια. καὶ στρατηγοῦ Ῥωμαίων ἀξίαν προξενήσας Ἀλαρίχῳ τῷ ἡγουμένῳ τῶν Γότθων προὔτρεψατο καταλαβεῖν τοὺς Ἰλλυριοὺς. καὶ ὑπαρχὸν αὐτῶν καταστάντα τὸν Ἰόβιον προπέμψας συνέθετο καὶ αὐτὸς συνδραμεῖσθαι μετὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς τῇδε ὑπηκόους ὑπὸ τὴν Ὀνωρίου δῆθεν ἡγεμονίαν ποιῆσαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἀλάριχος ἐκ τῆς πρὸς τὴν Δαλματίαν καὶ Παννονίαν βαρβάρου γῆς, οὗ διῆγεν, παραλαβὼν τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἦκεν εἰς τὰς Ἠπείρους· καὶ συχνὸν ἐνταῦθα προσμεύας χρόνον ἀπρακτοὺς ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς Ἰταλίαν.

(Zosimus 5,26)

## 2

(Zosimus 5,27,1)

## 3

(Bibl. Cod. loc. cit.)

Ὅτι τε μετὰ ταῦτα Στελίων εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρα Θερμαντίαν τὸν βασιλέα Ὀνώριον γαμβρὸν ἐποιήσατο, καὶ ὥς ἐπὶ πλείστον ἔτι μᾶλλον ἤρθη δυνάμει, καὶ πολλοὺς πολέμους ὑπὲρ Ῥωμαίων πρὸς πολλὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν κατώρθωσε.

(Zosimus 5,27,2 - 28,3)

## 4

(Sozomen 1,6,5)

Οἱ γὰρ Ἀργοναῦται τὸν Αἰήτην φεύγοντες οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν πλοῦν ἐν τῇ ἐπανόδῳ ἐποιήσαντο. περαιωνθέντες δὲ τὴν ὑπὲρ Σκύθας θάλασσαν διὰ τῶν τῇδε ποταμῶν ἀρίκοντο εἰς Ἰταλῶν ὄρια, καὶ χειμάσαντες ἐνταῦθα πόλιν ἔκτισαν Ἥμωνα προσαγορευομένην. τοῦ δὲ θέρους ἐγκαταλαβόντος, συμπραξάντων αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, ἀμφοτέρωθεν τετρακοσίους σταδίους ὑπὸ μηχανῆς ἔλκοντες τὴν Ἀργὴν διὰ γῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀκυλὸν ποταμὸν ἤγαγον, ὅς τῳ Ἠριδανῶ συμβάλλει· Ἠριδανὸς δὲ εἰς τὴν κατὰ Ἰταλοὺς θάλασσαν τὰς ἐκβολὰς ἔχει.

(Zosimus 5,29)

## 2. (Sozomen 9,4,2-4)

Earlier, while Arcadius was still alive, he [Stilicho] became hostile to the ministers of that Emperor and planned to bring the two parts of the Empire to war. He recommended that Alaric, the leader of the Goths, be given a Roman generalship and urged him to seize Illyricum. He also sent ahead Jovius, who had been made praetorian prefect of that region, and promised that he would quickly join him with the Roman troops, in order to bring the population there under Honorius' rule. Alaric, collecting those under his command, quitted the barbarian lands by Dalmatia and Pannonia, where he was dwelling, and led his men to Epirus. There he waited for a long time and then retreated to Italy, having achieved nothing.<sup>2</sup>

(Zosimus 5,26)

## 2

(Zosimus 5,27,1)

## 3

(Bibl. Cod. loc. cit.)

Later Stilicho made the Emperor Honorius his son-in-law by marrying him to his daughter Thermantia<sup>3</sup> and accumulated even more power. He fought on behalf of the Romans many successful wars against many peoples.

(Zosimus 5,27,2 - 28,3)

## 4

(Sozomen 1,6,5)

For when the Argonauts were fleeing Aeëtes they did not sail the same way home, but, having crossed the Scythian Sea, they reached the land of Italy by way of the rivers of that region. There they wintered and founded the city called Emona. When summer came, with the help of the inhabitants of the area and by using machines, they dragged the Argo about 400 stades across land to the river Aquilis. This river joins the Eridanus, which in turn empties into the Italian Sea.

(Zosimus 5,29)

## 5

1. (*Bibl. Cod. loc.cit.*)

Καὶ ὅτι μαιφόνῳ καὶ ἀπανθρώπῳ σπουδῇ Ὀλυμπίου, ὃν αὐτὸς τῷ βασιλεῖ προσκείωσε, τὸν διὰ ξίφους ὑπέμενε θάνατον.

2. (*Sozomen 9,4,4-8*)

Μέλλων γὰρ ἐκδημῶν κατὰ τὰ συντεθειμένα Ὀνωρίου γράμμασιν ἐπεσχέθη. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐτελεύτησεν Ἀρκάδιος, ὥρμησε μὲν Ὀνώριος φεῦδαι τῇ περὶ τὸν ἀδελφιδεὺν ἐλθεῖν εἰς Κωνσταντινούπολιν καὶ πιστοῦς ἄρχοντας καὶ φύλακας καταστήσαι τῆς αὐτοῦ σωτηρίας καὶ βασιλείας. ἐν τάξει γὰρ υἱὸς αὐτὸν ἔχων ἐδεδίει μὴ τι πάθαι διὰ τὸ νέον ἔτοιμος ὢν πρὸς ἐπιβουλὴν. ἤδη δὲ μέλλοντα ἔχεισθαι τῆς ὁδοῦ πείθει Στελίων ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ μένειν τὸν Ὀνώριον, ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τοῦτο εἰπὼν, καθότι Κωνσταντῖνός τις ἐτύγχανεν ἑναγχος ἐν Ἀρηλάτῳ τυραννήσας. θάτερον δὲ τῶν οὐκ ἐπὶ τῶν, ὃ λάβωρον Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσι, καὶ γράμματα βασιλέως λαβὼν ἐπιτρέποντα αὐτῷ τὴν εἰς τὴν ἀνατολὴν ἀφίξιν, ἐμελλεν ἐκδημῶν τέσσαρας ἀριθμοὺς στρατιωτῶν παραλαβὼν. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ φήμης διαδραμοῦσης, ὡς ἐπιβουλεύει τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ ἐπὶ τυραννίδα τοῦ υἱὸς παρασκευάζεται συμπράττοντας ἔχων τοὺς ἐν δυνάμει, στασιάζοντες οἱ στρατιῶται κτείνουσι τὸν Ἰταλίας ὑπαρχόν καὶ τὸν τῶν Γαλατῶν καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς διέποντας τὰς ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἀρχάς. ἀναφείτῃ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς παρὰ τῶν ἐν Ῥαβέννῃ στρατιωτῶν, ἀνὴρ εἶπερ τις ἄλλος πώποτε ἐν πολλῇ δυνάμει γεγεννημένους καὶ πάντας ὡς εἰπεῖν βαρβάρους τε καὶ Ῥωμαίους πειδομένους ἔχων. Στελίων μὲν οὖν ὑπονοηθεὶς κακόνους εἶναι τοῖς βασιλείοις ὥδε ἀπώλετο· κτείνονται δὲ καὶ Εὐχέρσιος ὁ αὐτοῦ παῖς.

3. (*Philostorgius 12,1*)

Ἄλλοι δὲ οὐκ Ὀλύμπιον, ἀλλ' Ὀλυμπιδωρόν φασιν· οὐδ' ἐπαμῆναι τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἀλλ' ἐπιβουλεύσαι τῷ εὐεργέτῃ Στελίωνι καὶ εἰς τυραννίδα συκοφαντῆσαι αὐτόν. καὶ οὐδὲ μάγιτρον τηνικαῦτα εἶναι, ἀλλ' ὕστερον, μετὰ τὸν ἄδικοι τοῦ Στελίωνος φόνον, ἐπαθλον τὴν ἀξίαν λαβεῖν. ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν καὶ αὐτὸν ῥοπαλοῖς ἀναμεθύντα τῆς μαιφονίας τὴν δίκην ἀποτίσαι τῷ Στελίωνι.

(*Zosimus 5,30,1 - 35,4*)

## 6

(*Bibl. Cod. 80, pp.167f.*)

Ὅτι Ἀλάρικος ὁ τῶν Γότθων φύλαρχος, ὃν Στελίων μετεκαλέσατο ἐπὶ τῷ φυλάξει Ὀνωρίῳ τὸ Ἰλλυρικόν (τῇ γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἦν

## 5

1. (*Bibl. Cod. loc.cit.*)

And [Stilicho] submitted to execution by the sword as the result of the murderous and inhuman plotting of Olympius, whom he himself had introduced to the Emperor.<sup>4</sup>

2. (*Sozomen 9,4,4-8*)

For although [Stilicho] was preparing to set out according to his promises [to Alaric], he was held back by letters from Honorius.<sup>5</sup> After the death of Arcadius, Honorius out of concern for his nephew was eager to visit Constantinople to appoint loyal ministers to ensure the safety of his nephew's person and throne. For Honorius regarded him as a son and was afraid that he might suffer harm, since he was young and liable to fall victim to plotting. When the Emperor was about to set out, Stilicho persuaded Honorius to remain in Italy by asserting that this was necessary since a certain Constantine had recently declared himself Emperor at Arles. Stilicho took one of the standards which the Romans call *labarum*, letters from the Emperor which appointed him to go to the East and four legions and prepared for his journey. Meanwhile a rumour was spreading that Stilicho was plotting against the Emperor and, in concert with the chief officials, was preparing to raise his son to the throne.<sup>6</sup> The troops broke out in revolt and slaughtered the prefects of Italy and the Gauls, the generals and other chief palatine ministers.<sup>7</sup> Stilicho himself was killed by the soldiery at Ravenna, a man who attained greater power than anyone and who controlled all men, so to speak, both barbarian and Roman. But he was suspected of plotting against the Emperors and perished in this manner; and his son, Eucherius, was also put to death.

3. (*Philostorgius 12,1*)

Others say that it was not Olympius but Olympiodorus [who caused Stilicho's death] and that he did not defend the Emperor but plotted against Stilicho, who had been his benefactor, and falsely accused him of aiming at usurpation. They also say that he was not master of the offices at that time, but received it later as his reward after the unjust murder of Stilicho, and that soon afterwards he was killed with clubs and so paid to Stilicho the penalty for his bloodthirstiness.<sup>8</sup>

(*Zosimus 5,30,1 - 35,4*)

## 6

(*Bibl. Cod. 80, pp.167f.*)

Alaric, the tribal leader of the Goths, whom Stilicho summoned to guard Illyricum for Honorius (since it had been attached to his part

παρὰ Θεοδοσίου τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκνεμενημένον βασιλείᾳ), οὗτος ὁ Ἀλά-  
 ριχος διὰ τε τὸν φόνον Στελίκωνος, καὶ ὅτι ἂν συνέκειτο αὐτῷ οὐκ  
 ἐλάμβανε, πολιορκεῖ καὶ ἐκπορθεῖ τὴν Ῥώμην· ἐξ ἧς χρήματά τε  
 5 ἄπειρα ἐξεκόμισε, καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν Ὀνωρίου Πλακιδίαν ἐν Ῥώμῃ  
 διάγουσαν ἡχμαλώτισε, καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἀλώσεως δὲ ἕνα τῶν κατὰ  
 τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπιδόξων (Ἀτταλος ἦν ὄνομα αὐτῷ) τὴν ἐπαρχότητα  
 τότε διέποντα εἰς βασιλείᾳ ἀνηγόρευσεν. ἐπράχθη δὲ αὐτῷ ταῦτα διὰ  
 10 τε τὰς προειρημένας αἰτίας, καὶ ὅτι Σάρον, καὶ αὐτὸν Γότθον ὄντα,  
 καὶ πλῆθους μὲν ὀλίγου ἐπάρχοντα (ἄχρι γὰρ σ' ἢ καὶ τ' αὐτῷ ὁ  
 λαὸς ἐξετεύετο) ἄλλως δὲ ἥρωϊκὸν τινα καὶ ἐν μάχαις ἀκαταγώ-  
 νιστον, τοῦτον ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοι ἡταιρίσαντο δι' ἐχθρας Ἀλαρίχῳ ὄντα,  
 ἄσπονδον ἐχθρὸν Ἀλαρίχον ἐποιήσαντο.

## 7

1. (Bibl. Cod. 80, p.168)

Ὅτι ἐν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀλληλοφαγία τῶν ἐνοικοῦν-  
 των ἐγένετο.

2. (Bibl. Cod. loc.cit.)

Ὅτι Ἀλάριχος, ἔτι ζῶντος Στελίκωνος, μ' κεντηνάρια μισθὸν  
 ἔλαβε τῆς ἐκστρατείας.

3. (Bibl. Cod. loc.cit.)

Ὅτι μετὰ θάνατον Στελίκωνος ἀναιρεῖται ἐναποπνιγῆσα καὶ  
 Σερῆνα ἡ τοῦτου γυνή, αἰτία νομοθεΐσα τῆς ἐπὶ Ῥώμῃ ἐφόδου  
 Ἀλαρίχου· ἀναιρεῖται δὲ πρότερον μετὰ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν Στελίκωνος  
 ὁ ταύτης κάκεῖνος παῖς Εὐχέριος.

4. (Bibl. Cod. loc.cit.)

Ὅτι τὸ Βαυκελλάριος ὄνομα ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ὀνωρίου ἐφέρετο  
 κατὰ στρατιωτῶν οὐ μόνον Ῥωμαίων ἀλλὰ καὶ Γότθων τινῶν· ὡς  
 δ' αὐτῶς καὶ τὸ φοιδεράτων κατὰ διαφόρου καὶ συμμεγῶς ἐφέρετο  
 πλῆθους.

5. (Sozomen 9,6,1-5 and 7)

Τὰ δὲ πρὸς δύσιν ἐν ἀταξίαις ἦν πολλῶν ἐπανισταμένων  
 τυράννων· ἡνίκα δὴ μετὰ τὴν Στελίκωνος ἀναίρεσιν Ἀλάριχος ὁ  
 τῶν Γότθων ἡγούμενος πρεσβευσάμενος περὶ εἰρήνης πρὸς Ὀνώριον  
 ἀπέτυχε· καὶ καταλαβὼν τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπολιόρκει πολλοὺς βαρβάρους  
 5 ἐπιστήσας Θύβριδι τῷ ποταμῷ, ὥστε μὴ εἰσκομίζεσθαι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια  
 τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀπὸ τοῦ Πόρτου (ὡς γὰρ ὀνομάζουσι τὸ Ῥωμαίων  
 ἐπίνεον). χρονίας δὲ γενομένης τῆς πολιορκίας λιμοῦ τε καὶ λοιμοῦ

of the Empire by his father Theodosius), because of the execution of  
 Stilicho and because he had not received what had been promised to  
 him, besieged and sacked Rome. He carried from the city incalculable  
 wealth and made prisoner Honorius' sister Placidia, who was living in  
 Rome, and before the capture he proclaimed Emperor one of the  
 Roman notables named Attalus, who at the time was prefect of the  
 city. He did these things for the above-mentioned reasons and because  
 the Romans had made Sarus their ally on account of his hostility to-  
 wards Alaric. Sarus was himself a Goth also and commanded a small  
 force of followers (about two or three hundred men) and, besides, he  
 was an heroic man and invincible in battle. Thus the Romans made  
 Alaric their relentless foe.<sup>9</sup>

## 7

1. (Bibl. Cod. 80, p.168)

During the siege of Rome the inhabitants turned to cannibalism.

2. (Bibl. Cod. loc.cit.)

While Stilicho was still alive Alaric received four thousand pounds  
 [of gold] to pay for his services.<sup>10</sup>

3. (Bibl. Cod. loc.cit.)

After the death of Stilicho his wife Serena was killed by strangulation,  
 since she was thought to be the reason for Alaric's march on  
 Rome. Earlier, after the death of Stilicho, their son Eucherius was also  
 put to death.<sup>11</sup>

4. (Bibl. Cod. loc.cit.)

In the time of Honorius the name *buccellarius* was given not only  
 to Roman soldiers but also to certain Goths. Similarly the name  
*foederati* was given to a diverse and mixed body of men.

5. (Sozomen 9,6,1-5 and 7)

But the western parts of the Empire were in confusion, and many  
 usurpers arose. At that time after the death of Stilicho, Alaric, the  
 leader of the Goths, sent an embassy to Honorius to treat for peace, but  
 achieved nothing. Therefore, he made for Rome and besieged it, lining  
 the banks of the Tiber with many of his barbarians to prevent the con-  
 veyance of food to those in the city from Portus (that is the name of  
 the Roman sea-harbour). Since, after the siege had gone on for a long



τὴν πόλιν πιέζοντος δούλων τε πολλῶν καὶ μάλιστα βαρβάρων τῷ  
 γένει πρὸς τὸν Ἀλάρικον αὐτομολούντων, ἀναγκαῖον ἐδόκει τοῖς  
 ἑλληνίζουσι τῆς συγκλήτου θύειν ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις  
 ναοῖς. Θουσκοὶ γάρ τιwes ἐπὶ τοῦτο μετακληθέντες παρὰ τοῦ ὑπάρχου  
 τῆς πόλεως ὑπισχνούντο σκηπτοῖς καὶ βρονταῖς ἀπελάσσειν τοὺς  
 βαρβάρους· ἤρχοντο δὲ τοιοῦτον αὐτοῖς εἰργάσθαι καὶ περὶ Ναρνίαν  
 πόλιν τῆς Θουσκίας, ἣν παριῶν Ἀλάρικος ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην οὐχ εἶλεν.  
 ἀλλὰ τούτων μὲν οὐδὲν ὄφελος ἔσεσθαι τῇ πόλει ἢ ἀπόβασιν ἔδειξεν.  
 . . . ἐν ᾧ δὲ ἐπολιόρκει, πλεῖστα δῶρα λαβὼν ἐπὶ χρόνον τιτὰ τὴν  
 πολιορκίαν ἔλυσεν, συνθεμένων Ῥωμαίων τὸν βασιλέα πείσειν εἰς  
 εἰρήνην αὐτὸν δέχεσθαι.

13 *Narnian* Valesius [*Narnian* codd.]

[6. (Philostorgius 12,3)]

Ὅτι, Στελίκωνος ἀνηρημένου, οἱ συνόντες βάρβαροι τὸν  
 ἐκείνου παῖδα λαβόντες τὴν ταχίστην ᾤχοντο. καὶ τῇ Ῥώμῃ πλησι-  
 άσαντες, τὸν μὲν ἐρεῖσαν εἰς τι τῶν ἀσύλων ἱερῶν καταφυγεῖν, οἱ δὲ  
 τὰ τῆς πόλεως περὶ ἐπόρθουν, τὸ μὲν τῷ Στελίκωνι τιμωροῦντες,  
 τὸ δὲ λιμῷ πιεζόμενοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ παρὰ Ὀνωρίου γράμμα κρείττον τῆς  
 ἀσυλίας γενόμενον ἀναφεῖ τὸν Εὐχέριον, διὰ ταῦτα συμμιζαντες οἱ  
 βάρβαροι Ἀλλαρίχῳ εἰς τὸν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους αὐτὸν ἐξορμῶσι  
 πόλεμον.]

3 *hierōn* Bidez [*hierōn* codd.]

(Zosimus 5,35,5 - 42,3)

## 8

1. (Sozomen 9,7)

Γενομένης δὲ περὶ τούτου πρεσβείας οἱ τὰ ἐναντία πράττοντες  
 Ἀλαρίχῳ ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἐνεπόδιζον τῇ εἰρήνῃ. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα  
 πρεσβευσάμενον Ἰννοκεντίου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκόπου μετακληθεὶς  
 Ἀλάρικος γράμμασι τοῦ βασιλέως ἦκεν εἰς Ἀρίμινον πόλιν δέκα καὶ  
 διακοσίους σταδίους τῆς Ῥαβέννης ἀφροστῶσαν. ἐνταῦθα δὲ τὰς  
 σκηπὰς ἔχοντι πρὸ τῶν τειχῶν εἰς λόγους ἐλθὼν ὁ Ἰόβιος τῆς  
 Ἰταλίας ὑπαρχος ὧν δηλοῖ τῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν Ἀλαρίχου αἵτησιν καὶ ὡς  
 δέοι δέλτοις αὐτὸν τιμῆσαι στρατηγῶν δυνάμεως ἑκατέρας. ὁ δὲ  
 βασιλεὺς χρημάτων μὲν καὶ σιτηρεσίων ὧν ἦτει ὡς ὑπάρχῳ Ἰοβίῳ  
 τὴν ἐξουσίαν δέδωκεν, ἀξίας δὲ οὐποτε μεταδώσειν αὐτῷ ἀντεδή-  
 λωσεν. ἀβούλως δὲ Ἰόβιος ἐν τῇ Ἀλαρίχου σκηνῇ περιμεύας τὸν ἐκ  
 τῶν βασιλείων ἀπεσταλμένον ἀναγνώσκων ἐκέλευσε παρόντων τῶν  
 βαρβάρων τὰ δόξαντα τῷ βασιλεῖ. ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ ἀρνήσει τοῦ ἀξιώματος

time, famine and pestilence were ravaging the city and many of the  
 slaves, especially those of barbarian origin, were deserting to Alaric,  
 those of the senate who were Hellenes thought it necessary to offer  
 sacrifices on the Capitol and in the other temples. For certain Etruscans  
 who had been summoned for this purpose by the prefect of the city  
 promised to drive away the barbarians with thunder and lightning, and  
 they boasted that they had done this at Narnia, a city of Etruria which  
 Alaric had passed by on his way to Rome but had failed to take.<sup>12</sup> But,  
 as events showed, these people would be of no help to the city. . . .  
 While [Alaric] was besieging the city he received many gifts from the  
 inhabitants, and for a while he lifted the siege since the Romans  
 promised to persuade the Emperor to make peace with him.<sup>13</sup>

[6. (Philostorgius 12,3)]

When Stilicho had been killed, the barbarians who were with him  
 took his son and fled with all speed. When they came near to Rome,  
 they allowed him to flee to the sanctuary of one of the churches while  
 they ravaged the environs of the city, partly out of revenge for Stilicho  
 and partly because they were suffering from hunger. When a letter from  
 Honorius, outweighing the right of sanctuary, sealed Eucherius' fate,  
 the barbarians as a result joined Alaric and urged him to make war on  
 the Romans.<sup>14</sup>

(Zosimus 5,35,5 - 42,3)

## 8

1. (Sozomen 9,7)

When an embassy was sent [from Rome] for this purpose [i.e. to  
 make peace between Honorius and Alaric], those at court who were  
 working against Alaric thwarted the attempt to make peace.<sup>15</sup> But when  
 later Innocent, the bishop of Rome, went as an envoy, Alaric was sum-  
 moned by letters from the Emperor and came to Ariminum, a city two  
 hundred and ten stades from Ravenna. There, while he was encamped  
 before the city walls, Jovius, the praetorian prefect of Italy, came to  
 confer with him and sent Alaric's demands to the Emperor, including  
 that the codicils of the generalship of both branches of the army be  
 bestowed upon him. The Emperor gave to Jovius, as prefect, the power  
 to give to Alaric as much money and grain as he demanded. But he  
 replied that he would never grant him the military command. Jovius  
 was awaiting the messenger from the palace in Alaric's tent, and he  
 unwisely ordered him to read out before the barbarians the reply of the  
 Emperor. Alaric, angered at the refusal of the command and regarding

ὀργισθεὶς Ἀλάριχος ὡς ὑβρισμένος αὐθωρὸν τῇ σάλπιγγι σημήνας  
ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἤλαυνε. δέσας δὲ Ἰόβιος, μὴ ὑπονοηθῇ παρὰ τῷ 15  
βασιλεῖ Ἀλαρίχῳ σπουδάξεν, ἀβουλοτέρῳ ἢ πρότερον περιπεσῶν,  
πρὸς τῆς σωτηρίας τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτὸς τε ὥμοσε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους  
ἄρχοντας παρεσκεύασε μήποτε εἰρήνην θέσθαι πρὸς Ἀλάριχον. οὐκ  
εἰς μακρὰν δὲ μεταμεληθεὶς ὁ βάρβαρος ἐδήλωσε μηδὲν ἀξιωματῶν  
δεῖσθαι, σύμμαχον δὲ παρέξεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ μετρία σίτου δόσει καὶ 20  
οἰκῇσι τόπων οὐ πάνυ Ῥωμαίους ἐσπουδασμένων.

2. (*Bibl. Cod. loc.cit.*)

Ὅτι Ὀλύμπιος, ὁ ἐπιβουλεύσας Στελίκωνα, μάγιστρος τῶν  
ἀρρκίων γέγονεν, εἴτα ἐξέπεσε τῆς ἀρχῆς, εἴτα πάλιν ἐπέβη ταύτης,  
ἔπειτα ἐξέπεσεν, εἴτα ἐκπεσῶν ῥοπάλοις ὕστερον ὑπὸ Κωνσταντίου,  
ὃς ἡγάγετο Πλακιδίαν, παιώμενος ἀναρεῖται, τὰς ἀκοὰς πρότερον 5  
ἐκκοπεῖς· καὶ ἡ δίκη τὸν ἀνοσιουργὸν εἰς τέλος οὐκ ἀρῆκεν ἀτιμώ-  
ρητον.

(Zosimus 5,43-51)

## 9

(*Bibl. Cod. loc.cit.*)

Ὅτι τῶν μετὰ Ῥοδογαίου Γότθων οἱ κεφαλαιώται ὀπίματα  
ἐκαλοῦντο, εἰς δώδεκα συντείνοντες χιλιάδας, οὓς καταπολεμήσας  
Στελίκων Ῥοδογαίου προσηταφίσατο.

## 10

## 1. (Sozomen 9,8)

Ἐπεὶ δὲ δις ἀπέτυχε περὶ τούτου πρεσβευσάμενος διὰ τῶν  
ἐπισκόπων, ἐλθὼν εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπολιόρκει τὴν πόλιν· καὶ ἐξ ἐνὸς  
μέρους τὸν Πόρτον ἐλὼν βιάζεται Ῥωμαίους βασιλεῖα ψηφίσασθαι  
τὸν Ἀτταλον, ὑπαρχον ὄντα τότε τῆς πόλεως. Ῥωμαίων δὲ προ- 5  
βληθέντων ἐπὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς χειροτονεῖται Ἀλάριχος στρατηγὸς  
ἐκατέρας δυνάμεως, Ἀδαυλφός δὲ ὁ τῆς αὐτοῦ γαμετῆς ἀδελφὸς  
ἡγεμὼν τῶν ἱππέων δομεστικῶν καλουμένων. συγκαλέσας δὲ τὴν  
γερουσίαν Ἀτταλος λόγον διῆλθε μακρὸν καὶ λαμπρῶς μάλα πε-  
πονημένον, ὑπισχνόμενος τὰ πάτρια τῇ συγκλήτῳ φυλάξεν καὶ τὴν 10  
Αἴγυπτον καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν πρὸς ἔω ἀρχομένην ὑπήκοον Ἰταλοῖς  
ποιήσεν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ὥδε ἀλαξονευσάμενος οὐδὲ εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν ὀλό-  
κληρον ἤμελλε βασιλεὺς καλεῖσθαι· μάντεσι δὲ τισιν ὑπαχθεὶς  
ὑπισχνουμένοις ἀμαχητὶ τὴν Ἀφρικὴν καθέξεν, οὔτε Ἀλαρίχῳ  
ἐπείσθη μετρίαν δύναμιν εἰσπηγαμένῳ πέμψαι εἰς Καρχηδόνα ἐπὶ

it as a slight, immediately ordered the trumpet to give the signal and  
marched on Rome. Jovius, fearing that the Emperor would suspect him  
of favouring Alaric, committed an error even more foolish than his  
earlier one and swore upon the safety of the Emperor that peace should  
never be made with Alaric, persuading the other officials to do the  
same. Shortly afterwards Alaric repented his haste and declared that the  
commands were not necessary: he would make an alliance upon pay-  
ment of a moderate amount of grain and permission to live in some  
territory which was of little importance to the Romans.<sup>16</sup>

2. (*Bibl. Cod. loc.cit.*)

Olympius, the man who had plotted against Stilicho, became  
master of the offices, then lost the position, then regained it and finally  
lost it again. After the second loss he was later killed by Placidia's  
husband, Constantius, who first cut off his ears and then had him  
beaten with clubs. And so at the end justice did not allow that impious  
man to escape unpunished.<sup>17</sup>

(Zosimus 5,43-51)

## 9

(*Bibl. Cod. loc.cit.*)

The chiefs of the Goths who were with Rodogaisus were called  
'optimates', and they were twelve thousand in number. When he had  
defeated Rodogaisus, Stilicho made them his allies.<sup>18</sup>

## 10

## 1. (Sozomen 9,8)

When he had twice sent certain bishops as envoys on this matter  
[i.e. the reduced peace terms] and had twice achieved nothing, [Alaric]  
came to Rome and besieged the city. On one side he occupied Portus and  
compelled the Romans to choose Attalus, who was then prefect of the  
city, as their Emperor. While Romans were advanced to other offices,  
Alaric was appointed master of both branches of the soldiery and Ataulf,  
his brother-in-law, count of the so-called domestic cavalry.<sup>19</sup> Convening  
the senate, Attalus delivered a long and most brilliantly worked speech  
in which he promised to protect the senate's traditional rights and to  
make Egypt and all the eastern Empire subject to the people of Italy –  
thus boasted a man who was destined to be called Emperor for less than  
a full year.<sup>20</sup> He was deluded by certain seers who promised that he  
would take Africa without a fight, and he followed the advice neither  
of Alaric, who urged him to send a moderate force to Carthage in order

ἀναφέρει τῶν Ὀνωρίου ἀρχόντων, εἰ ἀντιπαρατάξοιεν αὐτῷ, οὔτε 15  
 Ἰωάννη, ὃν προσετήσατο τῶν ἁμρ' αὐτὸν βασιλικῶν τάξεων, φάσ-  
 κοντι χρῆναι Κώνσταντα τὸν ἐκδημεῖν εἰς Λιβύην παρ' αὐτοῦ τεταγ-  
 μένον, ὡς παρὰ Ὀνωρίου ἀπεσταλμένον, γράμματι συνήθει, ὃ 20  
 διάταγμα καλοῦσι, παῦσαι τῆς ἀρχῆς Ἡρακλειανὸν τὸν τηνικάδε τῶν  
 ἐν Ἀφρικῇ στρατιῶν ἐπιτετραμμένον τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. ἴσως δὲ ἂν καὶ  
 τοῦτο προὔχρησεν· οἴπω γὰρ δῆλα ἐγεγόνει τοῖς ἐν Λιβύῃ τὰ κατὰ 25  
 Ἀτταλον. ἐπεὶ δὲ Κώνστας, τοῦτο τοῖς μάντεσι δόξαν, ἐπλευσεν εἰς  
 Καρχηδόνα, Ἀτταλος δὲ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐβλάβη τὸν νοῦν, ὡς μηδὲ  
 ἀμφιβάλλων ἀξιῶν, ἀλλὰ πεπεισθαι τοὺς Ἄφρους ὑπηκόους ἔχων 30  
 κατὰ τὴν πρόρρησιν τῶν μάντεων, ἐπιστρατεύει τῇ Ῥαβέννῃ. ἅμα δὲ  
 ἡγγέλθη εἰς Ἀρίμνον ἀφίχθαι μετὰ τῆς Ῥωμαίων καὶ βαρβάρων  
 στρατῆς, γράφει αὐτῷ Ὀνώριος ὡς βασιλεῖ καὶ πρεσβεύεται διὰ 35  
 τῶν ἁμρ' αὐτὸν τὰς μεγίστας ἀρχὰς λαχόντων, κοινωνῶν ἀγαπῶν  
 ἔχων τῆς βασιλείας. Ἀτταλος δὲ τὴν μὲν κοινωνίαν τοῦ κράτους  
 ἀπαρνέεται· δηλοῖ δὲ Ὀνωρίῳ νῆσον ἢ τόπον ἐλέσθαι ὃν βούλεται 40  
 καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν διάγειν πάσης βασιλικῆς θεραπείας ἀξιούμενον. εἰς  
 τοῦτο δὲ περιστάσεων τῶν πραγμάτων, ὡς εὐτρεπεῖς αὐτὸν ἔχων  
 ναῦς, ἦν εἰ δεήσειεν ἀποπλεύσει πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφιδόον, ἀδοκῆτως ἐν ἑξ  
 ἀριθμοῖς ἁμρ' τετρακισχίλιοι στρατιῶται νύκτωρ τῇ Ῥαβέννῃ προσ- 45  
 ἐπλευσαν ἐκ τῆς ἀνατολῆς· οἷς τὴν φυλακὴν τῶν τειχῶν ἐπέτρεψε  
 δεδιῶς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων στρατιωτῶν τὸ ἔτοιμον εἰς προδοσίαν. ἐν  
 τούτῳ δὲ Ἡρακλειανὸς ἀνελὼν τὸν Κώνσταντα φύλακας ἐπέστησεν  
 ἐν τοῖς λιμέσι καὶ ταῖς ἀκταῖς τῆς Ἀφρικῆς καὶ τὰ πλοῖα τῶν ἐμ- 50  
 πόρων ἐκώλυσε εἰς Ῥώμην ἀνάγεσθαι. λιμοῦ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν κατα-  
 λαβόντος τοὺς Ῥωμαίους πρεσβεύονται περὶ τούτου πρὸς Ἀτταλον.  
 ὃ δὲ πρὸς τὸ πρακτέον ἀμχανῶν ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς Ῥώμην ὡς μετὰ  
 τῆς συγκλήτου συμβουλευσόμενος. ἐπικρατήσαντος δὲ τοῦ λιμοῦ ἐπὶ  
 τοσοῦτον ὡς καστάνοις ἀντὶ σίτου κεχρηῆσθαι τὸν δῆμον, ὑπονοσηθῆναι 5  
 δέ τινας καὶ ἀνθρωπεύων ἀπογεύσασθαι κρεῶν, Ἀλάρικος μὲν  
 συνεβούλευεν πεντακοσίους βαρβάρους κατὰ Ἡρακλειανοῦ πέμψαι, 45  
 τῇ δὲ συγκλήτῳ καὶ τῷ Ἀττάλῳ ἐδόκει μὴ δεῦν πιστευθῆναι βαρ-  
 βάροις τὴν Ἀφρικὴν. ἐπεὶ δὲ δῆλον ἦν τὸν θεὸν ἀντιπράττεω τῇ  
 Ἀττάλου βασιλείᾳ, συνιδὼν Ἀλάρικος μάτην πονεῖν ἐπὶ πράγματι  
 οὐκ ἐν αὐτῷ κειμένῳ, συντίθεται περὶ καταλύσεως τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀρχῆς  
 πρὸς Ὀνώριον, ὑποσχέσεις λαβὼν περὶ εἰρήνης. πάντων τοίνυν 50  
 συνελθόντων πρὸ τῆς πόλεως, ἀποτίθεται Ἀτταλος τὰ σύμβολα τοῦ  
 βασιλείως· συναποτίθενται δὲ τὰς ζώνας καὶ οἱ αὐτοῦ ἄρχοντες, καὶ  
 συγγνώμην ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβεβηκόσι νέμει πᾶσιν Ὀνώριος, μετ' οὐ πολὺ

to destroy Honorius' officials if they should oppose him, nor of John, his own master of the offices, who said that Constans, whom Attalus had appointed to go to Libya, must, as if he had been sent by Honorius, be furnished with the customary letter (which the Romans call an 'edict') relieving Heraclian of the command which he currently held over the forces in Africa. Perhaps this device would have succeeded; for those in Libya did not yet know of Attalus' activities. But Constans sailed off to Carthage as the seers advised, and Attalus was so deluded that, entertaining no doubts, he remained convinced that, as the seers had foretold, the Africans would fall under his sway. He himself marched against Ravenna, and when it was reported that he had reached Ariminum with an army composed of Romans and barbarians, Honorius wrote to him as if to a fellow Emperor and sent an embassy made up of his highest ministers, declaring his willingness to share his Empire. Attalus rejected this proposal to share power and told Honorius to retire to an island or any other place of his choosing, where he would retain the trappings of his sovereignty. Honorius' situation was now so desperate that he was keeping ships ready in order to sail off to his nephew if necessary, when, unexpectedly, six divisions, a total of about four thousand men, sailed at night into Ravenna from the East.<sup>21</sup> To these he entrusted the guarding of the city wall, since he feared that the Italian troops were ready to betray him.

Meanwhile Heraclian had killed Constans and stationed guards in the ports and along the coast of Africa. He also stopped the sailing of merchantmen to Rome. As a result the Romans began to suffer from famine and sent a delegation to Attalus about this. He, not knowing what measures to take, returned to Rome to consult with the senate. The famine became so bad that chestnuts were used in place of grain and some people were suspected of cannibalism. Alaric advised that five hundred barbarians should be sent against Heraclian, but the senate and Attalus declined to entrust Africa to barbarians.<sup>22</sup> Since it was clear that God was working against the regime of Attalus, Alaric, realising that his efforts in a cause over which he had no control were futile, came to an agreement with Honorius to depose him, having first received assurances that peace would be made. Then all gathered before the city.<sup>23</sup> Attalus laid aside the symbols of the Emperor, and at the same time his ministers laid aside their belts of office. Honorius pardoned them all for what they had done and shortly afterwards restored

νομοθετήσας ἕκαστον ἔχων τὴν τιμὴν καὶ τὴν ἀξίαν ἧς πρὸ τοῦ μετε-  
λάχανεν. Ἀτταλος δὲ ἅμα τῷ παιδί Ἀλαρίχῳ συντὴν οὐκ ἀσφαλές 55  
τέως ἡγούμενος ἐν Ῥωμαίοις διάγειν.

55 οὐκ codd. [ὡς ἂν οὐκ Bidez]

[2. (Philostorgius 12,3)]

Ὁ δὲ θᾶπτον καταλαμβάνει τὸν Πόρτον. μέγιστον δὴ οὗτος  
νεώριον Ῥώμης, λιμέσι τρισὶ περιγραφόμενον καὶ εἰς πόλεως μικρᾶς  
παρατεωόμενον μέγεθος· ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ὁ δημόσιος ἅπας οἶτος  
κατὰ παλαιὸν ἔθος ἐταμιεύετο. ἐλὼν δὲ ῥᾶον τὸν Πόρτον, καὶ τῇ 5  
σιτοδείᾳ ἢ ταῖς ἄλλαις μηχαναῖς πολιορκήσας τὴν Ῥώμην κατὰ  
κράτος αἰρεῖ· καὶ ψηφισαμένων τῶν Ῥωμαίων (τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτοῖς  
Ἀλλάριχος ἐνεδίδου), Ἀτταλον αὐτοῖς ἀναγορεύει βασιλέα. οὗτος δὲ  
Ἴων μὲν ἦν τὸ γένος, Ἕλλην δὲ τὴν δόξαν, τῆς αὐτῆς δὲ πόλεως  
ἐπαρχος. οὗτος δὲ λοιπὸν μετὰ τὴν ἀναγόρευσιν τὸ λείψανον τῶν 10  
Ῥωμαίων, ὅπερ ὁ λιμὸς αὐτὸς καὶ ἡ ἀλληλοφαγία ὑπελείπετο, τροφὴν  
αὐτοῖς κομίζων ἀπὸ τοῦ Πόρτου ἐφήσιν. εἶτα τὸν Ἀτταλον λαβὼν καὶ  
στρατηγοῦ σχῆμα πληρῶν αὐτῷ, ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥαβένναν κατὰ Ὀνωρίου  
στρατεῖται. καὶ κελεύει Ἀτταλος τὸν Ὀνώριον τὸν ἰδιώτην ἀνθ-  
ελέσθαι βίον, καὶ τῶν τοῦ σώματος ἀκρωτηριῶν τῇ περιτομῇ τὴν τοῦ 15  
δλου σωτηρίαν ὠνήσασθαι. Σάρως δέ, ὃς μετὰ Στελίκωνα τὴν  
στρατηγικὴν ἀρχὴν Ὀνωρίῳ δεδοκός τις εἶχεν, συμβαλὼν Ἀλ-  
λαρίχῳ, κρατεῖ τῇ μάχῃ καὶ τῆς Ῥαβέννης ἀποδιώκει. ὁ δὲ τὸν  
Πόρτον καταλαβὼν, ἀποδύει μὲν τῆς βασιλείας τὸν Ἀτταλον, οἱ μὲν  
φασιν μὴ εὖνουν εἶναι διαβληθέντα, οἱ δὲ διότι σπονδὰς διανοεῖτο πρὸς 20  
Ὀνώριον θέσθαι, καὶ τὸ δοκοῦν ἐμποδῶν ἐστάναι δέον ἡγεῖτο προ-  
αποσκευάσασθαι.]

6 αἰρεῖ Gothofredus [αἰρεῖ codd.]

[3. (Procopius Wars 3,2,28-30)]

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ Ἀλάριχος ἐκ Ῥώμης ἐξανίστασθαι ἐμελλεν,  
Ἀτταλον τῶν τῶα εὐπατριδῶν βασιλέα Ῥωμαίων ἀνείπε, περι-  
θέμενος αὐτῷ τὸ τε διάδημα καὶ τὴν ἀλουργίδα καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐς  
βασιλικὸν ἀξίωμα ἦκει. ἔπρασε δὲ ταῦτα ὡς παραλύσων μὲν τῆς 5  
βασιλείας Ὀνώριον, παραδῶσων δὲ ἅπαν Ἀττάλῳ τὸ ἐσπέριον  
κράτος. τοιαύτῃ μὲν γνώμῃ Ἀτταλὸς τε καὶ Ἀλάριχος ἐπὶ Ῥαβένναν  
στρατῶ πολλῶ ἦσαν. ἦν δὲ ὁ Ἀτταλος οὗτος οὔτε αὐτός τι νοεῖν  
ικανὸς οὔτε τῷ εὖ εἰπόντι πεισθῆναι. Ἀλαρίχου γοῦν ἥκιστα ἐπαι-  
νοῦντος ἐς Λιβύην στρατιᾶς χωρὶς ἀρχοντας ἐπεμψε. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν  
ἐπράσσεο τῇδε.] 10

(Zosimus 6,6-12)

each to the rank and honours which he had held before.<sup>24</sup> Attalus,  
thinking that it was unsafe to live among the Romans for a while, re-  
mained together with his son with Alaric.

[2. (Philostorgius 12,3)]

[Alaric] quickly occupied Portus, which is the largest dockyard  
of Rome, consisting of three harbours and comparable in size to a small  
city. In it, too, all the public grain supplies are stored according to the  
old custom. When he had easily taken Portus, he besieged Rome and  
captured it through famine rather than through other means. With  
Alaric's permission the Romans held a vote and chose Attalus as their  
Emperor. He was an Ionian by origin, a Hellene by religion and prefect  
of Rome. After the acclamation Alaric allowed the remnant of the people  
of Rome, such as had survived starvation and cannibalism, to fetch  
supplies from Portus. Then, taking with him Attalus, to whom he acted  
as master of the soldiers, he marched against Honorius at Ravenna. At-  
talus told Honorius to retire voluntarily to private life<sup>25</sup> and to purchase  
his survival by cutting off his extremities.<sup>26</sup> But Sarus, whom Honorius  
had appointed general after Stilicho, met Alaric in battle, defeated him  
and drove him from Ravenna.<sup>27</sup> Alaric then occupied Portus and de-  
prived Attalus of his sovereignty, according to some because he was  
accused of being ill-disposed towards Alaric, while others say it was  
because Alaric himself was contemplating a treaty with Honorius and  
thought that he should first remove what appeared to be an obstacle.]

[3. (Procopius Wars 3,2,28-30)]

When Alaric was about to leave Rome, he declared Attalus, one  
of the nobles, Emperor of the Romans and dressed him in the diadem  
and the purple and whatever else was appropriate to the office of Em-  
peror. He did this intending to depose Honorius and hand the sole  
sovereignty in the West to Attalus. With this intention Attalus and  
Alaric moved against Ravenna with a large army. But Attalus was in-  
capable either of planning wisely or of accepting good advice. Thus,  
although Alaric disapproved of it, he sent generals to Libya without an  
army. These things, then, were being done in this way.]

(Zosimus 6,6-12)

## 1. (Sozomen 9,9,2-5)

Οὐ πολλῶν δὲ ὕστερον Ἀλάριχος καταλαβὼν τὰς Ἀλπεῖς (χωρίων δὲ τοῦτο ἀμφὶ τὰ ἐξήκοντα στάδια διεστῶς τῆς Ῥαβέννης) εἰς λόγους ἦλθε τῷ βασιλεῖ περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης. Σάρως δὲ τις βάρβαρος τὸ γένος, εἰς ἄκρον δὲ τὰ πολέμια ἡσκημένος, ἀμφὶ τριακοσίους μόνους περὶ αὐτὸν ἔχων πάντας εὖνους καὶ ἀρίστους, ὑποπτος ὢν Ἀλαρίχῳ διὰ προτέραν ἔχθραν, ἐλογίσαστο μὴ συνοίσειν αὐτῷ τὰς μεταξὺ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Γότθων σπονδὰς, καὶ ἐξαπῶνις μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων ἐπελθὼν ἀναίρει τῶν βαρβάρων. ἐκ τούτου δὲ εἰς ὀργὴν καὶ δέος καταστὰς Ἀλάριχος τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ἀναστρέφει· καὶ περι-καθεσθεὶς τὴν Ῥώμην εἴλε προδοσίαν, καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ πληθεύσας ἐπέτρεψε ἐκάστω, ὥς ἂν δύναίτο, τὸν Ῥωμαίων πλοῦτον διαρπάξαι καὶ πάντας τοὺς οἴκους ληΐζεσθαι, ἄσυλον εἶναι προστάξας αἰδοῖ τῇ πρὸς τὸν ἀπόστολον Πέτρον τὴν περὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ σορὸν ἐκκλησίαν, μεγάλην τε καὶ πολλὴν χώρον περιέχουσαν. τοῦτ' δὲ γέγονεν αἴτιον τοῦ μὴ ἄρδην ἀπολέσθαι τὴν Ῥώμην· οἱ γὰρ ἐνθάδε διασωθέντες (πολλοὶ δὲ ἦσαν) πάλιν τὴν πόλιν ὥκισαν.

1 τὰς Ἀλπεῖς codd. [Κλάσσην Cluverius]

## [2. (Philostorgius 12,3-4)]

Μετὰ τοῦτο πρὸς Ῥάβενναν ὁ Ἀλλάριχος ἐπανελθὼν καὶ σπονδὰς προτείνων, ὑπὸ τοῦ προειρημένου διεκρούσθη Σάρου, φαιμένου τὸν δίκας ὀφείλοντα τῶν τολμηθέντων μὴ ἂν ἄξιον εἶναι φίλοις συντάττεσθαι. ἐκεῖθεν Ἀλλάριχος ὀργισθεὶς μετὰ ἐνιαυτὸν τῆς προτέρας ἐπὶ τὸν Πόρτον ἐφόδου ὡς πολέμιος ἐπελαύνει τῇ Ῥώμῃ. καὶ τὸ ἐντεύθεν τῆς τοσαύτης δόξης τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ τῆς δυνάμεως περιώνυμον ἀλλόφυλον πῦρ καὶ ξίφος πολέμιον καὶ αἰχμαλωσία κατεμερίζετο βάρβαρος. ἐν ἐρείπιοις δὲ τῆς πόλεως κειμένης, Ἀλλάριχος τὰ κατὰ Καμπανίαν ἐλπίζετο, κάκει νόσῳ φθείρεται. ὁ δὲ τῆς αὐτοῦ γυναικὸς ἀδελφὸς . . .]

10 post ἀδελφὸς lac. in codd.

## [3. (Procopius Wars 3,2,27)]

Τῶς δὲ οὐχ οὕτω Ῥώμην Ἀλαρίχῳ ἀλῶναί φασιν, ἀλλὰ Πρόβην γυναικα, πλούτῳ τε καὶ δόξῃ ἐν γε τῇ Ῥωμαίων βουλῇ ἐπωραεστάτην μάλιστα οὖσαν οἰκτεῖραι μὲν λιμῷ τε καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ κακοπαθείᾳ διαφθειρομένων Ῥωμαίων, οἱ γε καὶ ἀλλήλων ἤδη ἐγεύοντο· ὥρῳσαν δὲ ὡς πᾶσα αὐτοὺς ἐλπίς ἀγαθὴ ἐπιλελοίπει, τοῦ τε ποταμοῦ καὶ τοῦ λιμένος ἐχομένου πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων, τοῖς οἰκέταις ἐγκελεύσασθαι νύκτωρ ἀνοιγνύναι τὰς πύλας.]

## 1. (Sozomen 9,9,2-5)

Soon afterwards Alaric occupied the Alps (which is a place about sixty stades from Ravenna)<sup>28</sup> and met the Emperor in a peace conference. A certain Sarus, a barbarian by birth and a highly skilled commander whose followers, though numbering only about three hundred, were all loyal and first-rate soldiers, was suspected by Alaric because of an old enmity.<sup>29</sup> He, thinking that it would not be to his advantage if the Romans and Goths made a treaty, suddenly launched an attack with his own men and killed some of the barbarians. Alaric, angered and shaken by this, retreated whence he had come and, blockading Rome, captured it by treachery. All of his followers he allowed to seize the wealth of the Romans as they were able and to plunder all the houses. But out of reverence for the apostle Peter he ordered that the great and spacious church over his tomb be treated as a sanctuary; and as a result of this Rome escaped utter annihilation. For those who survived there – and they were many – rebuilt the city.<sup>30</sup>

## [2. (Philostorgius 12,3-4)]

After this [i.e. the deposition of Attalus] Alaric returned to Ravenna and offered to make a treaty [with Honorius], but he was driven off by the above-mentioned Sarus, who said that one who should have paid the penalty for his audacity was unworthy to be counted amongst the friends of the Emperor. From there Alaric in anger marched as an enemy against Rome one year after his previous attack upon Portus. The great glory of her erstwhile renown and her far-famed power were then rent asunder by alien fire and enemy sword and captivity at the hands of the barbarian. And while the city lay in ruins, Alaric ravaged Campania and there died of disease. His brother-in-law . . .<sup>31</sup>

## [3. (Procopius Wars 3,2,27)]

Some say that Rome was not captured by Alaric in this way. Rather, Proba, a woman of the highest repute amongst the Roman senatorial class for her wealth and fame, felt pity for the Romans who were being killed off by starvation and who were already turning to cannibalism. Seeing that all hope of successful resistance had gone, since the river and the harbour were blockaded by the enemy, she ordered her servants at night to open the gates.<sup>32</sup>

4. (*Bibl. Cod.* 80, pp.168f.)

Ὅτι Ἀλαρίχον νόσῳ τελευτήσαντος, διάδοχος αὐτοῦ Ἀδα-  
 οῦλος καθίσταται, ὁ τῆς γυναικὸς ἀδελφός.

(Zosimus 6,13)

## 12

(*Bibl. Cod.* 80, p.169)

Ὅτι τὸν ξηρὸν ἄρτον βουκελλάτον ὁ συγγραφεὺς καλεῖσθαι  
 φησι, καὶ χλευάζει τὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπωνυμίαν, ὡς ἐκ τούτου  
 βουκελλαρίων ἐπικληθέντων.

## 13

1. (*Bibl. Cod.* 80, pp.169f.)

Ὅτι Κωνσταντῶς εἰς τυραννίδα ἀρθεὶς πρεσβεύεται πρὸς  
 Ὀνώριον, ἄκων μὲν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν βιασθεὶς ἀπολογού-  
 μενος ἄρξει, συγγνώμην δὲ αἰτῶν καὶ τὴν τῆς βασιλείας ἀξιῶν  
 κοινωνίαν· καὶ βασιλεὺς διὰ τὰ ἐνεστηκότα δυσχερῇ τέως κατα-  
 δέχεται τὴν τῆς βασιλείας κοινωνίαν. κατὰ τὰς Βρεττανίας δὲ ὁ  
 Κωνσταντῶς ἐτύγχανεν ἀνηγορευμένος, στάσει τῶν ἐκεῖσε στρατι-  
 ωτῶν εἰς ταύτην ἀνηγμένος τὴν ἀρχήν. καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταύταις ταῖς  
 Βρεττανίαις, πρὶν ἢ Ὀνώριον τὸ ἔβδομον ὑπατεῦσαι, εἰς στάσιν  
 ὁρμήσαν τὸ ἐν αὐταῖς στρατιωτικὸν Μάρκον τινὰ ἀνεῖπον αὐτο-  
 κράτορα· τοῦ δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀναφρεθέντος, Γρατιανὸς αὐτοῖς ἀντι-  
 καθίσταται· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ οὗτος εἰς τετράμηνον αὐτοῖς προσκοπῆς  
 γεγωνὺς ἀπεσφάγη, Κωνσταντῶς τότε εἰς τὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος  
 ἀναβιβάζεται ὄνομα. οὗτος Ἰουστῖνον καὶ Νεοβιγαστὴν στρατηγούς  
 προβαλόμενος, καὶ τὰς Βρεττανίας ἐάσας, περαιοῦται ἅμα τῶν αὐτοῦ  
 ἐπὶ Βονωνίαν πόλιν οὕτω καλουμένην, παραθαλασσίαν καὶ πρώτην  
 ἐν τοῖς τῶν Γαλλῶν ὁρίοις κειμένην. ἐνθα διατρίψας, καὶ ὅλον τὸν  
 Γάλλον καὶ Ἀκύτανον στρατιώτην ἰδιοποιησάμενος, κρατεῖ πάντων  
 τῶν μερῶν τῆς Γαλατίας μέχρι τῶν Ἀλπεων τῶν μεταξὺ Ἰταλίας  
 τε καὶ Γαλατίας. οὗτος δύο παῖδας ἔσχε, Κώνσταντα καὶ Ἰουλιανόν,  
 ὧν τὸν μὲν Κώνσταντα Καίσαρα χειροτονεῖ, εἴτα ὕστερον κατὰ τὰς  
 αὐτὰς ἡμέρας καὶ τὸν Ἰουλιανὸν νωβελίσσιμον.

16 Γαλλῶν ὁρίοις A [Γαλατῶν ὁρίοις M 18, 19 Γαλατίας A [Γαλλίας M

2. (Sozomen 9,11,2 - 12,3)

Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ οἱ ἐν Βρεττανίᾳ στρατιῶται στασιάσαντες  
 ἀναγορεύουσι Μάρκον τύραννον, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Γρατιανόν, ἀνελόντες  
 Μάρκον· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ οὗτος οὐ πλέον τεσσάρων μηνῶν διεληθόντων

4. (*Bibl. Cod.* 80, pp.168f.)

When Alaric died of disease, his brother-in-law, Ataulf, succeeded  
 him.

(Zosimus 6,13)

## 12

(*Bibl. Cod.* 80, p.169)

The historian says that dry bread is called *buccellatum* and uses it  
 as the scornful nickname for the soldiers, who are called from it *buc-  
 cellarii*.

## 13

1. (*Bibl. Cod.* 80, pp.169f.)

When Constantine had been raised to imperial power, he sent an  
 embassy to Honorius claiming that he was Emperor unwillingly and  
 under compulsion by the soldiers, asking pardon and proposing that he  
 be accepted as co-ruler. Honorius, because of his current difficulties,  
 temporarily accepted him as co-ruler. Constantine had been proclaimed  
 Emperor in Britain as the result of a mutiny by troops there. Even  
 before Honorius' seventh consulship [A.D. 407] the military of those  
 provinces had revolted and proclaimed a certain Marcus Emperor. Then  
 they killed him and raised Gratian in his stead. After about four months  
 they grew tired of him, put him to death and proclaimed Constantine  
 Emperor. He appointed Justinus and Neobigastes<sup>33</sup> generals and, leaving  
 Britain, crossed with his forces to the port named Boulogne, which is  
 the nearest on the coast of Gaul. There he waited and, having won the  
 troops of Gaul and Aquitaine to his side, became master of the whole  
 of Gaul up to the Alps which separate Italy from Gaul. Constantine had  
 two sons, Constans and Julian, the former of whom he named Caesar;  
 and later, during the same period, he proclaimed Julian *nobilissimus*.

2. (Sozomen 9,11,2 - 12,3)

First, the soldiers in Britain rose in revolt and named Marcus  
 Emperor and, having killed Marcus, proclaimed Gratian. After no  
 more than four months they killed him and raised Constantine in turn,

ἐφονεύθη παρ' αὐτῶν, πάλιν Κωνσταντῶν χειροτονοῦσιν, οἰηθέντες, 5  
καθότι ταύτην εἶχε προσηγορίαν, καὶ βεβαίως αὐτὸν κρατήσεν τῆς  
βασιλείας. ἐκ τοιαύτης γὰρ αἰτίας φαίνονται καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους εἰς  
τυραννίδα ἐπιλεξάμενοι. περαιωθεὶς δὲ Κωνσταντῶν ἐκ τῆς  
Βρεττανίας ἐπὶ Βωωνίαν πόλιν τῆς Γαλατίας παρὰ θάλασσαν  
κεκμένην προσηγάγετο τοὺς παρὰ Γαλάταις καὶ Ἀκουανοῖς στρατι-  
ώτας· καὶ τοὺς τῆδε ὑπηκόους περιποίησεν ἑαυτῷ μέχρι τῶν μεταξὺ 10  
Ἰταλίας καὶ Γαλατίας ὄρων, ὡς Κοττίας Ἀλπεῖς Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσι.  
Κωνσταντα δὲ τὸν πρεσβύτερον τῶν αὐτοῦ υἱέων, ὃν ὕστερον βασι-  
λέως σχῆμα ἐνέδυσσε, Καίσαρα τότε ἀναγορεύσας πέπομφε εἰς  
Σπανίαν· ὃ δὲ τὸ ἔθνος καταλαβὼν ἄρχοντας ἰδίους κατέστησε, καὶ  
δεσμίους ἀχθῆναι αὐτῷ προσέταξεν Δίδυμον καὶ Βερενιανὸν τοῖς 15  
Ὀνωρίου συγγενεῖς· οἱ τὰ πρῶτα διαφερόμενοι πρὸς ἑαυτούς, εἰς  
κίνδυνον καταστάντες ὥμονόησαν· καὶ πληθὸς ἀγροίκων καὶ  
οἰκετῶν συλλέξαντες κοινῇ κατὰ τὴν Λυσιτανίαν παρετάξαντο καὶ  
πολλοὺς ἀνείλυν τῶν εἰς σύλληψιν αὐτῶν ἀποσταλέντων παρὰ τοῦ  
τυράννου στρατιωτῶν.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα συμμαχίας προστεθείσης τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐξω-  
γρήθησαν καὶ ἅμα ταῖς αὐτῶν γαμεταῖς ἀπήχθησαν καὶ ὕστερον  
ἀνηρέθησαν. ἐν ἐτέραις δὲ ἐπαρχίαις διατρίβοντες Θεοδοσιῶλος καὶ  
Λαγώδιος οἱ αὐτῶν ἀδελφοὶ φεύγουσι τὴν πατρίδα· καὶ διασφύζονται 25  
Θεοδοσιῶλος μὲν εἰς Ἰταλίαν πρὸς Ὀνωρίον τὸν βασιλέα, Λαγώδιος  
δὲ πρὸς Θεοδόσιον εἰς τὴν ἀνατολήν. καὶ ὁ μὲν Κωνσταντα ταῦτα  
διαπραξάμενος ἐπανῆλθε πρὸς τὸν πατέρα φρουρὰν καταστήσας ἀπὸ  
τῶν στρατιωτῶν τῆς ἐπὶ τὰς Σπανίας παρόδου· ἦν δεομένοις  
Ἰσπανοῖς κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἔθος φυλάττειν οὐκ ἐπέτρεψεν. ὃ καὶ 30  
αἷτιον ἐγένετο μετὰ ταῦτα τῆς ἀπωλείας τῶν τῆδε· καταπεσούσης  
γὰρ τῆς Κωνσταντίνου δυνάμεως ἀναλαβόντες ἑαυτοὺς Οὐάνδαλοι τε  
καὶ Σουήβοι καὶ Ἀλανοί, ἔθνη βάρβαρα, τῆς παρόδου ἐκράτησαν καὶ  
πολλὰ φρούρια καὶ πόλεις τῶν Ἰσπανῶν καὶ Γαλατῶν εἶλον καὶ  
τοὺς ἄρχοντας τοῦ τυράννου.

(Zosimus 6,1-5)

## 14

(Bibl. Cod. 80, p.170)

Ὅτι Ἀτταλος βασιλεύσας κατὰ Ὀνωρίον ἐπὶ Ῥάβενναν ἐκ-  
στρατεύεται, καὶ πέμπεται πρὸς αὐτόν, ὡς ἐκ βασιλέως Ὀνωρίου  
πρὸς βασιλέα, Ἰοβιανὸς ἑπαρχος καὶ πατρίκιος, καὶ Οὐάλης στρα-  
τηγὸς ἐκατέρας δυνάμεως, καὶ Ποτάμιος ὁ κυαίστωρ, καὶ Ἰουλιανὸς

3 Ἰοβιανὸς A [Ἰώβιος M

thinking that with such a name he would certainly conquer the whole  
Empire. (Others, too, seem to have been named Emperor for such a  
reason.) Constantine left Britain and crossed to Boulogne, a city on the  
coast of Gaul, and, having won over the soldiers in Gaul and Aquitaine,  
he attached to his side the inhabitants of those regions right up to the  
boundaries which divide Italy from Gaul and which the Romans call the  
Cottian Alps. At that time he proclaimed Constans, his elder son,  
Caesar (he later advanced him to Augustus) and sent him to Spain,  
which he occupied, setting up his own officials.<sup>34</sup> He ordered that  
Didymus and Verenianus, relatives of Honorius, be brought to him in  
chains. They had initially been on bad terms, but they settled their  
differences in the face of danger and, putting together an army from  
amongst their peasants and servants, offered battle in Lusitania and  
killed many of the soldiers whom the usurper had sent to arrest them.

Afterwards, when their enemies had received reinforcements,  
Didymus and Verenianus were taken alive, carried off with their wives  
and later put to death. Their brothers Theodosiolus and Lagodius, who  
were living in different provinces, fled their homeland. Theodosiolus  
sought safety in Italy with the Emperor Honorius, Lagodius with  
Theodosius in the East. When Constans had achieved this, he returned  
to his father and left some of his own soldiers to garrison the pass into  
Spain, refusing to entrust this duty to the Spaniards, as was the old  
custom, although they begged him to do so. Later this was the cause of  
the destruction of the Spanish provinces. For when Constantine's  
power had collapsed, the barbarian peoples (Vandals, Sueves and Alans)  
regrouped themselves,<sup>35</sup> seized the pass and captured many forts and  
cities of Spain and Gaul together with the officials of the usurper.

(Zosimus 6,1-5)

## 14

(Bibl. Cod. 80, p.170)

When Attalus became Emperor he marched against Honorius at  
Ravenna. There came to him, as if from the Emperor Honorius to a  
fellow Emperor, Jovian,<sup>36</sup> the prefect and patrician, Valens, the master  
of both branches of the soldiery, Potamius, the quaestor, and Julian,

πριμκήριος τῶν νοταρίων· οἱ ἐδήλουν Ἀττάλῳ ἐπὶ κοινῶν τῆς βασιλείας ἀπεστάλθαι παρὰ Ὀνωρίου. ὁ δὲ ἀπένευσεν, ἀλλὰ νῆσον οἰκεῖν ἢ ἕτερόν τινα τόπον, ὃν ἂν βούλοιο, συγχωρεῖν Ὀνώριον κακῶν ἀπαθῆ. ἀποκρίνεται δὲ Ἰοβιανὸς ἡσθεὶς, ἐπαγγελλόμενος καὶ σωῶσαι καθ' ἑνὸς μέλους τὸν βασιλέα Ὀνώριον. ἐφ' ᾧ ἐπετίμησεν Ἀτταλὸς Ἰοβιανῷ, ὥς οὐθενὸς ἔθους ὄντος σωθῆναι βασιλέα ἐκοντὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀποτιθέμενον. ἀλλὰ Ἰοβιανὸς μὲν πολλάκις πρεσβεύσας καὶ μηδὲν ἀνύσας καταμένει πρὸς Ἀτταλον, πατρίκιος Ἀττάλου ὀνομασθεὶς, μετέρχεται δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ῥάβενναν ἐπὶ τὸν πραιπόσιτον Εὐσέβιον ἢ δυναστείᾳ, ὃς μετὰ ἱκανὸν χρόνον Ἀλλοβίχου ἐπηρείᾳ καὶ ὑποθήκῃ δημοσίᾳ καὶ ἐπ' ὅψει τοῦ βασιλέως ῥάβδους ἀναιρεῖται.

Χρόνος ἔρρευσε ἱκανός, καὶ μὴ πειθόμενος Ἀτταλὸς Ἀλαρίχῳ, σπουδῇ δὲ μάλιστα Ἰοβιανοῦ, ὃς ἦν τὴν Ὀνωρίου πρεσβείαν προδεωκώς, καθαιρεῖται τῆς βασιλείας, καὶ μένει τὸν ἰδιώτην παρὰ Ἀλαρίχῳ βίον ἀνθηρημένος. ἔπειτα, μετὰ χρόνον τῶν βασιλεύει, εἴτα καθαιρεῖται. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὕστερον ἐπὶ Ῥάβενναν παραγεγονώς καὶ τοὺς τῆς δεξιᾶς χεὶρὸς δακτύλους ἀκρωτηριασθεὶς ἐξορία παραπέμπεται.

10 Ἰοβιανῷ Α<sup>3</sup> [Ἰοβίω Α Ἰωβίω Μ 11 Ἰοβιανὸς Α<sup>1</sup> [Ἰούβιος Α Ἰώβιος Μ  
18 Ἰοβιανοῦ Α<sup>1</sup> [Ἰουβίου Α Ἰωβίου Μ

## 15

1. (*Bibl. Cod.* 80, pp.170f.)

Ὅτι Ἀλλοβίχος μετὰ βραχὺ τὴν ἐφ' ᾧ τὸν πραιπόσιτον Εὐσέβιον ἀνείλε δίκην τῶνός, γνώμη τοῦ βασιλέως κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ἀναιρεῖται· καὶ Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ τύραννος τὸν Ἀλλοβίχου θάνατον μαθὼν, ἐπειγόμενος πρὸς Ῥάβενναν ὥστε σπείσασθαι Ὀνωρίῳ, φοβηθεὶς ὑποστρέφει.

(Sozomen 9,12,4-6)

Κωνσταντῖνος δὲ τέως κατὰ γνώμην πράττειν δοκῶν, Κωνσταντα τὸν υἱὸν ἀντὶ Καίσαρος βασιλέα καταστήσας, ἐβουλευέτο τὴν Ἰταλίαν καταλαβεῖν· καὶ παραμείψας τὰς Κοττίας Ἀλπεὶς ἤκεν εἰς Λιβερῶνα πόλιν τῆς Λιγουρίας. μέλλων δὲ περαιωθῆναι τὸν Ἡριδανὸν τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ἀνέστρεψε, μαθὼν τὸν Ἀλαβίχου θάνατον· ὃν δὴ στρατηγὸν Ὀνωρίου ὄντα καὶ ὑποπτον ὡς Κωνσταντῖνῳ πραγματευόμενον πᾶσαν τὴν πρὸς τὴν δύσιν ἡγεμονίαν, ἀναιρεθῆναι συνέβη τότε, προηγούμενον, ὥς ἔθος, ἐπανιόντος ἐκ προόδου τῶν τοῦ

4 Λιβερῶνα codd. [Βέρωνα Valesius, Bidez

the chief of the notaries. They told Attalus that they had been sent by Honorius to discuss sharing the sovereignty. This Attalus rejected, but he offered to allow Honorius, without suffering any harm, to retire to an island or any other place of his own choosing. This pleased Jovian, who added that Honorius should be mutilated in one limb. Attalus censured Jovian for this suggestion, saying that it was not customary to mutilate an Emperor who had willingly resigned his office. Jovian, having shuttled between the two Emperors often and to no avail, remained with Attalus and was given the title of Attalus' patrician. At Ravenna power then passed to the chamberlain Eusebius. However, after a time, as a result of the manoeuvrings of Allobich, by public decree he was beaten to death with rods before the eyes of the Emperor.

After a while Attalus, who refused to take orders from Alaric, was deposed at the urging of Jovian (the betrayer of his mission for Honorius) and chose to remain with Alaric as a private individual. Then, some time later he became Emperor again and was again deposed. Later still he came to Ravenna where the fingers of his right hand were cut off and he was sentenced to exile.

## 15

1. (*Bibl. Cod.* 80, pp.170f.)

Shortly afterwards Allobich was put to death with the consent of the Emperor and before his eyes, and thus paid the penalty for his destruction of the chamberlain Eusebius. The usurper Constantine, who was marching to Ravenna to treat with Honorius, became afraid and turned back when he learned of the death of Allobich.

2. (Sozomen 9,12,4-6)

While things seemed to be proceeding as Constantine planned, he promoted his son Constans from Caesar to Augustus and laid plans to take Italy. Skirting the Cottian Alps, he came to Libarna,<sup>37</sup> a city of Liguria, and was about to cross the Po when he heard of Allobich's death, at which he retraced his steps. Allobich was one of Honorius' generals who was suspected of plotting to hand over the sovereignty of all the West to Constantine. It happened that he was killed as he was marching ahead of the Emperor, as was customary, when the latter was returning from



κρατοῦντος· ἤνικα δὴ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτίκα τοῦ ἵππου ἀποβάς δημοσίᾳ εὐχαριστήρια τῷ θεῷ ἠΐξατο ὡς προφανοῦς ἐπιβούλου ἀπαλλαγείς. Κωνσταντῖνος δὲ φεύγων τὴν Ἀρήλατον κατέλαβε, κατὰ ταῦτόν δὲ καὶ Κώνστας ὁ αὐτοῦ παῖς φεύγων ἐκ τῆς Ἰσπανίας, καταπεσοῦστος γὰρ τῆς Κωνσταντῖνου δυνάμεως ἀναλαβόντες ἑαυτοὺς Οὐάνδαλοί τε καὶ Σαυῆβοι καὶ Ἀλανοὶ σπουδῇ τὸ Πυρρηναῖον ὄρος κατέλαβον, εὐδαίμονα καὶ πλουσιωτάτην τὴν χώραν ἀκούοντες. 15 παρημεληκότων τε τῶν ἐπιτραπέντων παρὰ Κώνσταντος τὴν φρουρὰν τῆς παρόδου παρήλθον εἰς Ἰσπανίαν.

## 16

(*Bibl. Cod.* 80, p.171)

Ὅτι το Ῥήγιον μητρόπολις ἐστὶ τῆς Βρεττίας, ἐξ οὗ φησὶν ὁ ἱστορικός Ἀλάρικον ἐπὶ Συκελίαν βουλόμενον περαιωθῆναι ἐπισχεθῆναι· ἄγαλμα γάρ, φησί, τετελεσμένον ἱστάμενον ἐκώλυσε τὴν περαιώσιν. τετέλεστο δέ, ὡς μυθολογεῖ, παρὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀποτρόπαιον τε τοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰτνῆς πυρὸς καὶ πρὸς κώλυσιν παρόδου διὰ 5 θαλάσσης βαρβάρων· ἐν γὰρ τῷ ἐνὶ ποδὶ πῦρ ἀκοίμητον ἐτύγχανε, καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐτέρῳ ὕδωρ ἀδιάρθορον. οὐ καταλυθέντος, ὕστερον ἔκ τε τοῦ Αἰτναίου πυρὸς καὶ ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων βλάβας ἡ Συκελία ἐδέξατο. κατέστρεψε δὲ τὸ ἄγαλμα Ἀσκληπιὸς ὁ τῶν ἐν Συκελίᾳ κτημάτων Κωνσταντίου καὶ Πλακιδίας διοικητῆς καταστάς. 10

## 17

1. (*Bibl. Cod.* 80, pp.171f.)

Ὅτι Κωνσταντῖνου τοῦ τυράννου καὶ Κώνσταντος τοῦ παιδός, ὃς πρότερον μὲν Καῖσαρ ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ βασιλεὺς ἐκεχειροτόνητο, τούτων ἡττηθέντων καὶ πεφευγόντων, Γερόντιος ὁ στρατηγός, τὴν πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀσμενίσας εἰρήνην, Μάξιμον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ παῖδα, εἰς τὴν τῶν δομεστίκων τάξιν τελούντα, βασιλέα ἀναγορεύει· εἰτα 5 ἐπιδιδώσας Κώνσταντα κατεπράξατο ἀναρεθῆναι, καὶ κατὰ πόδας εἶπετο διώκων καὶ τὸν πατέρα Κωνσταντῖνον. ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἐγίνετο, Κωνσταντῖνος καὶ Οὐλφιλάς ἀποστέλλονται παρὰ Ὀνωρίου κατὰ Κωνσταντῖνον, καὶ καταλαβόντες τὴν Ἀρήλατον, ἐνθα τὰς διατριβὰς ἐποιεῖτο Κωνσταντῖνος σὺν Ἰουλιανῷ τῷ παιδί, ταύτην πολιορκοῦσι. 10 καὶ Κωνσταντῖνος καταφυγὼν εἰς εὐκτῆριον πρεσβύτερος τότε χειροτονεῖται, ὅρκων αὐτῷ ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας δοθέντων· καὶ τοῖς πολιορκούσιν αἱ πύλαι τῆς πόλεως ἀναπετάννυνται. καὶ πέμπεται σὺν τῷ υἱῷ Κωνσταντῖνος πρὸς Ὀνώριον· ὁ δὲ μνησικακῶν αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνεψιῶν αὐτοῦ, οὓς ἐτύγχανε Κωνσταντῖνος ἀνελὼν, πρὸ τριάκοντα 15

15 αὐτοῦ Bekker [αὐτοῦ codd.]

some procession. On that occasion the Emperor dismounted and publicly gave thanks to God for his deliverance from a manifest plotter.<sup>38</sup> Constantine in retreat reached Arles at the same time as his son Constans, who was in flight from Spain. For when Constantine's power collapsed, the Vandals, Sueves and Alans regrouped themselves, speedily seized the Pyrenees mountains, hearing that the land there was fertile and very rich, and entered Spain. For those to whom Constans had entrusted the guarding of the pass neglected their duty.<sup>39</sup>

## 16

(*Bibl. Cod.* 80, p.171)

Rhegium is the metropolis of Bruttium. According to the historian, Alaric wished to cross from there to Sicily, but was prevented. The reason, he says, was that a statue, endowed with magic powers, was standing there and it thwarted the crossing. The story is that this statue was consecrated by the ancients to ward off the fires of Etna and to prevent the barbarians from crossing by sea. In one foot there was a perpetual flame, in the other a never-ending spring. When it was destroyed, Sicily later suffered harm from both Etna's fires and the barbarians. It was Asclepius, who had been appointed steward of the Sicilian estates of Constantius and Placidia, who overthrew the statue.

## 17

1. (*Bibl. Cod.* 80, pp.171f.)

When Constantine the usurper and his son Constans, whom he had first named Caesar and then Augustus, had been beaten and put to flight, the general Gerontius eagerly made peace with the barbarians and proclaimed Emperor his own son<sup>40</sup> Maximus, who was enrolled in the corps of the *domestici*. Then he pursued Constans and brought about his death and dogged the steps of his father Constantine also. While these things were happening, Constantius and Ulfilas, who had been sent by Honorius against Constantine, reached Arles, where Constantine was staying with his son Julian, and besieged the city. Constantine fled to an oratory where he was ordained priest after oaths had been given to him for his safety. Then the gates of the city were opened to the besiegers. Constantine and his son were sent to Honorius, who held a grudge against them because of his cousins whom Constantine had killed and ordered them to be executed thirty miles from

τῆς Ῥαβέννης μιλῶν παρὰ τοὺς ὄρκους προστάττει τούτους ἀναιρεθῆναι· Γερόντιος δὲ παραγενομένων Οὐλφιλᾶ καὶ Κωνσταντίνου φεύγει, καὶ καταληφθεὶς, ὅτι ἐγκρατῶς ἦρχε τοῦ οἰκείου στρατοῦ, ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐκεῖνων ἐπιβουλεύεται· πῦρ γὰρ κατὰ τῆς οἰκίας αὐτοῦ ἀνῆψαν. ὁ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπαναστάντας κρατερῶς ἐμάχετο, ἕνα συναγωνιστὴν ἔχων Ἀλανὸν τὸ γένος, εἰς δούλους αὐτοῦ ἀριθμούμενον. τέλος τὸν τε Ἀλανὸν καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα, τοῦτο προθυμουμένους, ἀναιρεῖ, ἐπικατασφάζει δὲ καὶ ἑαυτὸν. Μάξιμος δὲ ὁ παῖς ταῦτα μαθὼν πρὸς τοὺς ὑποσπόνδους φεύγει βαρβάρους.

## 2. (Sozomen 9,13,1 - 15,3)

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Γερόντιος ὁ τῶν Κωνσταντίνου στρατηγῶν ἄριστος δυσμενὴς αὐτῷ γέγονεν· ἐπιτήδειόν τε εἰς τυραννίδα Μάξιμον τὸν αὐτοῦ οἰκεῖον νομίσας βασιλικὴν ἐνέδυσεν ἐσθῆτα καὶ ἐν Ταρακῶνι διάγειν εἶσεν. αὐτὸς δὲ Κωνσταντίνῳ ἐπεστράτευσεν, ἐν παρόδῳ Κῶνσταντα τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν Βιέννῃ ὄντα ἀναιρεθῆναι παρασκευάσας. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔμαθε Κωνσταντίνος τὰ κατὰ Μάξιμον, Ἐδόβιχον μὲν τὸν αὐτοῦ στρατηγὸν πέραν τοῦ Ῥήνου πέπομρε Φράγκων τε καὶ Ἀλαμανῶν συμμαχίαν προτρεψόμενον, Κῶνσταντι δὲ τῷ αὐτοῦ παιδί Βιέννης καὶ τῶν τῆδε πόλεων τὴν φυλακὴν ἐπέτρεψε. καὶ Γερόντιος μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀρήλατον ἐλάσας ἐπολιόρκει τὴν πόλιν, μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ στρατιᾶς Ὀνωρίου κατὰ τοῦ τυράννου παραγενομένης, ἧς ἡγεῖτο Κωνσταντίνος ὁ τοῦ Οὐαλεντινιανοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως πατὴρ, φεύγει παραχρῆμα μετ' ὀλίγων στρατιωτῶν· οἱ γὰρ πλείους τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κωνσταντίνον προσεχώρησαν. οἱ δὲ ἐν Ἰσπανίᾳ στρατιῶται εὐκαταφρόνητον ἀπὸ τῆς φυγῆς δόξαντα τὸν Γερόντιον ἐβουλεύσαντο ἀνελεῖν· καὶ φραξάμενοι νύκτωρ αὐτοῦ τὴν οἰκίαν κατέδραμον. ὁ δὲ μεθ' ἑνὸς Ἀλανοῦ ἐπιτηδεῖον καὶ ὀλίγων οἰκετῶν ἀνωθεν τοξεύων ὑπὲρ τοὺς τριακοσίους ἀναιρεῖ στρατιώτας. ἐπιλειψάντων δὲ τῶν βελῶν φεύγουσιν οἱ οἰκέται καθέντες ἑαυτοὺς λάθρα ἀπὸ τοῦ οἰκήματος. Γερόντιος δὲ τὸν ἴσον τρόπον διασωθῆναι δυνάμενος οὐχ εἶλετο, κατασχεθεὶς ἔρωτι Νοννυχίας τῆς αὐτοῦ γαμετῆς. περὶ δὲ τὴν ἕω πῦρ ἐμβαλόντων τῇ οἰκίᾳ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οὐκ ἔχων λοιπὸν σωτηρίας ἐλπίδα ἐκόντος τοῦ συνόντος αὐτῷ Ἀλανοῦ ἀποτέμνει τὴν κεφαλὴν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τῆς ἰδίας γαμετῆς, ὀλοφυρομένης καὶ μετὰ δακρύων προσωθοῦσης ἑαυτὴν τῷ ξίφει καὶ πρὶν ὅρ' ἑτέροις γενέσθαι παρὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀποθανεῖν αἰτούσης καὶ τοῦτο δῶρον ὕστατον παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν ἀντιβολουμένης. καὶ ἡ μὲν ἀνδρεία γυνὴ τῆς θρησκείας ἐπαξίως (ἦν γὰρ Χριστιανή) ὥδε τέθνηκε, κρεῖττονα

Ravenna contrary to the oaths. Gerontius, who had fled at the arrival of Constantius and Ulphilas, because he had been a firm commander fell victim to a conspiracy of his own troops, who ambushed him, setting fire to his house. With the help of one of his slaves, an Alan by race, he fought stoutly against his assailants, but finally killed the Alan and his own wife at their request and then ran himself through. When this news reached his son Maximus, he fled to the barbarian allies.

## 2. (Sozomen 9,13,1 - 15,3)

Meanwhile Gerontius, the best of Constantine's generals, became hostile to him and, thinking that his own dependent Maximus was well qualified to be Emperor, clothed him in the imperial raiment and allowed him to reside in Tarraco. He himself marched against Constantine and on the way killed his son Constans at Vienne.<sup>41</sup> When Constantine learned that Maximus had been made Emperor, he sent his general Edobich across the Rhine to obtain reinforcements from the Franks and the Alamanni and entrusted to his own son Constans the defence of Vienne and the other cities of the region. Gerontius attacked Arles and besieged the city, but when shortly afterwards an army arrived which Honorius had sent against the usurper and which was led by Constantius, the father of the Emperor Valentinian, Gerontius fled in haste with a few of his troops, since the majority joined Constantius' forces. The Spanish soldiery, thinking that Gerontius seemed an object of scorn as a result of his flight, plotted to destroy him and, surrounding his house during the night, attacked it.<sup>42</sup> But he, with one Alan friend and a few dependents, poured arrows down upon the soldiers and killed over three hundred of them. When the arrows had run out the dependents escaped by letting themselves down secretly from the building. Gerontius could have done likewise, but love for his wife Nonnichia detained him. Around daybreak the soldiers set fire to the house and, since all hope of safety had gone, Gerontius, at the request of the Alan, who had stayed with him, cut off his head. Thereupon Gerontius' wife, with tears and lamentations, threw herself upon the sword, demanding to die by her husband's hand before she came into the power of others and beseeching him to grant her this last gift. In this way the brave woman died a death worthy of her religion (for she was a Christian) and handed down to posterity an immortal memory

21 *Νοννυχίας* codd. [*Νοννυχίας* Valesius  
aliqui codd.]

28 *φανείσα* post *ἐπαξίως* add.

λήθης τὴν περὶ αὐτῆς μῆμην τῷ χρόνῳ παραδοῦσα· Γερόντιος δὲ  
 τρίτον ἑαυτὸν τῷ ξίρει παίσας, ὥς οὐ καιρίαν λαβὼν ἦσθετο, σπασά- 30  
 μενος τὸ παρὰ τὸν μηρὸν ξιφίδιον κατὰ τῆς καρδίας ἤλασε.

Κωνσταντῶς δὲ περικαθημένης τῆς Ὀνωρίου στρατιᾶς ἔτι  
 πρὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν ἀντεῖχεν, ἀγγελλθέντος Ἐδοβίχου μετὰ πλείστης  
 συμμαχίας ἦξεν. τοῦτο δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ὀνωρίου στρατηγούς οὐ μετρίως 35  
 ἐφόβει· βουλευσαμένων τε αὐτῶν ἀναστρέφειν εἰς Ἰταλίαν κάκεῖ  
 πειραθῆναι τοῦ πολέμου καί, ἐπειδὴ τοῦτο συνεδόκει, πλησίον ἀγγελ-  
 λθέντος Ἐδοβίχου περῶσι Ῥοδανὸν τὸν ποταμόν, καὶ Κωνσταντίος 40  
 μὲν ἔχων τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐπιόντας περιμένει τοὺς πολεμίους, Οὐλφίλας  
 δὲ ὁ Κωνσταντίου συστράτηγος οὐ πόρρωθεν ἀποκρυβεῖς μετὰ τῶν  
 ἱππέων ἐλάνθανεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν λόχον παραμείψαντες ἡ Ἐδοβίχου 45  
 στρατιὰ ἐμελλον εἰς χεῖρας ἵεναι τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Κωνσταντίον, σημείου  
 δοθέντος ἐξαπνῆς ἀναφανείς Οὐλφίλας κατὰ νώτου τῶν πολεμίων  
 ἤλαυνεν· αὐτίκα τε τροπῆς γενομένης οἱ μὲν φεύγουσιν, οἱ δὲ ἀναι-  
 ροῦνται· οἱ δὲ πλείους τὰ ὄπλα ἀποθέμενοι συγγνώμην ἤτησαν καὶ 50  
 φειδοῦς ἡξιώθησαν. Ἐδοβίχος δὲ ἵππου ἐπιβάς ἔφυγεν εἰς ἀγρόν τινα  
 πρὸς Ἐκδικίον τὸν κεκτημένον, πλείστα παρ' αὐτοῦ Ἐδοβίχου  
 πρότερον εὐηργετημένον καὶ φίλον νομιζόμενον. ὁ δὲ τὴν αὐτοῦ  
 κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμὼν προσφέρει τοῖς Ὀνωρίου στρατηγοῖς ἐπ' ἐλπίδι  
 μεγάλων δώρων καὶ τιμῆς. Κωνσταντίος δὲ τὴν μὲν κεφαλὴν  
 δεχθῆναι προσέταξε, χάρῳ ἔχεω Ἐκδικίῳ τὸ δημόσιον εἰπὼν τῆς 55  
 ἀφίλου πράξεως· συνεῖναι δὲ σπουδάζοντα αὐτὸν ἀναχωρῆσαι  
 ἐκέλευσεν, οὐκ ἀγαθὴν ἡγησάμενος κακοῦ ξενοδόχου τὴν συνουσίαν  
 ἔσεσθαι αὐτῷ ἢ τῇ στρατιᾷ. καὶ ὁ μὲν φίλου ἀνδρὸς καὶ ξένου ἐν  
 δυσπραγίᾳ διακειμένου ἀνοσιώτατον φόνον τολμήσας κατὰ κενῆς,  
 τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τοῦ λόγου, χανὼν ἀπῆλθε. 60

Μετὰ δὲ τὴν νίκην ἀντιπεραιωθείσης αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τῆς  
 Ὀνωρίου στρατιᾶς, μαθὼν Κωνσταντῶς ἀνηρῆσθαι τὸν Ἐδοβίχον  
 αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ τὴν ἀλουργίδα καὶ τὰ τῆς βασιλείας σύμβολα ἀπέθετο·  
 καὶ καταλαβὼν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν χειροτονεῖται πρεσβύτερος. ὄρκους 60  
 τε πρότερον λαβόντες οἱ ἔσω τειχῶν ἀνοίγουσι τὰς πύλας καὶ  
 φειδοῦς ἀξιοῦνται πάντες. καὶ τὸ ἐξ ἐκεῖνου πάλιν τὸ τῇδε ὑπήκουον εἰς  
 τὴν Ὀνωρίου ἡγεμονίαν ἐπαγγέλθη καὶ τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτὸν ἄρχουσιν  
 ἐπέειπετο. Κωνσταντῶς δὲ ἅμα Ἰουλιανῷ τῷ παιδί παραπεμφθεῖς  
 εἰς Ἰταλίαν, πρὶν φθάσαι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν κτύννεται.

40-41 ἡ Ἐδοβίχου στρατιὰ alt. οἱ πολέμοι τοῦ Οὐλφίλα τῇ στρατιᾷ 51 ἀφίλου  
 alt. Οὐλφίλα

of herself. Thirdly, Gerontius struck himself with his sword and, when  
 he realised that the blow was not fatal, drew the dagger which he  
 carried by his thigh and plunged it into his heart.

Although Honorius' army was still pressing the siege of Arles,  
 Constantine refused to yield since he had been informed that Edobich  
 was on his way with a very large army of reinforcements. This news  
 greatly alarmed Honorius' generals, who decided to fall back to Italy  
 and prosecute the war there. When they had agreed upon this course of  
 action, it was reported that Edobich was close at hand. They crossed  
 the Rhone, and Constantius with the infantry awaited the enemy's  
 attack, while Ulfilas, his co-commander, remained in ambush with the  
 cavalry. When Edobich's army had passed by the ambush and began to  
 engage with Constantius' force, at a given signal Ulfilas suddenly  
 charged and took the enemy from the rear. The rout was immediate:  
 some fled, some were killed, but most threw down their weapons,  
 called for quarter and received it. Edobich mounted a horse and fled to  
 the lands possessed<sup>43</sup> by one Ecdicius, for whom in the past he had  
 performed many favours and whom he thought to be his friend. But  
 Ecdicius cut off his head and took it to Honorius' generals hoping to  
 receive great gifts and high honour as a reward. Constantius ordered  
 the head to be accepted and declared that the state thanked Ecdicius  
 for his unfriendly action.<sup>44</sup> But when Ecdicius sought to stay with him  
 Constantius ordered him to depart, thinking that the presence of one  
 who had been such a poor host would be a bad thing both for himself  
 and for the army. Thus, having committed the sin of murdering a friend  
 and a guest in dire straits, Ecdicius went away, his mouth agape to no  
 avail, as the saying goes.<sup>45</sup>

After the victory, the army of Honorius re-crossed the river and  
 recommenced the siege of the city. When Constantine learned that  
 Edobich had been destroyed, he himself put off the purple and the  
 symbols of sovereignty and, entering a church, was ordained priest.  
 Those within the walls, having first received oaths of safety, opened  
 the gates and all were spared. Thenceforth the population of that area  
 again came under Honorius' sovereignty and obeyed his governors.  
 Constantine and Julian his son were sent to Italy, but they were killed  
 before they arrived.

## 18

(Bibl. Cod. 80, pp.172f.)

Ὅτι Ἰοβῶνος ἐν Μουνδιακῷ τῆς ἐτέρας Γερμανίας κατὰ σπουδὴν Γῶαρ τοῦ Ἀλανοῦ καὶ Γυντιαρίου, ὃς φύλαρχος ἐχρημάτιζε τῶν Βουργουντιόνων, τύραννος ἀνηγορεύθη. πρὸς δὲ παραγενέσθαι Ἀτταλὸς Ἀδαούλφον παρανεῖ· καὶ παραγίνεται ἅμα τοῦ πλήθους. καὶ Ἰοβῶνος ἀνιᾶται ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀδαούλφου παρουσίᾳ καὶ μέμρεται δι' ἀνιγμάτων τῷ παρανέσαντι Ἀτταλῷ τὴν θρῆξιν. καὶ Σάρως δὲ ἐμελλε πρὸς Ἰοβῶνον παραγενέσθαι· ἀλλ' Ἀδαούλφος τοῦτο μαθὼν προῦπαντιάζει χιλιάδας δέκα συνεπαγόμενος στρατιώτην, ἔχοντι ἄνδρας περὶ αὐτὸν Σάρω ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἢ καὶ εἴκοσιν. δὲ ἔργα ἡρώϊκα καὶ θαυμάσια ἔξια ἐπιδειξάμενον μόλις σόκκοις ἐξώγρησαν, καὶ ὕστερον ἀναιροῦσι. Σάρως δ' ἦν ἀποστὰς Ὀνωρίου ὅτι Βελλερίδου, ὃς ἦν αὐτῷ δομέστικος, ἀναιρεθέντος οὐδεὶς λόγος τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς ἀναιρέσεως οὐδὲ τοῦ φόνου γίνεται εἴσπραξις.

(Cf. Sozomen 9,15,3 = Fr. 20,2; Philostorgius 12,6 = Fr. 20,3)

3 δὲν M [ὁδὸς A<sup>2</sup> 4 τοῦ πλήθους A [τῷ πληθὺ M 9 Σάρω edd. [Ἀσάρω codd., Henry 10 σόκκοις A [σάκκοις M

## 19

(Bibl. Cod. 80, p.173)

Ὅτι διαλαμβάνει περὶ Δονάτου καὶ περὶ τῶν Οὐννων, καὶ περὶ τῶν ῥηγῶν αὐτῶν τῆς εὐρυεστάτης τοξείας, καὶ ὡς πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ Δόνατον ὁ ἱστορικὸς ἐπρέσβευσε. καὶ τὴν διὰ θαλάσσης αὐτοῦ πλάνην ἐκτραγωδεῖ καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον. καὶ ὅπως ὄρκω Δόνατος ἀπατηθεὶς ἐκθέσμως ἀποσφάζεται, καὶ ὅπως Χαράτων, ὁ τῶν ῥηγῶν πρῶτος, ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ εἰς θυμὸν ἀνάπτεται, ὅπως τε πάλιν βασιλικαῖς δώροις διαπραῖνεται καὶ ἡσυχάζει· ἐν οἷς καὶ ἡ πρώτη τῆς ἱστορίας δεκάλογος.

3 αὐτοῦ Bekker [αὐτοῦ codd.

## 20

1. (Bibl. Cod. loc.cit.)

Ἀρχεται δὲ ἡ δευτέρα ὥδε, ὅτι Ἰοβῶνος, παρὰ γνώμην Ἀδαούλφου τὸν ἴδιον ἀδελφὸν Σεβαστιανὸν βασιλέα χειροτονήσας, εἰς ἐχθρὰν Ἀδαούλφῳ κατέστη· καὶ πέμπει Ἀδαούλφῳ πρὸς Ὀνωρίῳ πρέσβεις ὑποσχόμενος τὰς τε τῶν τυράννων κεφαλὰς καὶ εἰρήνην ἄγειν. ὡς ὑποστρεψάντων καὶ ὄρκων μεσιτευσάντων Σεβαστιανοῦ μὲν πέμπεται τῷ βασιλεῖ ἡ κεφαλὴ, Ἰοβῶνος δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀδαούλφου πολιορκούμενος ἑαυτὸν ἐκδίδωσι. καὶ πέμπεται κἀκεῖνος τῷ βασιλεῖ.

## 18

(Bibl. Cod. 80, pp.172f.)

At Mundiacum<sup>46</sup> in Second Germany Jovinus was proclaimed Emperor with the support of Goar the Alan and Guntarius, whose title was tribal chief of the Burgundians. Attalus advised Ataulf to join Jovinus, which he did together with his army. Jovinus was distressed by the presence of Ataulf and in oblique terms<sup>47</sup> blamed Attalus, who had advised him to come. Sarus, too, was on his way to join Jovinus, but Ataulf, when he learned this, went out to meet him with an army of ten thousand men. Although Sarus had with him only eighteen or twenty men, he performed heroic deeds remarkable to recount, and was only with difficulty captured alive with lassoes<sup>48</sup> and later put to death. Sarus had left Honorius because when Belleridus his attendant had been killed, the Emperor neither explained the death nor punished the murder.

(Cf. Sozomen 9,15,3 = Fr. 20,2; Philostorgius 12,6 = Fr. 20,3)

## 19

(Bibl. Cod. 80, p.173)

[Olympiodorus] discusses Donatus and the Huns and the natural talent of their kings for archery. The historian describes the embassy on which he went to them and to Donatus and he waxes tragical on his wanderings over the sea and the danger he faced. He tells how Donatus was deceived by an oath and wickedly killed, how Charaton, the first of the kings, flared up with rage at the murder and how he was calmed down and pacified with regal gifts. This marks the end of the first group of ten books.<sup>49</sup>

## 20

1. (Bibl. Cod. loc.cit.)

The second part of the History begins as follows. Against the wish of Ataulf Jovinus named his own brother, Sebastian, Emperor and incurred Ataulf's enmity. The latter sent an embassy to Honorius promising him both the heads of the usurpers and a peace treaty. The embassy returned, oaths were exchanged and the head of Sebastian was sent to the Emperor. Jovinus was besieged by Ataulf and surrendered. He was sent to the Emperor, but the prefect Dardanus, when he had

ὃν αὐθεντήσας Δάρδανος ὁ ἑπαρχος ἀναιρεῖ· καὶ ἀποτίθενται ἄμφω αἱ κεφαλαὶ Καρθαγένης ἔξωθεν, ἔνθα καὶ ἡ Κωνσταντίνου καὶ ἡ Ἰουλιανοῦ ἀπετμήθησαν πρότερον, ἢ τε Μαξιμίνου καὶ ἡ Εὐγενίου, οἳ ἐπὶ Θεοδοσίου τοῦ μεγάλου τυραννίδι ἐπιθέμενοι, εἰς τοῦτο τέλους κατέστρεψαν.

9 Καρθαγένης codd. [Ῥαβέννης Schottus Labbaeus.

10 Μαξιμίνου codd. [Μαξιμου

## 2. (Sozomen 9,15,3)

Οὐ πολλῶ δὲ ὕστερον ἀδοκῆτως ἀναιροῦνται Ἰωβιανός τε καὶ Μάξιμος οἱ προειρημένοι τύραννοι καὶ Σάρος καὶ ἄλλοι πλείστοι ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐπιβουλευσάντες τῇ Ὀνωρίου βασιλείᾳ.

## [3. (Philostorgius 12,6)

Κατὰ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους Ἰωβιανός τε ἐπανεῴσθη <τῷ βασιλεῖ, καὶ ταχὺ> εἰς φθορὰν ἀπέσβη, καὶ Σεβαστιανὸς ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἴσοις ἐποφθαλμήσας τὴν ἰσὴν ἔδωκε δίκην.]

1-2 τῷ βασιλεῖ, καὶ ταχὺ add. Bochart in lac. xiii litterarum

## [21]

[(Philostorgius 12,6)

<Ὁ δ' Ἡρακλειανὸς> μιμησάμενος τούτους καὶ πλέον τῷ τῆς τύχης γέλῳ ἐπιβάς, εὐκλεεστέραν ἔσχευεν τὴν καταστροφὴν . . .]

1 Ὁ δ' Ἡρακλειανὸς add. Gothofredus in lac. xii litterarum

## 22

### 1. (Bibl. Cod. 80, pp.173f.)

Ἀταῦλος δὲ Πλακιδίαν ἀπηρτεῖτο κατὰ σπουδὴν μάλιστα Κωνσταντίου, ὃς ὕστερον αὐτῇ καὶ εἰς γάμον ἔξευξεν. ἀλλὰ τῶν πρὸς Ἀταῦλον ὑποσχέσεων μὴ περαιουμένων, καὶ μάλιστα τῆς οὐτοπομπίας, οὔτε ταύτην ἀπεδίδου καὶ εἰς μάχην ἐμελετᾶτο τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης διαλύεσθαι.

### 2. (Bibl. Cod. 80, p.174)

Ὅτι Ἀταῦλος ἀπαιτούμενος Πλακιδίαν ἀνταπῆται τὸν ὀριζέντα σῖτον. ἀπόρων δ' ὄντων τῶν ὑποσχομένων εἰς τὸ δοῦναι, οὐδὲν δὲ ἦττον ὁμολογούντων, εἰ λάβοιεν Πλακιδίαν παρασχεῖν, καὶ ὁ βάρβαρος τὰ ὅμοια ὑπεκρίνετο, καὶ πρὸς Μασσαλίαν, πόλιν οὕτω καλουμένην, παραγενόμενος δόλῳ ταύτην λαβεῖν ἤλπισεν. ἔνθα πληγεὶς Βουηκρατίου τοῦ γενναιωτάτου βαλόντος, καὶ μόλις τὸν θάνατον διαφυγών, εἰς τὰς οἰκίας ὑπεχώρησε σκηνάς, τὴν πόλιν ἐν εὐθυμίᾳ

him in his power, slew him. Both of the heads were exposed outside Carthage, in the same place where the heads of Constantine and Julian had been cut off earlier and where those of Maximinus and Eugenius, who had tried usurpation during the reign of Theodosius the Great, had met the same end.<sup>50</sup>

## 2. (Sozomen 9,15,3)

Shortly afterwards Jovianus and Maximus, the aforementioned usurpers, were unexpectedly killed and Sarus and many others who plotted against the Emperor Honorius during these times.<sup>51</sup>

## [3. (Philostorgius 12,6)

During the same period Jovianus revolted <from the Emperor and quickly> came to destruction, and his brother Sebastian, who had similar ambitions, paid the same penalty.]

## [21]

[(Philostorgius 12,6)

<Heraclian> followed their example [i.e. of Jovinus and Sebastian] and, having for the amusement of fortune enjoyed greater success, he suffered a more disgraceful downfall . . .]<sup>52</sup>

## 22

### 1. (Bibl. Cod. 80, pp.173f.)

Ataulf was asked to return Placidia at the urging especially of Constantius, who later married her. But when the promises to Ataulf, especially that to supply grain, were not met, he did not hand over Placidia and prepared to break the peace and make war.

### 2. (Bibl. Cod. 80, p.174)

When Ataulf was asked to return Placidia, he demanded the grain which had been promised. Although they could not fulfil their promises, they nevertheless swore to deliver it, if they received Placidia. The barbarian pretended to agree and advanced to the city named Marseilles, which he hoped to capture by treachery. There he was wounded by a blow from the most noble Boniface and, barely escaping death, he retired to his own tent, leaving the city rejoicing and full

λιπών καὶ δι' ἐπαύων καὶ εὐρημίας ποιουμένην Βοηφράτιον.

3. (*Bibl. Cod. loc.cit.*)

Ὅτι Ἀδαούλφος τὸν γάμον μελετῶν Πλακιδίας, Κωνσταντίου ταύτην ἀπαιτοῦντος βαρυτέρας προὔτεωεν αἰτήσεις, ἵνα διὰ τὴν ἀποτυχίαν τῶν αἰτήσεων εὐλογον δόξῃ τὴν κατάσχεσιν αὐτῆς πεποιηκέναι.

23

(*Bibl. Cod. 80, pp.174f.*)

Ὅτι Κωνσταντίου δισίγνατος πάλαι γεγωνὼς ὕπατος κατὰ τὴν Ῥάβενναν προέρχεται, μεθ' οὗ κατὰ τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν ὑπατεύει Κώνστας· καὶ χρυσίον μὲν σύμμετρον καὶ ἱκανὸν πρὸς τὸ τῆς ὑπατείας ἀνάλωμα εὑρηται ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Ἡρακλειανοῦ ὅς τυραννίδα μελετῶν ἀνῆρτητο, οὐ μὴν γε τοσοῦτον εὐρέθη ὅσον καὶ ἠλπίζετο· χρυσίον μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ μέχρι κεντηναρίων κ' εὑρηται, ἡ δὲ ἀκίνητος αὐτοῦ οὐσία καὶ αὐτὴ εἰς δισχιλίας λίτρας συνέτεωε, καὶ ταύτην ἅπασαν τὴν ὑπόστασιν Κωνσταντίος ἐκ μιᾶς αἰτήσεως παρὰ Ὀνωρίου εἰλήφει.

Ἦν δὲ Κωνσταντίος ἐν μὲν ταῖς προόδους κατηφὴς καὶ σκυθρωπός, μεγαλόφθαλμός τε καὶ μεγαλὴν καὶ πλατυκέφαλος, νεύων διόλου ἐπὶ τὸν τράχηλον τοῦ φέροντος αὐτὸν ἵππου, καὶ οὕτω τῇδε κάκεισε λοξὸν ἐκπέμπων τὸ ὄμμα, ὥς (τὸ τοῦ λόγου) πᾶσι φαίνεσθαι εἶδος ὀξίου τυραννίδος. ἐν δὲ δειπνοῖς καὶ συμποσίοις τερπνὸς καὶ πολιτικός, ὥς καὶ ἐρίζεω τοῖς μίμοις πολλάκις παίζουσι πρὸ τῆς τραπέζης.

12 οὕτω Bekker [οὕτω codd.]

24

(*Bibl. Cod. 80, p.175*)

Ὅτι Ἀδαούλφω σπουδῇ καὶ ὑποθήκῃ Κανδιδιανοῦ ὁ πρὸς Πλακιδίαν συντελεῖται γάμος· μὴν δ' Ἰαννουάριος ἐνειστήκει, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς πόλεως Νάρβωνος, ἐν οἰκίᾳ Ἰγγενίου τῶς πρώτου τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει· ἐνθα προκαθελθούσης Πλακιδίας ἐν παστάδι τε Ῥωμαϊκῶς ἐσκευασμένη καὶ σχήματι βασιλικῷ, συγκαθέζεται αὐτῇ καὶ Ἀδαούλφος ἐνδεδυμένος χλανίδα καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ῥωμαίων ἐσθῆτα. ἐν οἷς μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων γαμικῶν δώρων δωρεῖται Ἀδαούλφος καὶ ν' εὐειδεῖς νεανίας σπηκὴν ἐνδεδυμένους ἐσθῆτα, φέροντος ἐκάστου ταῖς χερσὶν ἀνὰ δύο μεγίστων δίσκων, ὧν ὁ μὲν χρυσοῖον πλήρης, ὁ δὲ τιμίων λίθων, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀτιμίων ἐτύγγανεν· ἃ τῆς Ῥώμης

6 Ῥωμαίων M [Ῥωμαίων A]

of praise and acclaim for Boniface.

3. (*Bibl. Cod. loc.cit.*)

Ataulf was preparing to marry Placidia and, since Constantius was demanding her return, he increased his demands so that, when those were not met, he might seem to have acted reasonably in detaining her.

23

(*Bibl. Cod. 80, pp.174f.*)

Constantius, having been earlier named consul designate, entered his consulship at Ravenna, with Constans his fellow consul at Constantinople. Enough gold to cover the costs of the consulship was found amongst the estate of Heraclian (who had been killed while attempting usurpation), although not as much was found as expected. For a little less than two thousand pounds of gold were found, and his land and buildings came to two thousand *litrai*. All of this estate Constantius received from Honorius in response to a single request.

In public processions Constantius was downcast and sullen, a man with bulging eyes, a long neck and a broad head, who always slumped over the neck of the horse he was riding, darting glances here and there out of the corners of his eyes, so that all saw in him "a mien worthy of a tyrant", as the saying goes. But at banquets and parties he was so cheerful and affable that he even competed with the clowns who often played before his table.

24

(*Bibl. Cod. 80, p.175*)

With the advice and encouragement of Candidianus, Ataulf married Placidia at the beginning of the month of January in the city of Narbo at the house of Ingenius, one of the leading citizens of the place. There Placidia, dressed in royal raiment, sat in a hall<sup>53</sup> decorated in the Roman manner, and by her side sat Ataulf, wearing a Roman general's cloak and other Roman clothing. Amidst the celebrations, along with other wedding gifts Ataulf gave Placidia fifty handsome young men dressed in silk clothes, each bearing aloft two very large dishes, one full of gold, the other full of precious — or rather, priceless — stones,

ὑπῆρχε κατὰ τὴν ἄλωσιν τοῖς Γότθοις ἀποσυληθέντα. εἶτα λέγονται καὶ ἐπιθαλάμοι, Ἀττάλου πρῶτον εἰπόντος, εἶτα Ῥουστικίου καὶ Φοιβადίου· καὶ συντελεῖται ὁ γάμος παιζόντων καὶ χαιρόντων ὁμοῦ τῶν τε βαρβάρων καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς Ῥωμαίων. (Cf. Philostorgius 12.4)

## 25

(Bibl. Cod. loc.cit.)

Ὅτι μετὰ τὴν ὑπὸ Γότθων ἄλωσιν τῆς Ῥώμης Ἀλβῖνος ὁ τῆς Ῥώμης ἑπαρχος, ἥδη ταύτης πάλιν ἀποκαθισταμένης, ἔγραψε μὴ ἐξαρκεῖν τὸ χορηγούμενον μέρος τῷ δήμῳ εἰς πληθος ἥδη τῆς πόλεως ἐπιιδούσης· ἔγραψε γὰρ καὶ ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ τετάχθαι ἀριθμὸν χιλιάδων δεκατεσσάρων.

4 τετάχθαι M [τετέχθαι A δεδέχθαι Stein.]

## 26

1. (Bibl. Cod. 80, p.176)

Ὅτι Ἀδαούλφος τεχθέντος αὐτῷ ἐκ τῆς Πλακιδίας παιδός, ᾧ ἐπέθετο κλησὼν Θεοδόσιον, πλεόν ἡσπάζετο τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίων φιλίαν· Κωνσταντίου δὲ καὶ τῶν περὶ Κωνσταντίον ἀντιπραττόντων ἔμενεν ἀπρακτος ἡ τούτου καὶ Πλακιδίας ὁρμή. τελευτήσαντος δὲ τοῦ παιδός, πένθος μέγα ποιῶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ δάπτουσαν ἐν λάρνακι καταθέντες ἀργυρᾷ πρὸ τῆς Βαρκέλλωνος ἐν τινι εὐκτηρίῳ. εἶτα ἀναιρεῖται καὶ Ἀδαούλφος, εἰς ἐπιτήρησιν τῶν οἰκείων ἵππων, ὡς εἴθιστο αὐτῷ, διατρίβων ἐν τῷ ἵππῳ. ἀναιρεῖ δὲ αὐτὸν εἷς τῶν οἰκείων Γότθων Δούβιος τοῦνομα, ἔχθραν παλαιὰν καιροφυλακήσας· πάλαι γὰρ ἦν ὁ τούτου δεσπότης, μοίρας Γοτθικῆς ῥήξ, ὑπὸ Ἀδαούλφου ἀνιρημένος, ἐξ οὗ καὶ τὸν Δούβιον λαβὼν Ἀδαούλφος ὥκει- 10 ὤσατο· ὁ δὲ τῷ πρώτῳ δεσπότη ἁμύνων τὸν δευτέρον διεχρήσατο.

Τελευτῶν δὲ Ἀδαούλφος προσέταττε τῷ ἰδίῳ ἀδελφῷ ἀποδοθῆναι τὴν Πλακιδίαν, καί, εἴ τι δύνασθαι, τὴν Ῥωμαίων φιλίαν ἑαυτοῖς περιποιήσασθαι. διάδοχος δὲ ὁ τοῦ Σάρου ἀδελφός Σιγ- 15 γέριχος σπουδῇ μᾶλλον καὶ δυναστεία ἢ ἀκολουθία καὶ νόμῳ γίνεται· ὁ δὲ τὰ τε παῖδα, ἃ ἐκ τῆς προτέρας γυναικὸς ἐτύγχανεν Ἀδαούλφου γεγεννημένα, ἀνείλε βία τῶν τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Σιγγίσσου κόλπων ἀποσπάσας, καὶ τὴν βασιλίδαν Πλακιδίαν εἰς ὕβριν Ἀδαούλφου ἐκ ποδός προσηγγίσασθαι τοῦ ἵππου ἅμα λοιπῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἐπέταξε· καὶ τὸ 20 διάστημα ἦν τῆς προπομπῆς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως μέχρι δωδεκάτου σημείου. ἐπτα δὲ ἡμέρας ἄρξας ἀναιρεῖται, ἡγεμὼν δὲ τῶν Γότθων Οὐαλίας καθίσταται.

20 λοιπῶν αἰχμαλώτων A [λοιποῖς αἰχμαλώτοις M]

which had been carried off by the Goths at the sack of Rome. Then nuptial hymns were sung, first by Attalus, then by Rusticius and Phoebadius. Then the ceremonies were completed amidst rejoicings and celebrations by both the barbarians and the Romans amongst them.<sup>54</sup> (Cf. Philostorgius 12.4)<sup>55</sup>

## 25

(Bibl. Cod. loc.cit.)

After the Gothic capture of Rome, the city was already recovering to such an extent that Albinus, the city prefect, wrote that the supplies allotted to the inhabitants were insufficient for the increased population of the city. For he wrote that in one day fourteen thousand persons had been entered on the rolls.<sup>56</sup>

## 26

1. (Bibl. Cod. 80, p.176)

When Placidia had borne him a son, whom he named Theodosius, Ataulf became even more friendly towards the Romans. But his and Placidia's desires remained unfulfilled in the face of the opposition by Constantius and his supporters. When the child died, his parents grieved for him greatly and buried him in a silver coffin in a chapel outside Barcelona. Then Ataulf himself was killed while, as was his custom, he was spending some time in the stable inspecting his horses. His slayer was one of his own dependents, Dubius by name, who had been waiting the chance to avenge an old grudge. For long ago his master, a king of part of the Goths, had been slain by Ataulf,<sup>57</sup> who afterwards took Dubius into his own service. So, in killing his second master Dubius avenged the first.

On his deathbed Ataulf told his brother to hand back Placidia and, if they could, ensure Roman friendship towards themselves. But Singeric, the brother of Sarus, by conspiracy and coup rather than by the Gothic law of succession, became his successor and he killed Ataulf's children by his first wife, tearing them by force from the arms of the bishop Sigisarus. To spite Ataulf he ordered his queen, Placidia, to walk before his horse with the rest of the prisoners for a distance of twelve miles from the city. After a reign of seven days Singeric was killed and Wallia was declared leader of the Goths.

[2. (Philostorgius 12,4-5)]

... ἐλπιδας τρέφων, ὡς αὐτὸς καταπολεμήσας Ἀδαυλφον τὴν Πλακιδίαν νυμφεύσαιο. οὐ πολὺ δὲ τὸ μέσον καὶ πολλὰ δραματούργησας, ἐξ ὀργῆς Ἀδαυλφος ὑπὸ τῶος τῶν οἰκείων ἀποσφάττεται. ἐκ τούτου τὸ βάρβαρον πρὸς Ὀνώριον σπένδεται· καὶ τὴν οἰκείαν ἀδελφὴν καὶ τὸν Ἀτταλον τῷ βασιλεῖ παρατίθενται, αὐτοὶ σιτήσεσι τε δεξιωθέντες καὶ μοῖραν τῆς τῶν Γαλατῶν χώρας εἰς γεωργίαν ἀποκληρωσάμενοι.

Μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ καὶ ἡ Ῥώμη τῶν πολλῶν κακῶν ἀνασχοῦσα συνοικίζεται· καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῇ παραγεγονώς, χειρὶ καὶ γλώττῃ τὸν συνοικισμόν ἐπεκρότει. ὑπὲρ δὲ βήματος ἀναβάς, ὃ τὴν πρώτην αὐτῷ βαθμίδα τὸν Ἀτταλον διαβαλεῖν ἐπετίθει ... δεξιᾶς χειρὸς ἀπέτεμεν τοὺς β' δακτύλους, ὧν ὁ μὲν <ἀντίχειρ> ὁ δὲ λιχανὸς ἔχει τὴν κλησιν· καὶ εἰς Λίπαρα τὴν νῆσον τοῦτον φυγαδεύει, μηδενὸς ἄλλου κακοῦ πρὸς πείραν καταστήσας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς εἰς τὸν βίον χρείας παρασχόμενος ...]

1 ante ἐλπιδας lacuna circa clxxx litterarum καταπολεμήσας Bochart  
κατὰ πολεμίας codd. 11 αὐτῷ codd. [αὐτοῦ Valesius ἐπετίθει codd.  
[ὑποτίθει Holstein, Valesius post ἐπετίθει lacuna circa lxxx litterarum  
12 ἀντίχειρ Holstein in lacuna xii litterarum 13 τοῦτον Holstein [τούτους  
codd. 15 post παρασχόμενος lacuna circa xiv litterarum

## 27

(Bibl. Cod. 80, p.177)

Ὅτι ὁ ἱστορικός φησι παρὰ Οὐαλερίου τῶος τῶν ἐπισήμων ἀκοῦσαι περὶ ἀνδριάντων ἀργυρῶν τετελεσμένων εἰς βαρβάρων ἀποκώλυσιν. ἐν γὰρ ταῖς ἡμέραις, φησί, Κωνσταντίου τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐν τῇ Θράκῃ Οὐαλερίου ἄρχοντος, μήνυσις γέγονεν ὡς θησαυρὸς εὑρεθείη. Οὐαλέριος δὲ παρὰ τὸν τόπον παραγενόμενος μανθάνει παρὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἱερὸν εἶναι τὸν τόπον, καὶ ἐξ ἀρχαίας τελετῆς ἀνδριάντας ἐν αὐτῷ ἀφιερῶσθαι. εἰτα ἀναφέρει ταῦτα τῷ βασιλεῖ, καὶ δέχεται γράμμα ἐπιτρέπον αὐτῷ ἀναλαβεῖν τὰ μνησθέντα. ἀνορυχθέντος τοῦτον τοῦ τόπου εὐρίσκονται τρεῖς ἀνδριάντες δι' ὅλου ἐξ ἀργύρου πεποιημένοι, ἐν σχήματι βαρβαρικῷ κατακειμένοι καὶ ἐξηγκωνισμένοι κατ' ἀμφοῖν ταῶν χειρῶν, ἐνδεδύμενοι δὲ βάρβαρον πεποικιλμένην ἐσθῆτα, καὶ κομῶντες τὰς κεφαλὰς, νεύοντες ἐπὶ τὸ ἀρκτῶον μέρος, τουτέστι κατὰ τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ χώρου. ὧν ἀνδριάντων ἀναληφθέντων πάραυτα καὶ μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας πρῶτον μὲν τὸ Γότθων ἔθνος πᾶσαν ἐπιτρέχει τὴν Θράκην, ἔμελλε δὲ μικρὸν ὕστερον καὶ τὸ τῶν Οὐννων καὶ τὸ τῶν Σαρματῶν καταδραμεῖσθαι τὸ τε Ἰλλυρικὸν καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν Θράκην· ἐν μέσῳ γὰρ αὐτῆς τε

[2. (Philostorgius 12,4-5)]

... <Constantius>, cherishing the hope that if he conquered Ataulf in war, he would marry Placidia. Shortly afterwards, having committed many crimes, Ataulf was slain in anger by one of his dependents. After this the barbarians made a treaty with Honorius. They handed over to the Emperor his sister and Attalus,<sup>58</sup> having themselves received supplies of grain and a part of Gaul to cultivate.

After these events the city of Rome also began to recover from its many disasters and was re-populated. The Emperor himself visited the city and by gesture and word indicated his approval of the revival. Ascending the tribunal, Honorius ordered Attalus to ascend the first step of the tribunal ... he cut off two of the fingers of his right hand, namely the <thumb> and the forefinger, and he exiled him<sup>59</sup> to Lipara, inflicting no other punishment upon him and even supplying him with the necessities of life ...]

## 27

(Bibl. Cod. 80, p.177)

The historian says that he heard from a certain Valerius, a man of high rank, about silver statues which had been consecrated to ward off barbarians. He says that during the reign of Constantius the Emperor, when Valerius was governor of Thrace, it was reported that a treasure had been found. Valerius visited the site and learned from the locals that it was sacred and that statues had been consecrated there according to an ancient rite. This he then reported to the Emperor and received a rescript empowering him to take possession of the objects reported. When the spot was excavated, three solid silver statues were found deposited there, of barbarous style, with hands bound, dressed in the embroidered clothing of the barbarians, with long hair and inclining towards the North, that is towards the land of the barbarians. As soon as the statues were removed, a few days later the whole Gothic nation poured over Thrace and shortly afterwards the Huns and the Sarmatians were to invade Illyricum and Thrace also. For the site of the



Θράκης καὶ τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ κατέκειτο τὰ τῆς τελετῆς, καὶ ἐῴκει τῶν τριῶν ἀνδριάντων ὁ ἀριθμὸς κατὰ παντὸς τετελεῖσθαι βαρβάρου.

19 post παντὸς M θῆνους add.

## 28

(*Bibl. Cod.* 80, pp.177f.)

Ἵτι ὁ ἱστορικὸς περὶ τοῦ οἰκείου διαλαμβάνων διάπλου πολλὰ παθεῖν καὶ δυστυχῆσαι φησι. λέγει δὲ καὶ εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας κατὰραι, καὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ σπουδῇ καὶ ἐπιμελείᾳ εἰς τὸν σοριστικὸν θρόνον ἀναχθῆναι Λεόντιον οὐπω ἐθέλοντα. λέγει δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ τρίβωνος, ὡς οὐκ ἐξῆν κατὰ τὰς Ἀθήνας περιβαλέσθαι αὐτόν τινα, καὶ μάλιστα ξένον, ὃ μὴ τῶν σοριστῶν ἢ γνώμῃ ἐπέτρεπε καὶ αἱ κατὰ τοὺς σοριστικοὺς νόμους τελεταὶ ἐβεβαίουν τὸ ἀξίωμα. ἦν δὲ τὰ τελούμενα ταῦτα· πρῶτον μὲν κατήγοντο ἐπὶ τὸ δημόσιον βαλανεῖον ὅσοι νεήλδεις, ἂν τε μικροὶ ἂν τε μεγάλοι. ἐξ ὧν καὶ οἱ πρὸς τὸν τρίβωνα ἐπιτήδεις, ἡλικίας ἤδη καιροῦ γεγονότες, οὓς εἰς μέσον ἔβαλλον οἱ κατὰγοντες σχολαστικοί. εἶτα τῶν μὲν ἔμπροσθεν τρεχόντων καὶ κωλούντων, τῶν δὲ ὠθούντων καὶ ἐπεχόντων, πάντων δὲ τῶν κωλούντων ταῦτα βокώντων· “στᾶ, στᾶ, οὐ λούει”, κατακρατῶν δῆθεν τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἐδόκουν οἱ ἀντωθύντες εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ καταγομένου σχολαστικοῦ· ὅστις μετὰ πολλὴν ὥραν, στάσεως πολλῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς προαχθεῖσιν ἐθίμοις ῥήμασι προγενομένης, εἰσάγεται εἰς τὸν θερμὸν οἶκον καὶ ἀπολούεται, εἶτα ἐνδυσάμενος ἐδέχετο τὴν τοῦ τρίβωνος ἐξουσίαν, καὶ αὐτόθεν μετὰ τοῦ τρίβωνος ἐκ τοῦ βαλανείου ἐντίμῳ καὶ περιδόξῳ δορυφορούμενος πομπῇ ἀπῆει, δαπάνας ἐπιγνοὺς φανεράς εἰς τοὺς τῶν διατριβῶν προστάτας τοὺς λεγομένους Ἀκρωμίτας.

## 29

1. (*Bibl. Cod.* 80, p.178)

Ἵτι οἱ Οὐάνδαλοι τοὺς Γότθους Τρούλους καλοῦσι διὰ τὸ λμῶ πιεζομένους αὐτοὺς τρούλαν σίτου παρὰ τῶν Οὐανδάλων ἀγοράζεω ἐνὸς χρυσῶν· ἡ δὲ τρούλα οὐδὲ τρίτον ξέστου χωρεῖ.

2. (*Bibl. Cod.* 80, pp.178f.)

Ἵτι κατὰ τὰς Ἰσπανίας τῶν Οὐανδάλων καταδραμόντων, καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων εἰς τὰς τετειχισμένας πόλεις καταφυγόντων, τοσοῦτος αὐτῶν λμὸς κατεκράτησεν ὥς εἰς ἀλληλοφαγίαν ἐκβιασθῆναι· καὶ γυνὴ τέσσαρα τέκνα ἔχουσα πάντα κατέφαγε, πρόρασιν ἐφ' ἐκάστου ποιουμένη τὴν τῶν ὑπολοίπων τροφὴν καὶ σωτηρίαν, ἕως ἂν πάντα καταφαγούσα λίθους ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἀνῆρέθη.

consecration lay between Thrace and Illyricum and to judge from the number of the statues, they had been consecrated against the whole of barbary.

## 28

(*Bibl. Cod.* 80, pp.177f.)

When the historian describes his voyage by sea, he says that he encountered many sufferings and misfortunes. He says that he put in at Athens,<sup>60</sup> and as a result of his zealous support Leontius was appointed to his sophistic chair, although he did not yet desire it. He speaks of the sophistic cloak, saying that at Athens no one (and especially a foreigner) was allowed to wear it who had not been granted permission by a decision of the sophists and the honour confirmed by the performance of the rites laid down by the sophistic laws. These rites were as follows. First, all the novices, junior and senior, were conducted to the public bath. Those of them who, being of the right age, were ready for the philosopher's cloak were pushed to the front by the scholars who were conducting them. Then, while some ran before them and blocked their way, others pushed them and directed them towards the bath; and while all of those blocking their way shouted, “Stop, stop, don't take the bath”, those who were pushing in the opposite direction were determined, of course, to win the struggle in order to bring honour to the scholars who were conducting the novices. After a long time and a long struggle carried out in ritual terms, those who were led into the bath house and washed were then dressed and received the right to wear the philosopher's cloak. Thereafter, having agreed to pay certain sums of money to the heads of the schools (who are called *Acromitai*),<sup>61</sup> they left the bath in their cloaks escorted by a procession of high-ranking and reputable men.

## 29

1. (*Bibl. Cod.* 80, p.178)

The Vandals call the Goths *Truli* because when they were oppressed by hunger they bought grain from the Vandals at one *solidus* per *trula*. A *trula* is less than one-third of a *sextarius*.<sup>62</sup>

2. (*Bibl. Cod.* 80, pp.178f.)

When the Vandals overran Spain and the Romans fled to their walled cities, such a famine afflicted them that they were reduced to cannibalism. A woman who had four children ate them all, in each case giving as her excuse the nourishment and survival of those remaining. Finally, when she had eaten them all, the people stoned her to death.

## 30

(Bibl. Cod. 80, p.179)

Ἵτι Εὐπλούτιος ὁ μαγιστριανὸς πρὸς Οὐάλιον, ὃς τῶν Γότθων ἐχρημάτιζε φύλαρχος, ἀποστέλλεται ἐφ' ᾧ σπονδὰς τε θέσθαι εἰρηνικὰς καὶ ἀπολαβεῖν τὴν Πλακιδίαν· ὁ δὲ ἐτοίμως δέχεται καὶ ἀποσταλέντος αὐτῷ σίτου ἐν μυριάσιν ἐξήκοντα, ἀπολύεται Πλακιδία παραδοθεῖσα Εὐπλούτῳ πρὸς Ὀνώριον τὸν οἰκεῖον αὐτῆς ἀδελφόν.

5

## 31

(Bibl. Cod. loc.cit.)

Ἵτι ζητήματος ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις ἀνακύψαντος περὶ τῶν κεκωλισμένων βιβλίων μαθεῖν τοῖς ἐπιζητοῦσι τὸ μέτρον τοῦ κώλου, Φιλτάτιος δὲ τοῦ ἱστορικοῦ ἐταῖρος εὖρυως περὶ γραμματικῇ ἔχων, τοῦτο ἐπέδειξε καὶ εὐδοκμήσας τυγχάνει παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν εἰκόνας.

1-2 κεκωλισμένων Dindorf [κεκολλημένων (aut κεκαλλημένων) codd., Henry  
2 κώλου A, Dindorf] [κόλλου M, Henry

## 32

(Bibl. Cod. 80, pp.179f.)

Ἵτι περὶ τῆς Ὀάσεως ὁ συγγραφεὺς πολλὰ παραδοξολογεῖ, περὶ τε τῆς εὐκρασίας αὐτῆς καὶ ὅτι οἱ τὴν ἱερὰν νόσον ἔχοντες οὐ μόνον ἐκέϊσε οὐ γίνονται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀλλαχόθεν παραγινόμενοι ἀπαλλάττονται διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀέρος εὐκρασίαν τοῦ νοσήματος. καὶ περὶ τῆς ψάμμου τῆς πολλῆς ἐκείνης καὶ τῶν ὀρυσομένων φρεάτων, ὡς εἰς διακοσίους καὶ τριακοσίους, ἔσθ' ὅτε δὲ καὶ εἰς πεντακοσίους πήχεις ὀρυσσόμενα ἀναβλύξουσιν τὸ ρεῖθρον αὐτοῦ τοῦ στομίου προχεόμενον· ἐξ οὗ κατὰ διαδοχὴν ἀρνόμενοι, ὅσοις κοινὸν γέγονε τὸ ἔργον, τὰς οἰκίας ἀρούρας ποτίζουσιν οἱ γεωργοί. καὶ ὅτι αἱ ὀπώραι ἀεὶ τοῖς δένδροις φέρονται, καὶ ὅτι ὁ σῖτος παντὸς κρείττων σίτου καὶ χιόνος λευκότερος, καὶ ὅτι ἔσθ' ὅτε δις τοῦ ἔτους σπείρεται ἡ κριθή, τρίς δὲ ἀεὶ ἡ κέγχρος, ἀρδεύουσιν δὲ τὰ γήδια αὐτῶν ἐν θέρει μὲν διὰ τρίτης ἡμέρας, ἐν χειμῶνι δὲ διὰ ἑκτῆς, ἐξ οὗ καὶ ἡ εὐφορία γίνεταί. καὶ ὅτι οὐδέποτε συννεφία γίνεταί. καὶ περὶ τῶν ποιουμένων αὐτοῖς ὥρολογίων.

5

10

15

Λέγει δὲ ὅτι νῆσος τὸ παλαιὸν ἦν καὶ ἀπεχερσώθη, καὶ ὅτι ταύτην καλεῖ Ἡρόδοτος μακάρων νήσους· Ἡρόδωρος δέ, ὁ τὴν Ὀρφέως καὶ Μουσαίου συγγράψας ἱστορίαν, Φαιακίδα ταύτην καλεῖ. τεκμηριῷ δὲ νῆσον αὐτὴν γεγενέσθαι ἐκ τε τοῦ ὄστρακα θαλάσσια καὶ

12 αὐτῶν Bekker [αὐτῶν codd.

## 30

(Bibl. Cod. 80, p.179)

Euplutius the *agens in rebus* was sent to Wallia, who had been proclaimed tribal leader of the Goths, to negotiate a peace treaty and the return of Placidia. He was readily received, and when 600,000 measures of grain had been sent, Placidia was freed and handed over to Euplutius for Honorius, her brother.<sup>63</sup>

## 31

(Bibl. Cod. loc.cit.)

An inquiry was instituted at Athens concerning the transcription of books by *cola*, the object being to ascertain the length of a *colon*. Philtati<sup>us</sup>, the historian's companion, being very adept at textual work, settled the matter and won such a reputation that the Athenians erected a statue to him.<sup>64</sup>

## 32

(Bibl. Cod. 80, pp.179f.)

Concerning the Oasis the historian tells many wonderful tales. He says that the climate there is good, and not only are there no epileptics but those who arrive from elsewhere are cured of the disease because of the quality of the air. He tells of the vast amount of sand there and says that the wells, which are dug to a depth of two, three and sometimes five hundred cubits, actually pour water out from their openings. From here the farmers who have shared the labour of digging the well draw water in turn and irrigate their fields. The trees are always in fruit, the wheat is of the highest quality and whiter than snow, and sometimes the barley is sown twice a year, the millet always thrice. The farmers irrigate their plots every three days in the summer and every six in winter, hence their fertility. He says that there are never any clouds and he describes the sundials made by the inhabitants.<sup>65</sup>

He says that once it was an island separated from the land mass and called by Herodotus the Isles of the Blessed. Herodorus, who wrote a history of Orpheus and Musaeus, calls it Phaeacia. He proves that it was an island from two observations, the first that sea shells and oyster

ὄστρεα λίθοις τοῦ ὄρους προσπεπλάσμενα εὗρίσκεσθαι τοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν 20  
 Ὀάσω ἀπὸ τῆς Θηβαΐδος φέροντος, δεύτερον ὅτι ψάμαθος πολλή  
 ἐπεκχεῖται ἀεὶ καὶ τὰς τρεῖς ἀναπληροῖ Ὀάσεις. τρεῖς γάρ φησι  
 Ὀάσεις καὶ αὐτὸς εἶναι, δύο μεγάλας, τὴν μὲν ἐξωτέρω, τὴν δὲ 25  
 ἐσωτέρω, καταντικρὺ κειμένας ἀλλήλαις, συντείνοντος εἰς ἑκατὸν  
 σμυῖα τοῦ μεταξὺ διαστήματος. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλη τρίτη μικρά,  
 πολλῶ διαστήματι τῶν δύο κεχωρισμένη. λέγει δὲ εἰς πλίστω τοῦ  
 νῆσον γενέσθαι ὅτι καὶ ὑπὸ ὀρνέων ὁρᾶσθαι συμβαίνει πολλάκις 30  
 ἰχθύς φερομένους καὶ ἰχθύων ἄλλοτε λείψανα, ὥς ἐντεῦθεν εἰκά-  
 ζεσθαι μὴ πολὺ πόρρω εἶναι τὴν θάλασσαν. φησὶ δὲ καὶ Ὅμηρον  
 ἐκ τῆς πρὸς ταύτῃ Θηβαΐδος ἔλκεν τὸ γένος.

## 33

1. (*Bibl. Cod.* 80, pp.180f.)

Ὅτι ὑπατος ὁ βασιλεὺς Ὀνώριος προελθὼν τὸ ἑνδέκατον,  
 καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Κωνσταντίῳ τὸ δεύτερον, τὸν Πλακιδίαν γάμον ἐπι-  
 τελοῦσιν· ἐφ' ᾧ πολλὰ μὲν αὐτὴ ἀνανεύουσα Κωνσταντίῳ παρε-  
 σκεῖατο κατὰ τῶν αὐτῆς ὀργίζεσθαι θεραπόντων. τέλος ἐν τῇ τῆς 5  
 ὑπατείας ἡμέρᾳ ἀπὸ χειρὸς ταύτης ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἀδελφὸς Ὀνώριος  
 ἄκουσαν λαβὼν ἐγχειρίζει παραδιδούς Κωνσταντίῳ, καὶ ἐπιτελεῖται  
 εἰς τὸ λαμπρότατον ὁ γάμος. εἶτα καὶ παῖς αὐτοῖς τίττεται, ἣν ὀνομά-  
 ζουσιν Ὀνωρίαν, καὶ ἕτερος πάλιν, ᾧ κλήσιν ἔθεντο Οὐαλεντιανόν· 10  
 ὃς ζῶντος μὲν Ὀνωρίου νοβελίσσιμος γίνεται βιασαμένης τῆς  
 Πλακιδίας τὸν ἀδελφόν, μετὰ δὲ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ ἔτι  
 μετὰ τὴν κατάλυσιν τοῦ τυραννήσαντος Ἰωάννου, καὶ Ῥώμης  
 βασιλεὺς ἀποδείκνυται.

Ὁ δὲ Κωνσταντίος συμβασιλεύει τῷ Ὀνωρίῳ, αὐτοῦ μὲν  
 χειροτονουμένου, ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν τι ἄκοντος. χειροτονεῖται δὲ καὶ ἡ Πλα-  
 κιδία Αὐγούστα, τοῦ τε ἰδίου ἀδελφοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἰδίου ἀνδρὸς χειροτονη- 15  
 σάντων· εἶτα πέμπεται πρὸς Θεοδοσίον, ὃς ἀδελφιδοῦς ὢν Ὀνωρίου  
 τῶν πρὸς ἑω μερῶν ἐβασίλευεν, ἡ ἀνάρρησις μηνυμένη τῆς τοῦ  
 Κωνσταντίου βασιλείας, καὶ μένει ἀπαράδεκτος. ἐρίσταται νόσος  
 Κωνσταντίῳ, καὶ μετέμελεν αὐτῷ ἡ βασιλεία, ὅτι οὐκέτι τὴν αὐτῷ ἐπ' 20  
 ἀδείας ὥσπερ πρότερον ἐξέναι τε καὶ ἀπιέναι ὅπῃ καὶ ὅπως βούλατο,  
 καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἐξῆν χρῆσθαι βασιλεύοντι οἷς ἔθος εἶχε χρῆσθαι παιγνίοις.  
 τέλος ἐπτά βασιλεύσας μῆνας, ὥσπερ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ ὄνειρος εἶπεν “ἐξ  
 ἤδη πεπλήρωνται καὶ ἄρχονται ἐπτά”, πλευριτικὴ νόσος τελευτᾷ,  
 συντελευτησάσης αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἀνατολὴν ὀργῆς καὶ ὀρμῆς 25  
 ἣν ὤδωεν, ὅτι τὴν ἀναγόρευσιν αὐτοῦ τῆς βασιλείας οὐ προσήκαντο.

shells are found embedded in the rocks of the desert that stretches  
 between the Oasis and the Thebaid, the second that a great quantity of  
 sand is continually pouring forth and filling up the three Oases. (He  
 himself says that there are three Oases, two great ones, an outer and an  
 inner, lying opposite and separated by a distance of about one hundred  
 miles. There is also a third small one, a great distance from the other  
 two.) To clinch his case that it was an island he says that birds are often  
 seen carrying fish and the remains of fish are also seen, so that the sea is  
 conjectured to be not far away. He says that Homer derived his origin  
 from the part of the Thebaid near to this place.<sup>66</sup>

## 33

1. (*Bibl. Cod.* 80, pp.180f.)

When Honorius was celebrating his eleventh consulship and Con-  
 stantius his second, they solemnised Placidia's marriage. Her frequent  
 rejections of Constantius had made him angry at her attendants. Finally,  
 the Emperor Honorius, her brother, on the day on which he entered his  
 consulship, took her by the hand and, despite her protests, gave her  
 over to Constantius, and the marriage was solemnised in the most  
 dazzling fashion.<sup>67</sup> Later a child was born to them, whom they named  
 Honoria, and then a boy, whom they named Valentinian. While Hono-  
 rius was still alive he became *nobilissimus* at Placidia's insistence, and  
 after his death and the overthrow of the usurper John he was pro-  
 claimed Emperor of Rome.

Constantius became co-Emperor with Honorius, who appointed  
 him, but rather unwillingly. Placidia was proclaimed Augusta jointly by  
 her brother and husband. The proclamation announcing the elevation  
 of Constantius was then sent to Theodosius, Honorius' nephew and the  
 ruler of the eastern Empire, but it was not accepted. Constantius fell ill  
 and regretted his elevation, that he no longer had the freedom to leave  
 and go off wherever and in whatever manner he wished and could not,  
 because he was Emperor, enjoy the pastimes which he had been accus-  
 tomed to enjoy. Finally, having reigned for seven months, as the dream  
 foretold to him – “six have already been completed, and the seventh  
 begins” –, he died of pleurisy. With him died the hostility towards the  
 East and the expedition which he had been preparing because they did  
 not approve his proclamation as Emperor.

## [2. (Philostorgius 12,12)

Ὅτι Ὀνώριος ὁ βασιλεὺς Κωνσταντίον τὸν στρατηγὸν κατὰ τιμὴν τοῦ κήδους εἰς τὸ τῆς βασιλείας προσλαμβάνεται σκηπτρον, ἥδη καὶ παῖδα Οὐαλεντινιανὸν τῆς Πλακιδίας αὐτῷ γενομένης· ὥ καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου περιῆψεν ὁ Ὀνώριος ἀξίαν. αἱ δὲ τοῦ Κωνσταντίου εἰκόνες, ὡς ἔθος ἦν τοῖς ἄρτι παρελθοῦσιν εἰς βασιλείαν πράττειν, ἀναπέμπονται πρὸς τὴν Ἑῶαν· ἀλλ' ὁ γε Θεοδοσίος, οὐκ ἄρεσκόμενος τῇ ἀναρρήσει, οὐ προσίετο ταύτας. καὶ δὴ Κωνσταντίῳ, παρασκευαζομένῳ διὰ τὴν ὕβριν ἐπὶ πόλεμον, καὶ τῆς ζωῆς καὶ τῶν φροντίδων ἐπιστάς ὁ θάνατος τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν παρέχει, βασιλεύσαντι μῆνας ἕξ.]

## 34

(*Bibl. Cod.* 80, p.181)

Ὅτι Οὐαλίου τοῦ φυλάρχου τελευτήσαντος, Θεοδέριχος τὴν ἀρχὴν διαδέχεται.

## 35

1. (*Bibl. Cod.* 80, pp.181f.)

Ὅτι κατὰ θάλασσαν πολλὰ παθῶν ὁ συγγραφεὺς μόλις διασώζεται. ἐν ᾧ καὶ περὶ ἀστέρος τινὸς τερατολογεῖ ἐπιβρίσαντος τῷ ἱστίῳ τοῦ πλοίου μέλλειν αὐτοὺς βυθίζεσθαι. Οὐρανίαν δὲ τὸ φανέν παρὰ τῶν ναυτῶν καλεῖσθαι. λέγει δὲ περὶ ψιττακοῦ, ᾧ εἰκοσὶν ἔτεσι συνδιήγεν, ὡς σχεδὸν τι οὐδὲν τῶν ἀνθρώπων πραττομένων ἀμίμητον κατελίμπανεν· ὥρχεῖτό τε γὰρ καὶ ᾗδε καὶ ἐκάλει ἐξ ὀνόματος καὶ τᾶλλα ἔπραττεν.

3 μέλλειν codd. [μέλλον Niebuhr]

2. (*Bibl. Cod.* 80, p.182)

Ὅτι ὁ ἱστορικός φησι διάγοντος αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὰς Θήβας καὶ τὴν Σοῦνην ἱστορίας ἕνεκα, ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ γενέσθαι τοὺς φυλάρχους καὶ προφήτας τῶν κατὰ τὴν Τάλμω βαρβάρων, ἧτοι τῶν Βλεμμύων, τῆς ἐντυχίας αὐτοῦ· ἐκίνει γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἡ φήμη. καὶ ἔλαβον με, φησί, μέχρι αὐτῆς τῆς Τάλμω, ὥστε κάκεῖνους τοὺς χώρους ἱστορῆσαι διέχοντας ἀπὸ τῶν Φιλῶν διάστημα ἡμερῶν πέντε, μέχρι πόλεως τῆς λεγομένης Πρίμα, ἧτις τὸ παλαιὸν πρώτη πόλις τῆς Θηβαΐδος ἀπὸ τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ ἐτύγχανε· διὸ παρὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων Ῥωμὰ φωνῇ Πρίμα ἧτοι πρώτη ὠνομάσθη, καὶ νῦν οὕτω καλεῖται καίτοι ἐκ πολλοῦ οἰκειωθεῖσα τοῖς βαρβάροις μεθ' ἐτέρων τεσσάρων πόλεων, Φωγκῶνος, Χίριδος, Θάπιδος, Τάλμιδος.

## [2. (Philostorgius 12,12)

The Emperor Honorius, out of respect for his familial relationship, elevated his general Constantius to the imperial throne at a time when Placidia had already borne him a son, Valentinian. Honorius conferred upon Valentinian the title of *nobilissimus*. As was the custom in the case of newly proclaimed Emperors, Constantius' images were sent to the East. But Theodosius was displeased at the proclamation and refused to admit them. Because of this insult Constantius was preparing for war when death came upon him and freed him from his life and his cares. He had reigned for six months.]

## 34

(*Bibl. Cod.* 80, p.181)

When Wallia, the tribal leader of the Goths, died, Theoderic succeeded him in office.

## 35

1. (*Bibl. Cod.* 80, pp.181f.)

At sea the historian suffered much and hardly survived. In his account he tells a marvellous story about a star which fell down upon the mast of the ship and they were in danger of sinking.<sup>68</sup> The sailors call this phenomenon *Urania*.<sup>69</sup> He also speaks of a parrot which he had for twenty years. He says that there was hardly any human action which it could not imitate. It could dance, sing, call out names and do other things.<sup>70</sup>

2. (*Bibl. Cod.* 80, p.182)

The historian says that when he was spending time in the area of Thebes and Syene for the purposes of research, the tribal leaders and prophets of the barbarians near to Talmis (that is, the Blemmyes) were eager to meet him because of his reputation. "They took me", he says, "to Talmis itself, so that I could investigate those regions which lie five days distant from Philae as far as the city called Prima, which was in olden times the first city of the Thebaid that one reached when travelling from the land of the barbarians. Hence the Romans called it Prima in Latin, that is "First", and even now it is so called although it, along with four other cities — Phoenico, Chiris, Thapis and Talmis —, has long been inhabited by the barbarians."<sup>71</sup>

Παρά τούτους τοὺς χώρους φησὶ καὶ σμαράγδου μέταλλα εἶναι  
μαθεῖν, ἐξ ὧν τοῖς Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεῦσιν ἡ σμαράγδος ἐπλεόναζε.  
καὶ ταῦτα, φησὶν, οἱ προφῆται τῶν βαρβάρων προὔτρεπόν με θεά-  
σασθαι· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦν τοῦτο δυνατὸν γενέσθαι χωρὶς βασιλικῆς 15  
προστάξεως.

## 36

(*Bibl. Cod.* 80, pp.182f.)

“Ὅτι Λιβάνιον τῶα τερατολογεῖ, Ἀσιανὸν τὸ γένος, κατὰ τὴν  
βασιλείαν Ὀνωρίου καὶ Κωνσταντίου ἐπὶ Ῥάβενναν παραγενέσθαι.  
ἄκρον δὲ τοῦτον εἶναι τελεστικόν. καὶ δύνασθαι δέ, φησὶ, καὶ  
ὑποσχεῖσθαι αὐτὸν χωρὶς ὀπλιτῶν καὶ κατὰ βαρβάρων ἐνεργεῖν.  
εἴτα πείραν δοῦς, φησὶν, οὗτος τῆς ὑποσχέσεως καὶ τῆς φήμης 5  
δραμούσης ὥστε καὶ Πλακιδίαν τὴν βασίλισσα μαθεῖν, ἀναφείτῃ ὁ  
τελεστής· ἡπεῖλει γάρ, φησὶν, ἡ Πλακιδία Κωνσταντίῳ χωρισμὸν  
τοῦ γάμου εἰ τοῖς ζῶσι Λιβάνιος περιλείποιτο, ἀνὴρ γότης καὶ ἄπιστος.

4 χωρὶς ὀπλιτῶν καὶ κατὰ codd. [καὶ χωρὶς ὀπλιτῶν κατὰ Niebuhr]

## 37

(*Bibl. Cod.* 80, p.183)

“Ὅτι Κωνσταντῖος Ἰλλυριὸς ἦν τὸ γένος, ἀπὸ Ναῖσσου πόλεως  
τῆς Δακίας, καὶ πολλὰς στρατείας ἀπὸ τῶν Θεοδοσίου χρόνων τοῦ  
μεγάλου διελθὼν, ὕστερον καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀρχήν, ὡς ἐρρήθη,  
ὑπέδω. ἦν δὲ τὰλλα μὲν ἐπαπειτός, καὶ χρημάτων δὲ κρείττων πρὶν 5  
ἢ συναφθῆναι Πλακιδίᾳ· ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτῇ συνέξενκτο, εἰς φιλοχρηματίαν  
ἐξώκειλε. μετὰ μέντοι τὸν αὐτοῦ θάνατον δεήσεις κατ' αὐτοῦ τῶν εἰς  
χρήματα ἀδικήθεντων ἐπὶ Ῥάβενναν πανταχόθεν συνέρρεον· ἀλλ' ἡ  
τοῦ Ὀνωρίου, φησὶ, κουρότης καὶ ἡ τῆς Πλακιδίας πρὸς αὐτὸν  
οἰκειότης ἀπράκτους αὐτῶν τὰς αἰτήσεις καὶ τὴν ἰσχὺν τοῦ δικαίου  
ἀπέφηνεν.

10

1 Ναῖσσου Labbaeus [Παναῖσσου codd. 2 Δακίας Labbaeus [Καδίας codd.]

## 38

(*Bibl. Cod.* 80, pp.183f.)

“Ὅτι τοσαύτη διάθεσις Ὀνωρίῳ πρὸς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀδελφήν, ἐξ  
οὗπερ ὁ ταύτης ἀνὴρ Κωνσταντῖος ἀπεβίω παρεμπεφύκει, ὡς τὴν  
ἄμετρον ἀγάπην αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ συνεχῆ κατὰ στόμα φιλήματα εἰς  
ὑπόληψιν αἰσχυρὰν αὐτῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐμβαλεῖν. ἀλλὰ τοσαύτη

3 φιλήματα M [φιλημα A 4 αὐτῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς A [αὐτοὺς τοῖς πολλοῖς M]

He says he learned that in those regions there were emerald mines  
from which emeralds were supplied in large quantities to the kings of  
Egypt. He says, “The prophets of the barbarians invited me to visit  
these. But this could not be done without the authorisation of the  
king.”<sup>72</sup>

## 36

(*Bibl. Cod.* 80, pp.182f.)

He tells a marvellous story about a certain Libanius, an Asian by  
race, who came to Ravenna during the reign of Honorius and Con-  
stantius. According to the historian, he was a consummate magician,  
able to achieve results even against barbarians without resort to  
weapons, and this he promised to do. He was given permission to make  
the attempt, but when his promise and his high repute came to the ears  
of the Empress Placidia, the magician was put to death. For Placidia  
threatened Constantius that she would break up their marriage if  
Libanius, a wizard and an unbeliever, remained amongst the living.<sup>73</sup>

## 37

(*Bibl. Cod.* 80, p.183)

Constantius was an Illyrian by birth, from Naissus, a city of  
Dacia. From the time of Theodosius the Great he had taken part in  
many campaigns and, as has been told, was later elevated to the rank of  
Emperor. In addition to his other virtues he was free from greed until  
he married Placidia. But when he was joined to her, he fell into lust  
for money. After his death Ravenna was inundated from all sides with  
suits over his misappropriation of possessions. But Honorius' unre-  
sponsiveness and the close relationship of Placidia to him rendered both  
the complaints and the power of justice ineffectual.

## 38

(*Bibl. Cod.* 80, pp.183f.)

The affection of Honorius towards his sister grew so great after  
the death of her husband Constantius that their immoderate pleasure  
in each other and their constant kissing on the mouth caused many  
people to entertain shameful suspicions about them. But as a result of

πάλω αὐτοῖς ἐναπετέχθη ἔχθρα σπουδῇ Σπαδοῦσης καὶ Ἑλπίδι- 5  
 (τροφός δ' ἦν αὕτη Πλακιδίας), αἷς καὶ τὰ πολλὰ προσεῖχε, συμ-  
 πρᾶττοντος αὐταῖς καὶ Λεοντέως τοῦ ταύτης κουράτωρος, ὥστε  
 στάσεις μὲν πολλάκις ἐν τῇ Ῥαβέννῃ συστήναι (περιτὴν γὰρ κάκειν-  
 10  
 ην πληθὺς βαρβάρων ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Ἀδαούλφον συναφείας καὶ ἐκ τῆς  
 πρὸς Κωνσταντίνον συζυγίας) καὶ πληγὰς δὲ προσελθεῖν ἐξ ἐκατέρου  
 μέρους. τέλος ἐκ τῆς ἀναρθείσης ἐκείνης ἔχθρας καὶ τοῦ ἀντιρρόπου  
 τῆς πρὶν φιλίας μίσους εἰς Βυζάντιον Πλακιδία, τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ὑπερ-  
 ισχύσαντος, σὺν τοῖς οἰκείοις παισὶν ἐξορίζεται, καὶ μόνος αὐτῇ Βονη-  
 15  
 φάτιος τὰ πιστὰ φυλάττων ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀφρικῆς, ἧς ἦρχε, καὶ χρήματα  
 ὥς ἐδύνατο ἔπεμπε καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἄλλην αὐτὸς ἔσπευδε θεραπείαν,  
 ὕστερον δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν τῆς βασιλείας ἀνάληψιν ἅπαντα συνεβάλετο.

## 39

1. (*Bibl. Cod.* 80, p.184)

Ἵτι Ὀνώριος ὑδερικῶ νοσήματι ἀλοὺς πρὸ ἕξ καλανδῶν  
 Σεπτεμβρίων τελευτᾷ· καὶ πέμπονται γράμματα πρὸς τὴν ἀνατολὴν  
 τὸν βασιλέως θάνατον μηνύοντα. ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπέμποντο,  
 Ἰωάννης τις αὐθεντήσας τυραννεῖ. ἐφ' οὗ καὶ τῆς ἀναρρήσεως γνω- 5  
 μένης ἐρρήθη ὥσπερ ἀπὸ τῆς προρρήσεως προαχθέν· “πίπτει, οὐ  
 στήκει”, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ὥσπερ ἀναλύοντες ἐπὶ τὸ ῥηθὲν ἀνα-  
 φωνοῦσι· “στήκει, οὐ πίπτει”.

[2. (*Philostorgius* 12,13)

Ἵτι ἐν ὑπατείᾳ τοῦ βασιλέως Θεοδοσίου τὸ δέκατον καὶ  
 Ὀνωρίου τὸ τρισκαίδεκατον αὐτὸς Ὀνώριος ὑδέρῳ τελευτᾷ καὶ  
 Ἰωάννης τυραννίδι ἐπιθέμενος διαπρεσβεύεται πρὸς Θεοδοσίον.  
 ἀπράκτου δὲ τῆς πρεσβείας γεγεννημένης, καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις ὕβρις-  
 5  
 θέντες ἄλλος ἄλλαχῇ κατὰ τὴν Προποντίδα φυγῇ προσετιμῆθησαν.]

5 προσετιμῆθησαν Bidez [προετιμῆθησαν codd.]

## 40

(*Bibl. Cod.* 80, pp.184f.)

Ἵτι Βονηφάτιος ἀνὴρ ἦν ἡρωϊκός, καὶ κατὰ πολλῶν πολλὰκις  
 βαρβάρων ἡρίστευσεν, ἄλλοτε μὲν σὺν ὀλίγοις ἐπερχόμενος, ἄλλοτε  
 δὲ καὶ σὺν πλείοσι, ἐνώτε δὲ καὶ μονομαχῶν. καὶ ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν,  
 παντὶ τρόπῳ πολλῶν βαρβάρων καὶ διαφόρων ἐθνῶν ἀπήλλαξε τὴν  
 Ἀφρικὴν. ἦν δὲ καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἐραστὴς καὶ χρημάτων κρείττων. 5  
 ἐπράχθη δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τι τοιοῦτον. ἀνὴρ τις ἄγροκος ἔχων ἀνθοῦσαν  
 γυναικα τὴν ὥραν, ὑπὸ τῶς τῶν συμμάχων βαρβάρων ἐμοιχεύετο.

7 ἐμοιχεύετο A [ἔγνω αὐτὴν μοιχευομένην M]

the efforts of Spadusa<sup>74</sup> and of Placidia's nurse, Elpidia, (to both of  
 whom she paid great attention) and through the co-operation of Leon-  
 tius, her steward, this affection was replaced by such a degree of hatred,  
 that fighting often broke out in Ravenna and blows were delivered on  
 both sides. For Placidia was surrounded by a host of barbarians because  
 of her marriages to Ataulf and Constantius. Finally, as a result of this  
 flare-up of enmity and the hatred as strong as their previous love, when  
 Honorius proved the stronger, Placidia was exiled to Byzantium with  
 her children. Only Boniface continued loyal to her and from Africa,  
 which he governed, sent whatever money he could and promised other  
 kinds of assistance. Later, he contributed all his resources towards her  
 restoration as Empress.

## 39

1. (*Bibl. Cod.* 80, p.184)

Honorius was attacked by dropsy and died on August 27th [A.D.  
 423]. Letters were sent to the East reporting the Emperor's death.  
 While these were being sent, a certain John seized power and ruled  
 illegally. When his proclamation was taking place a cry rang out as if  
 from some oracle, “He falls, he does not stand”, and the crowd re-  
 sponded to the cry as if to undo it, “He stands, he does not fall”.<sup>75</sup>

[2. (*Philostorgius* 12,13)

In the tenth consulship of Theodosius and the thirteenth of  
 Honorius the latter died of dropsy, and John seized the throne and sent  
 an embassy to Theodosius. The embassy failed, and the envoys were  
 treated harshly and exiled to various places along the Propontis.]

## 40

(*Bibl. Cod.* 80, pp.184f.)

Boniface was an heroic<sup>76</sup> man who was frequently victorious  
 against hordes of barbarians, sometimes attacking them with a few men,  
 sometimes with many, and occasionally fighting in single combat. In a  
 word, he used every means to free Africa from many barbarians and  
 various tribes. He was also a lover of justice and free from avarice.  
 The following is one of his acts. A certain peasant had a young and  
 pretty wife who was having an affair with one of the barbarian allies.

δεῖται τοιγαροῦν Βονηκρατίου τὴν ὕβρω ὀλοφυρόμενος. ὁ δὲ Βονη-  
 φάτιος μαθὼν τὸ διάστημα τοῦ τόπου καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἀγροῦ ἐν ᾧ τὰ  
 τῆς μοιχείας ἐπράττετο, τὸν μὲν ἰκέτην τέως ἀπέπεμπε, προστάξας 10  
 πάλω τῇ ἐξῆς αὐτῷ προσελθεῖν, ὁψίας δέ, λαθὼν ἅπαντας, καὶ ἐπὶ  
 τὸν ἀγρὸν ἐλάσας ἐβδομήκοντα διωστήμενον σταδίοις, καὶ εὐρὼν τὸν  
 βάρβαρον τῇ μοιχευομένῃ συγκαθεύδοντα, τέμνει τε αὐτοῦ τὴν  
 κεφαλὴν καὶ δι' αὐτῆς ὑποστρέφει νυκτός. προσελθόντι δὲ κατὰ τὸ  
 πρόσταγμα εἰς τὴν αὔριον τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐπιδίδωσι τοῦ βαρβάρου τὴν 15  
 κεφαλὴν διαπυρνανόμενος εἰ ἐπιγνώσκει αὐτήν. ὁ δὲ τοῖς παροῦσιν  
 ἅμα καταπλαγείς καὶ ἀμηχανήσας, ἔπειτα ἐπιγνοὺς καὶ πολλὰ τῆς  
 δικαιοσύνης εὐχαριστήσας, σὺν χαρᾷ ἀπῆει.

## 41

1. (*Bibl. Cod.* 80, p.185)

Ὅτι ἕκαστος τῶν μεγάλων οἰκῶν τῆς Ῥώμης, ὥς φησιν,  
 ἅπαντα εἶχεν ἐν ἑαυτῷ ὅποσα πόλις σύμμετρος ἡδύνατο ἔχειν, ἵππο-  
 δρομον καὶ φόρους καὶ ναοὺς καὶ πηγὰς καὶ λουτρά διάφορα. διὸ καὶ ὁ  
 συγγραφεὺς ἀπεφθέγγετο·

Εἰς δόμος ἄστυ πέλει· πόλις ἄστυ μυρία κεύθει.

ἦσαν δὲ καὶ λουτρά δημόσια παμμεγέθη. αἱ δὲ Ἀντωνιαναὶ οὕτω  
 καλούμεναι εἰς χρεῖαν τῶν λουομένων καὶ ἐδράς εἶχον παρακειμένας  
 χιλίας ἑξακοσίας, ἐκ μαρμάρου κατεσκευασμένας ξεστοῦ. αἱ δὲ  
 Διοκλητιαναὶ ἐγγὺς διπλασίους. τό τε τεῖχος τῆς Ῥώμης μετρηθὲν 10  
 παρὰ Ἀμμωνος τοῦ γεωμέτρου, καθ' ὃν καιρὸν Γότθοι τὴν  
 προτέραν κατ' αὐτῆς ἐπιδρομὴν ἐποιήσαντο, εἴκοσι καὶ ἐνὸς μίλου  
 διάστημα ἔχον ἀπεδείχθη.

11 ἐπιδρομὴν Α [καταδρομὴν Μ

2. (*Bibl. Cod.* 80, pp.185f.)

Ὅτι πολλοὶ οἶκοι Ῥωμαίων προσόδους κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐδέχοντο  
 ἀπὸ τῶν κτημάτων αὐτῶν ἀνὰ μ' χρυσοῦ κεντηνάρια, χωρὶς τοῦ  
 σίτου καὶ τοῦ οἴνου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων εἰδῶν, ἃ εἰς τρίτον  
 συνέτεωεν, εἰ ἐπιπράσκετο, τοῦ εἰσφερομένου χρυσοῦ. τῶν δὲ μετὰ 5  
 τοὺς πρώτους δευτέρων οἰκῶν τῆς Ῥώμης πεντεκαίδεκα καὶ δέκα  
 κεντηναρίων ἢ πρόσοδος ἦν. καὶ ὅτι Πρόβος ὁ παῖς Ὀλυβρίου  
 τελέσας τὴν οἰκίαν πραιτοῦραν κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς Ἰωάννου τυ-  
 ραννίδος, δώδεκα κεντηνάρια χρυσοῦ ἀνῆλωση. Σύμμαχος δὲ ὁ λογο-  
 γράφος, συγκλητικὸς ὢν τῶν μετρίων, πρὶν ἢ τὴν Ῥώμην ἀλῶναι,  
 τοῦ παιδὸς Συμμάχου πραιτοῦραν τελοῦντος κ' κεντηνάρια ἑδαπά- 10  
 νησε· Μάξιμος δέ, εἰς τῶν εὐπόρων, εἰς τὴν τοῦ υἱοῦ πραιτοῦραν

Complaining of the injury, he sought Boniface's help. Boniface asked  
 the distance to the place and the name of the field in which they com-  
 mitted their adultery and sent the petitioner away for the meanwhile,  
 telling him to return on the next day. That evening he slipped away  
 completely unnoticed and went to the field which was seventy stades  
 away. Discovering the barbarian lying with his adulteress, he cut off his  
 head and returned the same night. When the husband returned on the  
 next day as he was bidden, Boniface gave him the barbarian's head and  
 asked if he recognised it. The husband was struck dumb by the sight  
 and was at loss for words, but when he realised what had happened he  
 was full of thanks for the justice done him and went away happily.

## 41

1. (*Bibl. Cod.* 80, p.185)

Each of the great houses of Rome contained within itself, as he  
 says, everything which a medium-sized city could hold, a hippodrome,  
 fora, temples, fountains and different kinds of baths. At this the  
 historian emotes:

One house is a town; the city hides ten thousand towns.<sup>77</sup>

There were also enormous public baths. Those called the Antonine  
 Baths had 1600 seats made of polished marble for the use of the  
 bathers, while the Baths of Diocletian had nearly twice as many. The  
 wall of Rome was shown by the geometrician Ammon, who measured  
 it at the time when the Goths made their first invasion, to have a circuit  
 of twenty-one miles.<sup>78</sup>

2. (*Bibl. Cod.* 80, pp.185f.)

Many of the Roman households received an income of four  
 thousand pounds of gold per year from their properties, not including  
 grain, wine and other produce which, if sold, would have amounted to  
 one-third of the income in gold. The income of the households at Rome  
 of the second class was one thousand or fifteen hundred pounds of  
 gold. When Probus, the son of Olybrius,<sup>79</sup> celebrated his praetorship  
 during the reign of the usurper John, he spent twelve hundred pounds  
 of gold. Before the capture of Rome, Symmachus the orator,<sup>80</sup> a  
 senator of middling wealth, spent two thousand pounds when his son,  
 Symmachus, celebrated his praetorship. Maximus, one of the wealthy

μ' κατεβάλετο κεντηνάρια. ἑπτὰ δὲ ἡμέρας οἱ πραίτωρες τὰς πανηγύρεις ἐτέλουν.

## 42

(*Bibl. Cod.* 80, p.186)

Ὅτι ὁ συγγραφεὺς τῷ Ὀδυσσεὶ τὴν πλάνην οὐ κατὰ Σικελίαν φησὶ γεγενῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰ πέρατα τῆς Ἰταλίας· καὶ τὴν εἰς Ἅιδου κάθοδον παρὰ τὸν Ὠκεανὸν γεγενῆσθαι, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἡ πολλὴ πλάνη. ἀγωνίζεται δὲ διὰ πολλῶν τοῦτο παραστήσαι. ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ ἄλλους διαφόρους ἀνέγνωμεν ἐν τούτοις αὐτῷ συμφωνοῦντας.

5

## 43

1. (*Bibl. Cod.* 80, pp.186f.)

Ὅτι ἀποστέλλεται ἀπὸ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως παρὰ Θεοδοσίου Πλακιδία ἅμα παισὶ κατὰ τοῦ τυράννου καὶ ἐπαναλαμβάνει αὐτὴ μὲν τὸ τῆς Αὐγούστης, ὃ δὲ Οὐαλεντιανὸς τὸ τοῦ νωβελισσίου ἀξίωμα· συνεκπέμπεται δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ στρατὸς καὶ στρατοπεδάρχης ἐκατέρας δυνάμεως Ἀρδαβούριος ἅμα τῷ παιδί Ἀσπαρι, καὶ τρίτος Κανδιδιανός, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Θεσσαλονίκην Ἡλίων ὁ τῶν ὀφρκίων μάγιστρος παρὰ Θεοδοσίου ἀποσταλεὶς ἐνδύει Βαλεντιανὸν ἐπ' αὐτῆς Θεσσαλονίκης τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐσθῆτα, πέμπτον ἔτος ἄγοντα τῆς ἡλικίας. κατιόντων δὲ αὐτῶν, Ἀρδαβούριος μὲν ἀλίσκεται παρὰ τῶν τοῦ τυράννου καὶ ἀναπέμπεται πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ φιλιᾷ αὐτῷ. ὁ δὲ τούτου παῖς ἅμα Πλακιδίᾳ ἐν ἀθυμίᾳ καὶ λύπῃ ἦσαν· Κανδιδιανὸς δὲ πολλὰς πόλεις αἰρῶν καὶ εὐδοκμῶν λαμπρῶς τὸ λυποῦν διεσκέδαζε καὶ ἐψυχαγώγει. εἶτα σφάζεται ὁ τύραννος Ἰωάννης, καὶ Πλακιδία ἅμα Καίσαρι τῷ παιδί εἰσέρχεται εἰς τὴν Ῥάβενναν. Ἡλίων δὲ ὁ μάγιστρος καὶ πατρίκιος καταλαβὼν τὴν Ῥώμην, καὶ πάντων ἐκέισε συνδραμόντων, τὴν βασιλικὴν ἐσθῆτα ἑπταετηρὸν ὄντα ἐνδύει Βαλεντιανόν, ἐν οἷς καὶ τὰ τῆς ἱστορίας.

5

10

15

[2. (Philostorgius 12,13-14)

Τὴν μέντοι Πλακιδίαν καὶ τὸν τρίτον Οὐαλεντιανόν (μετὰ γὰρ Κωνσταντίου θάνατον πρὸς τὸ Βυζάντιον ἀνεκομίσθησαν) ἀποστέλλει πρὸς τὴν Θεσσαλονίκην Θεοδόσιος, κάκεῖ τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀξίαν τῷ ἀνεψιῷ παρατίθησιν, Ἀρδαβουρίῳ τῷ στρατηγῷ καὶ τῷ τούτου υἱῷ Ἀσπαρι τὴν κατὰ τοῦ τυράννου στρατηγίαν ἐγχειρίσας. οἱ δὲ καὶ συνεπαγόμενοι Πλακιδίαν τε καὶ Οὐαλεντιανόν καὶ τοὺς τε Παίονας καὶ τοὺς Ἰλλυριοὺς διελάσαντες, τὰς Σάλωνα, πόλιν τῆς

4 παρατίθησιν codd. [περιτίθησιν Valesius

men, spent four thousand pounds on his son's praetorship. The praetors celebrated their festivals for seven days.<sup>81</sup>

## 42

(*Bibl. Cod.* 80, p.186)

The historian says that Odysseus' wanderings did not take place around Sicily but along the coast of Italy, and that the descent to Hades took place by the Ocean upon which the long wanderings happened. He uses many arguments to establish this thesis. I have read various other authors who agree with him on these matters.

## 43

1. (*Bibl. Cod.* 80, pp.186f.)

Theodosius sent Placidia and her children from Constantinople against the usurper. She received back the title of Augusta, and Valentinian the rank of *nobilissimus*. With them was dispatched an army and Ardabur, the master of both branches of the soldiery, with his son Aspar and a third commander, Candidianus. Helion, the master of the offices, was sent by Theodosius to Thessalonika and in that city he placed the robes of a Caesar on Valentinian, who was in his fifth year.<sup>82</sup> As they were moving down into Italy Ardabur was captured by the usurper's men, was sent to him and struck up a friendship with him. His son and Placidia were sunk in despair and distress. But Candidianus, by capturing many cities and winning high renown, dispelled their distress and raised up their spirits. Then the usurper John was killed and Placidia and her son the Caesar entered Ravenna. Helion, the master of the offices and patrician, went to Rome and, when all had assembled there, he placed the robe of Emperor upon Valentinian, who was in his seventh year.<sup>83</sup> At this point the History ends.

[2. (Philostorgius 12,13-14)

Theodosius sent Placidia and Valentinian III, who had been dispatched to Byzantium after the death of Constantius, to Thessalonika. There he conferred the dignity of Caesar upon his cousin and entrusted the expedition against the usurper to the general Ardabur and his son Aspar. Accompanied by Placidia and Valentinian they crossed Pannonia and Illyricum and stormed Salonae, a city of Dalmatia. From



Δαλματίας, ἀναίρουσι κατὰ κράτος. ἐντεῦθεν ὁ μὲν Ἀρδαβούριος νηίτη στόλῳ κατὰ τοῦ τυράννου χωρεῖ. ὁ δὲ Ἄσπαρ τὴν ἱπικὴν δύναμιν συναλαβὼν καὶ τῷ τάχει τῆς ἐφόδου κλέψας τὰς αἰσθησεις, τῆς Ἀκυληίας μεγάλης πόλεως ἐγκρατὴς γίνεταί, συνόντων αὐτῷ Οὐαλεντιανοῦ τε καὶ Πλακιδίας.

Ἄλλ' ὁ μὲν οὕτω τὴν μεγάλην ἀταλαιπώρως παρεστήσατο <πόλῳ>, τὸν δὲ Ἀρδαβούριον βίαιον ἀπολαβὼν πνεῦμα σὺν δυσὶν ἐτέραις τριήρεσιν εἰς χεῖρας ἄγει τοῦ τυράννου. ὁ δὲ πρὸς σπονδὰς ἀφορῶν φιλανθρώπως ἐκέχρητο τῷ Ἀρδαβουρίῳ. καὶ πολλῆς οὗτος ἀπολαύων τῆς ἀδείας, τοὺς ἀποστρατήγους τοῦ τυράννου <ὑπαγόμενος>, ἤδη καὶ αὐτοὺς ὑποκεκωτημένους, τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν κρατύνει τὴν κατὰ τοῦ τυράννου· καὶ σημαίνει Ἄσπαρι τῷ παιδί παραγενέσθαι, ὡς ἐφ' ἐτοίμῳ τῷ κατορθώματι. τοῦ δὲ θᾶττον σὺν τῷ ἱππότη στρατῷ παραγεγονότος καὶ μάχης τῶς συρραγείσης, συλλαμβάνεται ὁ Ἰωάννης τῇ τῶν ἁμφ' αὐτὸν προδοσίᾳ καὶ πρὸς Πλακιδίαν καὶ Οὐαλεντιανὸν εἰς Ἀκυληίαν ἐκπέμπεται· κάκεϊ τὴν χεῖρα προδιατμηθεὶς, εἶτα καὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀποτέμνεται, ἕνα τυραννήσας ἐπὶ τῷ ἡμίσει ἐνιαυτῷ. τότε καὶ βασιλέα ὁ Θεοδοσίος τὸν Οὐαλεντιανὸν ἀποστείλας ἀναγορεύει.

Ὅτι Ἀέτιος ὁ ὑποστράτηγος Ἰωάννου τοῦ τυράννου μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας τῆς ἐκείνου τελευτῆς βαρβάρους ἄγων μισθωτοὺς εἰς ξ' χιλιάδας παραγίνεται· καὶ συμπλοκῆς αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἄσπαρ γεγενημένης, φόνος ἐκατέρωθεν ἐρρῦη πολὺς. ἔπειτα σπονδὰς ὁ Ἀέτιος τίθεται πρὸς Πλακιδίαν καὶ Οὐαλεντιανὸν καὶ τὴν τοῦ κόμητος ἀξίαν λαμβάνει· καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι χρυσίῳ καταθέμενοι τὴν ὀργὴν καὶ τὰ ὅπλα, ὁμήρους τε δόντες καὶ τὰ πιστὰ λαβόντες, εἰς τὰ οἰκεία ἤθη ἀπεχώρησαν.]

14 πόλῳ add. Bidez 17 ἀποστρατήγους codd. [ὑποστρατήγους Valesius  
17-18 ὑπαγόμενος post ἀποστρατήγους add. Bidez

there Ardabur sailed with a force against the usurper, while Aspar took over command of the cavalry. The latter, still accompanied by Placidia and Valentinian, outstripped the enemy's intelligence by the swiftness of his advance and gained control of Aquileia, a large city.

While Aspar had without difficulty taken control of this very important place, Ardabur was driven off course by a gale and swept, with two of his triremes, into the hands of the usurper. He, with a view to making a treaty, dealt with Ardabur in a kindly manner. Ardabur, enjoying complete freedom of movement, suborned the generals who had been retired from their commands<sup>84</sup> and who were already disaffected, organised a plot against the usurper and sent a message to his son Aspar to come, since success was in their grasp. Aspar came quickly with the cavalry, and after a short struggle John was captured through the treachery of his own officials and sent to Aquileia to Placidia and Valentinian. There his hand was first cut off as a punishment, and then he was decapitated, having usurped power for a year and a half. Then Theodosius sent Valentinian [to Rome] and proclaimed him Emperor.

Aetius, one of John's subordinate commanders, arrived three days after his death leading barbarian mercenaries to the number of sixty thousand. His and Aspar's forces engaged, and there was a heavy slaughter on both sides. Then Aetius made an agreement with Placidia and Valentinian and he received the rank of count. The barbarians in exchange for gold laid aside their anger and their weapons, gave hostages and exchanged oaths, and returned to their homelands.]

## NOTES TO OLYMPIODORUS

1. Baldwin (*Ant. Class.* 1980, p.221) cites Quintilian (10,13,7), Suetonius (*De Vir. Ill.* 10) and Gellius (*N.A. praef.* 5-6) on *ῥῆμα* or *silva* as "a compilation of heterogenous information in bulk", with a "secondary connotation of hasty composition". Cf. *OLD* s.v. *silva* 5b.

2. The tone of this passage, hostile to Stilicho, is hardly likely to have come from Olympiodorus. But the details parallel Zosimus 5,26 (cf. 27,2), except that the latter says that Stilicho acted because he realised the hostility of Arcadius' ministers to him and that Alaric was already in Epirus when the agreement with Stilicho was made.

3. Thermantia was married in 408 to Honorius, who had been married to Maria, the elder daughter of Stilicho and Serena, since 398. Zosimus (5,28,1) says that Stilicho objected to the marriage, and, since his account mentions manoeuvres between Stilicho and Serena over it, Photius here seems to have oversimplified Olympiodorus to the point of inaccuracy.

4. With the words *τὸν διὰ ξίφους ὑπέμεινε θάνατον* cf. *τὸν τραχὺν αὐτὸς ὑπέσχε τῷ ξίφει* (Zos. 5,34,5), a detail which Sozomen and Philostorgius omit.

5. This sentence, like other parts of this passage, is poorly condensed, and the subject of *μέλλων* is missing. It must, however, be Stilicho, not Alaric (the subject of the previous sentence). Some editors supply *ὁ Στελίκων*.

6. Stilicho was accused of plotting to replace Theodosius II with Eucherius according to Zosimus 5,32,1.

7. The list of the slain in Zosimus 5,32,4-7 is: Longinianus, praetorian prefect of Italy; Limenius, p.p. of Gaul; Chariobaudes, master of the soldiers in Gaul; Vincentius, master of the cavalry; Salvius, count of the domestics; Nemorius, master of the offices; Patroinus, count of the sacred largesses; the count of the privy purse, whose name is missing; and Salvius, quaestor of the sacred palace.

8. This version agrees with the longer account in Zosimus 5,32,1-34,7, whereas the first version given is pro-Olympius and says that he personally cut down Stilicho, who was plotting against the Emperor. The naming of Olympiodorus not as the source for the second version, but as an alternative name for Olympius, is clearly an error, probably of Philostorgius (so Bidez in his edition of the latter, p.140), rather than of Photius (so Mendelssohn in his edition of Zosimus, p.xlvii n.1); cf. most recently Baldwin, *art.cit.* (at n.1 above) pp.228-31, who argues the use of Olympiodorus by Philostorgius. In the present passage of

Philostorgius verbal parallels with Olympiodorus appear: with ἐπιβουλεύσαι . . . ροπάλοις ἀναιρεθέντα cf. Olymp. *Fr.* 8,2, ἐπιβουλεύσας . . . ροπάλοις . . . ἀναιρεῖται; with μαυρονίας cf. μαυρόνῳ (*Fr.* 5,1); and both Philostorgius and Olympiodorus (*Fr.* 8,2) speak of δίκη being satisfied by Olympius' death.

9. Here Zosimus differs from Olympiodorus since he says (5,36,1) that Alaric first tried to make peace with Honorius and (*ibid.* 2-3) that Honorius did not ally himself with Sarus. Thus, it is likely that the passage of Olympiodorus refers to a later breakdown of negotiations in which Sarus was directly involved (cf. Philostorgius 12,3 = *Fr.* 10,2).

10. Zosimus says that the payment was for the march into Epirus (5,28,7) and that it was in gold (*ibid.* 9).

11. Zosimus (5,38,1) says that the charge against Serena was unfounded. Eucherius, after finding sanctuary in a church (Zos. 5,35,4), was later executed by order of Honorius (Zos. 5,37,4).

12. The same account, in rather more detail, is given by Zosimus (5,41,1-3), who names the prefect as Pompeianus and says that Innocent, the bishop of Rome, consented to the invocation of thunder and lightning providing the ceremonies were carried out in secret. In the MSS of Sozomen the name of the Etrurian town is given as Larnia, which is nowhere attested; Narnia, an easy correction based on the readings of Zosimus' MS, was in fact in Umbria, but close to the Etruscan border. The juxtaposition of λῆμος and λοιμός, which is also found in Zosimus 5,39,2, suggests that here Olympiodorus was imitating Thucydides on the Athenian plague (noted by Baldwin, *Ant. Class.* 1980, p.227). This passage is followed by a Christian exposition of the futility of pagan hopes, since the siege was a punishment from God for the immorality and cruelty of the people of Rome.

13. The gifts, or rather the price of a truce, are set out by Zosimus 5,41,4: 5,000 lbs. of gold, 30,000 lbs. of silver, 4,000 silk tunics, 3,000 scarlet-dyed skins, 3,000 lbs. of pepper.

14. This passage is compatible with Zosimus' account, and in some details the two are complementary. While Philostorgius fails to note that Stilicho's barbarian troops revolted after the massacre of their families (Zos. 5,35,5-6) and wholly omits the first siege of Rome, he is the sole source for the details that they ravaged the city environs before the first siege and that they renewed their offer of help to Alaric after the murder of Eucherius (Zosimus, *loc.cit.*, puts the offer of help before the murder).

15. Zosimus (5,44,1) names Olympius as the culprit.

16. This passage exactly parallels the much more detailed account in Zosimus 5,44,1 - 51,2 (except that the latter plays down the role of Innocent). Certain of the details in Zosimus clarify Jovius' actions: he had been an old friend of Alaric's; he had made the suggestion that Alaric be given the military command; and, as the result of his oath, he blocked the implementation of Alaric's second, more reasonable, set of

demands. The "territory of little importance to the Romans" was the two Noricum. Previously he had demanded land in Dalmatia and the two Venetias also (Zos. 5,48,3).

17. Olympius' second spell as master of the offices is attested nowhere else. Constantius did not marry Placidia until 417, but Olympius was probably killed long before that date. Philostorgius 12,1 (= *Fr.* 5,3) says that he was killed soon after holding the post of master of the offices.

18. The reference is to Radagaisus' invasion of Italy in 405-06. Zosimus, too, (5,26,5) says that Stilicho incorporated some of the survivors (probably Ostrogoths) into his auxiliary forces. This note could come from a discussion of the followers of Stilicho who joined Alaric (cf. Zos. 5,35,5-6).

19. Other names in Olympiodorus *Fr.* 14. Zosimus (6,7,2) records Lampadius, praetorian prefect of Italy; Marcianus, urban prefect; Valens, master of the cavalry (so Zos. 6,10,1). Tertullus was named consul (Zos. 6,7,4). On the splitting of the domestics into cavalry and infantry see Jones 1964, II p.636.

20. Zosimus (6,7,1) is equally scornful of Attalus' pretensions. Valesius took *πάτρια* to refer to a promise to restore the ancestral pagan rites. More probably it reflects the traditional promise of new Emperors to respect the general rights of the Roman senate (= *iura patria*). Attalus' speech was thoroughly anachronistic.

21. According to Zosimus (6,8,2) these were expected while Stilicho was still alive.

22. According to Zosimus (6,12,1) most of the senate now agreed with Alaric's advice.

23. Zosimus (6,12,2) says that Attalus was deposed before Ariminum. He also seems to suggest that the deposition did not follow an agreement with Honorius but was rather designed to facilitate one.

24. The Greek is ambiguous here. I take Sozomen to be saying that Honorius restored Attalus' officials to the rank and honours which they had held before his usurpation, not before his deposition.

25. With τὴν ἰδιώτην ἀνθελέσθαι βλῶν cf. Olymp. *Fr.* 14: τὸν ἰδιώτην . . . βλῶν ἀνθηρημένος, but used of Attalus.

26. Olymp. *Fr.* 14 ascribes this demand to Jovianus (Jovius). Zosimus (6,8,1) is ambiguous, reporting that Jovius put it forward as a demand of Attalus.

27. This is probably an error. Sarus had perhaps been master of the soldiers in Gaul in 407, but Zosimus (5,36,2) is explicit that Honorius passed over Sarus after Stilicho's death. Sarus' defeat of Alaric is a doublet of his attack which aborted the peace-conference after the deposition of Attalus and precipitated the sack of Rome (Sozomen 9,9,2-5 = *Fr.* 11,1); at this time he was in Picenum siding with neither party (Zos. 6,13,2). Similarly, the second occupation of Portus was

probably a part of the third siege of Rome rather than a prelude to Attalus' deposition.

28. The reading τὰς Ἀλπεις is clearly wrong and probably hides the name of a place now unknown. Cluverius (in Valesius *ad loc.*) suggested Κλάσσην, the port of Ravenna, which is only twenty-three stades distant. But this has not found acceptance.

29. Zosimus (6,13,2) says that the enmity was with Ataulf.

30. The final part of this passage is clearly a Christian version. But it is not impossible that Olympiodorus mentioned sanctuary in St. Peter's (cf. Zos. 5,35,4 on Eucherius' sanctuary in a Roman church).

31. The rest of the passage of Philostorgius is broken by two lacunae of 2 and 2 2/5 lines (so Bidez). In it the historian speaks of someone of Sarmatian origin (who, it has been conjectured, was a first wife of Ataulf) and then refers forward to Ataulf's marriage to Placidia, which is interpreted as a fulfilment of the prophecy of *Daniel* 2: 31-45 (the image seen by Nebuchodonosor with the feet partly of iron and partly of clay).

32. Although in vol. I p.163 n.11 I dismissed this passage, I have included it as possibly from Olympiodorus for the following (I confess, rather weak) reasons: Socrates 9,9,4 (= *Fr.* 11,1) says that the city fell by treachery; Olympiodorus seems to have liked to remark cannibalism; if Zosimus 6,7,4 is good evidence, Olympiodorus seems to have been hostile to the Anicii, and it would have been a nice touch to record the treachery (however well-meant) of one of the leading females of that family.

33. Zosimus (6,2,2) calls them Justinianus and Nebigastios (emended to Nebiogastes by the editors). The accounts of Photius, Zosimus and Sozomen are here very close, even to verbal parallels.

34. At this point, if a mutilated passage of Zosimus (6,4,2) is any guide, the original listed the officials given to Constans as Caesar.

35. I translate ἀναλαβόντες ἑαυτοὺς thus on the basis of Zosimus 6,3,2, who says that earlier Constantine had routed these tribes (for the sense of ἀναλαμβάνω cf. Thuc. 6,26,2).

36. Called Jovius by Zosimus and Sozomen. The error is probably Photius's.

37. The MSS read Λιβερῶνα, which I have retained. Bidez, following Valesius, reads Βέρωννα, which is impossible if Constantine started from Arles, as he seems to have done. Ortelius (cited by Valesius in *PG* LXVII col. 1619) identified the town as Libarna in Liguria, which in my view is correct. (Another suggestion is a Libero, identified with modern Viverone, near to Vercellae, which, however, like Verona, is not in Liguria.) If Libarna is meant, then Constantine would have marched from Arles via the coast road (thus παραμειψας is absolutely correct) and turned north through Libarna intending to cross the Po and secure his rear by taking the northern cities before the advance

upon Ravenna. This passage, indeed, is a good example of the attention to geographical detail which was remarked in vol. I p.38.

38. This sentence, so baldly Christian, would not be from Olympiodorus.

39. The words from καταπεσούσης to Ἄλανοι repeat almost verbatim those of 12,3 (= *Fr.* 13,2). Sozomen has omitted to inform us that Constans had been sent back to Spain (Zosimus 6,5,2 puts the return, probably wrongly, before his elevation to Augustus) to supersede Gerontius (so Bury 1958 I p.192), who had failed to keep the barbarians out of Spain. This precipitated Gerontius' revolt.

40. In this passage Maximus is twice called the son of Gerontius, whereas Sozomen (9,13,1 = *Fr.* 17,2) calls him οἰκείος and Gregory of Tours (*Hist. Franc.* 2,9) *cliens*. Usually the latter are followed, and Maximus is called a dependent (e.g. *PLRE* II 'Maximus' 4). However, Photius is quite specific, and it is perhaps easier to see how οἰκείος (with its secondary Byzantine usage as a possessive) developed out of the statement that he was one of the δομέστικοι (= the imperial bodyguards) than how he was transformed from a dependent to a son. Valesius (in *PG* LXVII col. 1622) is wrong to cite Prosper Tiro, *Chron.* s.a. 412, as evidence of Maximus' low birth and status as a dependent. Prosper's words, *modestia humilitasque hominis*, refer to his character, not station in life.

41. In the next sentence Constans is sent out to Vienne. This ordering of material may reflect Olympiodorus' own confused narrative or it may indicate that this first sentence is from a source (an epitome?) other than Olympiodorus. Sozomen does have a second, Christian, source, as is clear from the later praise of Nonnichia.

42. This explanation is compatible with the apparently different one offered by Photius' summary; they are, in fact, complementary. The flight of Gerontius from Arles and the loss of most of his (non-Spanish) troops meant that the Spanish soldiery, who presumably resented not only the firm hand of the regime but also a foreign general with a foreign garrison allied with the barbarians, could now attempt a coup since he was badly weakened. Thus, οἰκείου στρατοῦ of Photius does not mean Gerontius' private army (as Gordon 1960, p.37) but his troops as opposed to those of the other generals and usurpers, and εὐκαταφρόνητον of Sozomen does not impute personal cowardice to Gerontius (as it is usually taken) but means that he could now be taken lightly because of the crumbling of his power.

43. Κεκτημένον appears to render the Latin legal term *possessor*.

44. Τῆς δωροῦ πράξεως is the reading of Bidez, the sense of which is clear. The older editors read τῆς οὐλοφθα πράξεως, which Valesius takes as a jest: the state thanked Ecdicius for what Ulfilas had already achieved by defeating Edobich. Nicephorus Callistus, in his transcription of this passage (*HE* 14,6 = *PG* CXLVI col. 1073), has simply τῆς πράξεως.

45. The proverb of the wolf gaping unsuccessfully for food is common in comedy: cf. Euphron in Athenaeus *Deipn.* 9,380B, *χανεῖν λύκων διὰ κενῆς*. Nicephorus Callistus, in his transcription of this passage (*loc.cit.*), adds *λύκος*.

46. The identity of this place has caused much dispute; see Bijvank 1938 p.381 and Vannerus 1936 pp.5-22 (with older bibliography). Mayence (Mogontiacum) is the obvious candidate, but that requires both the emendation of the name of the town and the changing of *ἐτέρας* to *πρώτης* (i.e. Germania Prima). The best guess is probably that of H. Gregoire, supported hesitantly by Vannerus, Montzen in Belgium. The place is obscure, but Olympiodorus seems to have liked such details.

47. The phrase *δι' ἀντιγμάτων* is unclear. Perhaps Olympiodorus had Jovinus, a presumably well-educated Gallo-Roman, use his learning to launch an oblique attack, in a speech or a *bon mot*, upon Attalus' interference, which escaped the notice of the uneducated barbarians.

48. The MSS vary between *σάκκοις* ("with sacks") and *σάκκοις* (rare = "with lassoes"). With Gordon (1960 p.198 n.9) I prefer the latter on the ground that it makes sense. Henry (*ad Phot. loc.cit.*) prints the latter, but translates "en lui jetant un sac sur la tête," which conjures up a rather bathetic image.

49. As Maenchen-Helfen pointed out (1973 p.73), Photius does not say that Donatus was a Hunnic king; in fact, the name is Roman, and he could have been a renegade (cf. *ibid.* p.432). On the other hand, his prominence in the fragment suggests that he was some kind of leader amongst the Huns. There is no basis at all for the view of Cameron (1965 p.497, accepted by Matthews 1970 pp.79f.) that Olympiodorus' mission on this embassy was to have Donatus killed.

50. 'Maximinus' is clearly an error for (Magnus) 'Maximus'; *Μαξιμου* would certainly have been in Olympiodorus. The identity of 'Carthage' is unclear. It is generally taken to be African Carthage, but Bury (1958 I p.195 n.2) thinks that while the heads of Jovinus and Sebastian were sent to Africa in view of Heraclian's revolt, those of Constantine and Julian were sent to Carthage in Spain. Since Photius says not that the heads of Constantine and Julian were exposed but that they were cut off at Carthage, and since they were killed near to Ravenna, perhaps Schottus' proposal to read *Ῥαβέννης* should be accepted. In fact, the *Annals of Ravenna* (cited in *PLRE* II 'Jovinus' 2) state that the heads of Jovinus and Sebastian were brought there on August 30th 412 (cf. Theophanes *Chron. a.m.* 5904, who says that they were taken to Rome).

51. Jovinus seems to be the correct form, not Jovianus (as also Philostorgius). *PLRE* II 'Maximus' 4 takes this Maximus to be Gerontius' Emperor who earlier fled to the barbarians, and it suggests that the report of his execution is wrong (alternatively, that he is the same as a later usurper in Spain = 'Maximus' 7). However, perhaps this report

is an error arising out of Olympiodorus' mention at this point of the exposure of the head of Magnus Maximus (see previous note). Does *ἀδοκίμως* suggest that Olympiodorus had written up his account of Jovinus' usurpation as one that had high hopes of success, but that was ruined by a sudden reversal, the unwise estrangement of Ataulf?

52. What follows is a Christian disquisition upon God's hatred of usurpers, which corresponds (though the sentiments differ) to Sozomen 9,16.

53. *Παστὰς* is usually translated "bridal chamber", but it was not the Roman custom to hold the marriage celebrations there. Here, therefore, it must just mean "hall" as in, e.g., Apollonius Rhodius 1,789.

54. The juxtaposition of this wedding description with the consular procession of Constantius, which was remarked in vol. I p.46, is pointed up by its dating to the beginning of January, the time of the consular procession, and Ataulf's wearing a Roman military cloak (*χλαμῖς* = *χλαμῖς* = *paludamentum*).

55. On the passage of Philostorgius cf. n.31.

56. In vol. I p.140 n.70 I wrongly accepted Thompson's (1944 p.49 and n.1) interpretation of this passage. Matthews (1973 p.355 and n.4), citing A. Chastagnol, *La Préfecture urbaine à Rome sous le bas-empire* (Paris, 1960) p.292 takes the number 14,000 to be the total increase since the last assessment ("conducted, perhaps, shortly after the sack of Rome") of the inhabitants eligible for the dole. Such an increase between 410 and 414 (the date of Albinus' prefecture) seems rather too small to be an indicator of significant recovery. What I now take Albinus to be saying is that the number of eligible recipients has increased enormously. As an example of the scale of the increase he points out that on one day of the assessment – but not the only day – 14,000 were registered. In this case 14,000 would not be the total increase, but the most spectacular result of a day's registration (presumably the first) and an indication of a much larger overall growth. If Philostorgius 12,5 (= *Fr.* 26,2) is to be trusted, the increase was comparatively recent.

57. Dubius is called Everulf by Jordanes (*Get.* 31,163), who seems to offer a different motive (Ataulf's mockery of his short stature) for the murder. But since it is likely that his first master was Sarus (cf. Oost 1968 pp.134f.), he was probably part of the plot to replace Ataulf by Singeric.

58. This seems to be an error. Attalus had earlier been abandoned by the Goths and had been captured while trying to flee (Oost 1968 pp.132f.).

59. The MSS here read *τούτους*, and it is just possible that other names have been lost in the preceding lacuna. But Nicephorus Callistus (*HE* 13,35 = *PG* CXLVI col. 1044), who places his account of Attalus' punishment after the first deposition (perhaps reflecting ultimately

Olympiodoran repetition), speaks only of Attalus' punishment. So the emendation *τοῦτον* is probably correct.

60. This phrase imitates *κατῆρας εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας* of Plato, *Hipp. Mai.* 281A, which is used by Socrates to introduce Hippias of Elis, a much-travelled polymath who, like Olympiodorus, was used to conduct state business.

61. Hesychius, s.v. *Ἀκρωμεῖται*, glosses this with *οἱ μεῖζονες*.

62. The word *τροῦλα* is, of course, the Latin *trulla* ("scoop"). Thus the Goths paid one *solidus* for a scoop of grain holding under one-third of one-sixteenth of a *modius*, that is the enormous price of 48 *solidi* per *modius*. This compares with the standard rate of 40 *modii* per *solidus* for Numidia and Mauretania set by Valentinian III in 445 (*Nov. Val.* 13,4) and a price of 10 *modii* per *solidus* in a time of scarcity in Liguria given by Cassiodorus (*Var.* 10,27; 12,27-28). It reflects not only the utter dependency of the Visigoths upon the grain supplied (and currently withheld) by the Romans, but perhaps Vandal willingness to relieve them of the treasures accumulated at the sack of Rome. The Vandals in question would be the Silings who had settled in Baetica and whom the Goths later annihilated.

63. The measures are probably *modii* (each = approx. ¼ bushel). Photius omits to record that Wallia also agreed to fight for the Empire against the Vandals, Sueves and Alans in Spain.

64. In reading *κεκωλισμένων* and *κώλου* I follow Frantz (1966 pp.377-80). The alternative readings, *κεκολλημένων* and *κόλλου*, would have the investigation concerned with the glueing of books, a menial task and hardly worth a statue. The object of the inquiry seems to have been to ascertain the standard length of a line of writing, either for the calculation of the rate of pay for the copyists (so Frantz) or simply as an academic question in its own right. Recently R.J. Penella (1980 pp.245f.) has pointed out that it is not wholly clear from Photius' summary that the statue was a reward for solving the problem of the *κώλα* since *καί* need not be explanatory; it may have marked some other achievement.

65. Given the proximity to the remark about the lack of clouds, it is a reasonable assumption that the writer is speaking of sundials rather than water clocks (as Gordon 1960 p.17).

66. The Herodotean reference is 3,26,1, where it is said that Oasis is seven days from Thebes across the sand (*ψάμμου*). Herodorus is otherwise only known as a writer on the Argonauts ('Herodorus' 5 in *RE* VII col.988). Photius does not make it clear whether the proofs that Oasis was an island were Olympiodorus' own or quoted from Herodorus. I have assumed the former, since this passage is part of what was probably a longer dissertation on Olympiodorus' own homeland. The 'proofs' presumably have the sand blowing in from the West and assume that the sea is only a short distance to the West. The great Oasis would be El Kharga, the other large one probably Dakhla, somewhat

under 100 miles to the West (thus both *ἐξωτέρω* and *καταντικρύ* are apposite), the smaller one Farafra, about 200 miles north-west of El Kharga. (For the translation of *ὄρος* = "desert", an Egyptian usage, see the examples in L. & S.)

67. Despite the hesitation of Oost (1968 p.142), Olympiodorus seems to indicate clearly that the wedding took place on the same day as the consular procession (Jan. 1, 417).

68. The ungrammatical English reflects Photius' Greek. Niebuhr's correction, *μέλλον*, is tidy, but not necessary.

69. Haupt (1866 p.30) explained the phenomenon as St. Elmo's Fire.

70. This bird would probably have been a parrakeet. The Alexandrine parrakeet (*Psittacula eupatria*) and the plumhead parrakeet (*Psittacula cyanocephala*), both introduced by Alexander from the East (cf. Ctesias in Photius *Bibl. Cod.* 72, I p.134 ed. Henry), were popular in antiquity.

71. The Blemmyes inhabited the region between the Nile and the Red Sea, roughly south of the First Cataract. After a series of raids by the Blemmyes, Diocletian moved the border northward to the area of Philae, abandoning Prima and the four other towns named by Olympiodorus.

72. The translation of *σμάραγδος* is never certain, since it might refer to a number of green stones. But in this case the reference is probably to the emerald mines to the north of Berenice on the Red Sea coast.

73. This Libanius is otherwise unknown. Henry's translation indicates that he was successful in his demonstration, but the Greek does not say that, although Olympiodorus seems to have felt confident in his powers (cf. *δύνασθαι*). As in the case of the refusal to use the Etruscan diviners during the siege of Rome (Sozomen 9,6,5 = *Fr.* 7,5), Olympiodorus probably presented this as a missed opportunity.

74. Sometimes identified with Padusia, the wife of Felix, who was the first master of the soldiers of Valentinian III and a rival of Aetius (*PLRE* II 'Spadusa').

75. John was proclaimed at Rome and accepted by the western military authorities, including the master of the soldiers, Castinus (Matthews 1975 pp.379f.).

76. Baldwin (*Ant. Class.* 1980 p.222) points out that *ἥρωικός* is also used of Sarus (*Fr.* 6). The portraits of both Boniface and Sarus lay stress upon personal courage and prowess in single combats or small-group skirmishes. The vocabulary might be heroic in the Greek tradition (cf. *ἡρώσειεν* of Boniface in the present passage), but it describes prowess which, in the fifth century A.D., was Germanic rather than Greek or Roman.

77. This seems to be Olympiodorus' own composition. Baldwin (*art. cit.* p.216) takes it as sardonic. I doubt that (see below n.81).

78. This measurement would have been carried out in connection with the repairing of the walls of Rome by Honorius and Stilicho on the eve of Alaric's invasion of Italy in 402-03 (not 408-10, as Gordon 1960 p.23). The figure is far too high. The circuit of the Aurelian Wall was about twelve miles.

79. The best MS of Photius reads 'Ολυμπίου, and Gordon (1960 p.197 n.26) suggested that this Olympius might have been identical with Stilicho's enemy. But his career (*PLRE* II 'Olympius' 2) is not that of a leading Roman aristocrat, and it is unlikely that the wealth here envisaged would have survived his fall. Olympius is not a name common amongst the high Roman aristocrats of the period, and the emendation 'Ολυβρίου has often been accepted, the identification being made with the Olybrius who was consul in 395 and who died before 410 (*PLRE* I 'Olybrius' 2). This fits well with the passage of Olympiodorus, who indicates that when Probus celebrated his praetorship, in 423-25, he gave the games himself (and therefore his father was presumably dead). Moreover, if he were about seventeen when he gave the games (which was about the usual age for the praetorship at the time), he would have been born *ca* 406-08. (For the corruption cf. *P.Oxy.* 1133, cited in *PLRE* I *art.cit.*, where Olybrius' name is rendered Olymbrius.) An alternative would be to read 'Αλυπίου with Photius' MS. M, who could be Alypius 13 in *PLRE* I. At any rate, it is quite likely that Probus was a member of the Anician *gens*, which made much use of both the names Olybrius and Alypius.

80. Baldwin (*Ant. Class.* 1980 p.216 n.15) suggests that the term λογογράφος might be mocking. More likely it is admiringly archaic.

81. The suggestion of Thompson that in this passage Olympiodorus is condemning the unequal distribution of wealth was rejected in vol. I n.97 on p.142. Even the hesitant suggestion of Matthews (1970 p.95) that at least the contrast with imperial bankruptcy is implicitly recognised, must be rejected. This and the previous passage are wholly panegyric and preparatory to the climactic coronation of Valentinian III.

82. He was five years and three months old, having been born on July 2nd (or 3rd), 419. The ceremony took place at Thessalonika on October 23rd, 424.

83. The coronation took place on October 23rd, 425, so that Valentinian was six years and three months old.

84. Valesius' emendation υποστρατήγους ('junior officers') is often accepted, but if John, coming from Rome to Ravenna, had compulsorily retired some of the senior officers loyal to Honorius, that would have been a good reason for the disaffection.

## PRISCUS

### Text and Translation

## PRISCUS

### TESTIMONIA

#### 1

(*Suda* Π 2301)

Πρίσκος, Πανίτης, σοφιστής, γεγονώς ἐπὶ τῶν χρόνων Θεοδοσίου τοῦ μικροῦ· ἔγραψεν Ἱστορίαν Βυζαντιακὴν καὶ τὰ κατὰ Ἀττήλαν ἐν βιβλίοις ὀκτώ, Μελέτας τε Ῥητορικὰς καὶ Ἐπιστολάς.

3 Ἀττήλαν edd. [Ἄτταλον codd.

#### 2

(*Evagrius HE* 1,17)

Ἐν τούτοις τοῖς χρόνοις ὁ πολὺς τῷ λόγῳ πόλεμος ἐκεκίνητο Ἀττίδα τοῦ τῶν Σκυθῶν βασιλέως· ὃν περιέργως καὶ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα λογίως Πρίσκος ὁ ῥήτωρ γράφει, μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς κομψείας διηγουμένος ὅπως τε κατὰ τῶν ἐξῶν καὶ ἐσπερίων ἐπεστράτευσε μερῶν, αἷας τε καὶ ὄσας πόλεις ἐλὼν κατήγαγε, καὶ ὅσα πεπραχὼς τῶν ἐντεῦθεν μετέστη.

5

### FRAGMENTA

#### 1

(*Jordanes, Get.* 24,123-26)

Quorum natio saeva, ut Priscus historicus refert, Meotida palude ulteriore ripa insidens, venationi tantum nec alio labore experta, nisi quod, postquam crevisset in populis, fraudibus et rapinis vicinarum gentium quiete conturbans. huius ergo gentis, ut adsolet, venatores, dum in interioris Meotidae ripam venationes inquirent, animadvertunt, quomodo ex inproviso cerva se illis optulit ingressaque paludem nunc progrediens nunc subsistens index viae se tribuit. quam secuti venatores paludem Meotidam, quem inpervium ut pelagus aestimant, pedibus transierunt. mox quoque Scythica terra

5

7 indicem viae se praeibuit XY 9 affirmabant XYZ

## PRISCUS

### TESTIMONIA

#### 1.

(*Suda* Π 2301)

Priscus of Panium, sophist, lived during the time of Theodosius the Younger. He wrote a History of Byzantium and of Attila in eight books, Exercises in Rhetoric, and Letters.

#### 2

(*Evagrius HE* 1,17)

At this time was fought the very famous war with Attila, the king of the Scythians, of which Priscus the rhetor wrote a detailed and very erudite History. With great elegance he describes how Attila campaigned against both the eastern and western parts of the Empire, the nature and size of the cities which he captured and destroyed, and the great damage which he wreaked before he withdrew.

### FRAGMENTS

#### 1

(*Jordanes, Get.* 24,123-26)

According to the historian Priscus, this savage tribe [i.e. the Huns] lived on the further shore of the Maeotic marsh, practising only hunting and no other form of labour except that when they increased in numbers, they harassed the neighbouring peoples with treachery and rapine. Hunters from this tribe, who, as was their custom, were seeking game along their shore of Maeotis, noticed a hind which suddenly appeared to them, entered the marsh and, now moving ahead and now waiting for them, led them along a path. This the hunters followed and crossed on foot the Maeotic marsh which they thought to be as impassable as a sea. Soon the land of Scythia, which was unknown to



ignotis apparuit, cerva disparuit. quod, credo, spiritus illi, unde progeniem trahunt, ad Scytharum invidia id egerunt.

Illi vero, qui praeter Meotidam alium mundum esse paenitus ignorabant, admiratione ducti terrae Scythicae et, ut sunt sollertes, iter illud nullae ante aetati notissimum divinitus sibi ostensum rati, ad suos redeunt, rei gestum edocent, Scythiam laudant persuasaeque gente sua via, qua cerva indice dedicerant, ad Scythiam properant, et quantoscumque prius in ingressu Scytharum habuerunt, litavere victoriae, reliquos perdomitos subegerunt. nam mox ingentem illam paludem transierunt, ilico Alpidzuros, Alcildzuros, Itimaros, Tuncarsos et Boiscos, qui ripae istius Scythiae insedebant, quasi quaedam turbo gentium rapuerunt.

(Cf. Procopius, *Wars* 8,5,4 and 7-12)

## 2

(Exc. de Leg. Rom. 1)

“Ὅτι Ῥοῦα βασιλεύοντος Οὐννων, Ἀμιλζούροις καὶ Ἰτιμάροις καὶ Τσάνσουροι καὶ Βοίσκοις καὶ ἑτέροις ἔθνεσι προσοικοῦσι τὸν Ἰστρον καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥωμαίων ὁμαιχμίαν καταφυγάνουσιν ἐς μάχην ἔλθειν προηρημένος ἐκπέμπει Ἡσλαν εἰωθότα ἐπὶ τοῖς διαφόροις αὐτῷ τε καὶ Ῥωμαίοις διακονεῖσθαι, λύειν τὴν προὔπάρχουσαν εἰρήνην ἀπειλῶν, εἰ μὴ γε πάντας τοὺς παρὰ σφῶς καταφυγόντας ἐκδοῖεν. βουλευομένων δὲ Ῥωμαίων στείλαι πρεσβείαν παρὰ τοὺς Οὐννους, πρεσβεύειν μὲν ἤθελον Πλίνθας καὶ Διονύσιος, Πλίνθας μὲν τοῦ Σκυδικοῦ, Διονύσιος δὲ τοῦ Θρακίου γένους, ἀμρότεροι δὲ στρατοπέδων ἡγούμενοι καὶ ἄρξαντες τὴν ὕπατον παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἀρχήν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐδόκει Ἡσλαν παρὰ τὸν Ῥοῦαν ἀμικνεῖσθαι πρότερον τῆς ἐκπεμφθεσομένης πρεσβείας, συνεκπέμπει Πλίνθας Σηγγίλαχον, ἄνδρα τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, πείσαι τὸν Ῥοῦαν αὐτῷ καὶ μὴ ἑτέροις Ῥωμαίων ἐς λόγους ἔλθειν.

Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ῥοῦα, καὶ περιστάσης τῆς Οὐννων βασιλείας ἐς Ἀττίλαν καὶ Βλήδαν, ἐδόκει τῇ Ῥωμαίων βουλῇ Πλίνθαν πρεσβεύεσθαι παρ’ αὐτούς. καὶ κυρωθείσης ἐπ’ αὐτῷ παρὰ βασιλέως ψήφου, ἐβούλετο καὶ Ἐπιγένην ὁ Πλίνθας συμπρεσβεύειν αὐτῷ ὡς μεγίστην ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ δόξαν ἐπιφερόμενον καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχοντα τοῦ κοιαιστόρος. χειροτονίας δὲ καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ γενομένης, ἄμρω ἐπὶ τὴν πρεσβείαν ἐξώρμησαν καὶ παραγίνονται ἐς Μάργον (ἡ δὲ πόλις τῶν ἐν Ἰλλυρίᾳ Μυσῶν πρὸς τῷ Ἰστροῦ κειμένη ποταμῷ ἀντικρὺ Κωνσταντίας φρουρίου κατὰ τὴν ἑτέραν ὄχθην διακειμένου).

1 Ἀλπιζούροις Maenchen-Helfen (1973 p.402)

them, came into view, and the hind disappeared. I believe that those spirits, of whom the Huns were engendered, did this out of hatred for the Scythians.<sup>1</sup>

The hunters, who were completely unaware that there was another world beyond Maeotis, were seized with wonder at the land of Scythia and, concluding that the way which was utterly unknown to any age before theirs had been revealed to them by a divine power (since they were knowledgeable of such things), returned to their own people. They related what they had done, praised Scythia and, having won over their tribe, led them to Scythia by the route which the hind had revealed to them. Whomsoever they came upon immediately after their entrance into Scythia they annihilated, the others they utterly defeated and made their subjects. For as soon as they had crossed the great marsh, they fell like some human whirlwind upon the Alpizuri, the Alcilzuri, the Itimari, the Tuncarsi and the Boisci, who inhabited that area of Scythia.<sup>2</sup> (Cf. Procopius, *Wars* 8,5,4 and 7-12)

## 2

(Exc. de Leg. Rom. 1)

When Rua was king of the Huns, the Amilzuri, Itimari, Tounsoures, Boisci and other tribes who were living near to the Danube were fleeing to fight on the side of the Romans.<sup>3</sup> Rua decided to go to war with these tribes and sent Esclas, a man who usually handled negotiations over differences between himself and the Romans, threatening to break the present peace if they did not hand over all who had fled to them. The Romans wished to send an embassy to the Huns, and both Plinthas and Dionysius wished to go. Plinthas was a Scythian, Dionysius a Thracian; both were generals and had held the Roman consulship. Since it seemed that Esclas would reach Rua before the embassy was despatched, Plinthas sent along with him Sengilach, one of his own retainers, to persuade Rua to negotiate with none of the Romans but himself.

When Rua died, the kingship of the Huns devolved upon Attila and Bleda, and the Roman senate recommended that Plinthas be sent as ambassador to them. When this vote had been ratified for him by the Emperor, Plinthas wanted Epigenes as his fellow ambassador, since he had a great reputation for wisdom and held the office of quaestor.<sup>4</sup> When this had been agreed upon, they both set out on this embassy and came to Margus, where the Scythian kings, too, were assembled. (Margus is a city of Moesia in Illyria lying on the river Danube, and opposite it on the far bank is the fortress of Constantia.) They held a meeting

εἰς ἣν καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖοι συνήεσαν Σκύθαι. καὶ τὴν σύνοδον ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐποιοῦντο ἐπιβεβηκότες ἵππων· οὐ γὰρ ἐδόκει τοῖς βαρβάροις ἀποβᾶσι λογοποιεῖσθαι, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίων πρέσβεις τῆς σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀξίας προνοούμενους ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς προαιρέσεως ἐς ταῦτόν τοις Σκύθαις ἐλθεῖν, πρὸς τὸ μὴ τοὺς μὲν ἀπ' ἵππων, τοὺς δὲ πεζοὺς διαλέγεσθαι . . . τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Σκυθικῆς καταφεύγοντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἥδη πεφευγότες σὺν καὶ τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις Ῥωμαίοις τοῖς ἄνευ λύτρων ἐς τὰ σφέτερα ἀφιγμένοις ἐκδίδοσθαι, εἰ μὴ γε ὑπὲρ ἐκάστου πεφευγότες τοῖς κατὰ πόλεμον κτησαμένοις ὁκτῶ δοθεῖεν χρυσοῖ· ἔθνεϊ δὲ βαρβάρῳ μὴ συμμαχεῖν Ῥωμαίους πρὸς Οὐννοὺς αἰρουμένους πόλεμον· εἶναι δὲ καὶ τὰς πανηγύρεις ἰσονόμους καὶ ἀκωδύνους Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ Οὐννοῖς· φυλάττεσθαι δὲ καὶ διαμένειν τὰς συνθήκας ἐπτακοσίων λιτρῶν χρυσίου ἔτους ἐκάστου τελουμένων παρὰ Ῥωμαίων τοῖς βασιλεῖσι Σκύθαις· πρότερον δὲ πεντήκοντα καὶ τριακόσια αἱ τοῦ τέλους ἐτύγχανον οὔσαι, ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐσπένδοντο Ῥωμαῖοι τε καὶ Οὐννοὶ καὶ πάτριον ὅρκον ὁμόσαντες ἐς τὰ ἀμφοτέρα ἐπανήεσαν. οἱ δὲ παρὰ Ῥωμαίους καταφυγόντες ἐξεδόθησαν βαρβάροις, ἐν οἷς καὶ παῖδες Μάμα καὶ Ἀτακάμ τοῦ βασιλείου γένους, οὓς ἐν Καρσῶ φρουρίῳ Θρακίῳ οἱ παρειληφότες ἐσταύρωσαν δίκας αὐτοὺς πραττόμενοι τῆς φυγῆς.

Οἱ δὲ περὶ Ἀττήλαν καὶ Βλήδαν τὴν εἰρήνην πρὸς Ῥωμαίους θέμενοι διεξέεσαν τὰ ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ ἔθνη χειρούμενοι καὶ πόλεμον πρὸς Σορόσγους συνεστήσαντο.

24 συνήεσαν Σκύθαι Niebuhr [συνῆσαν Σκύθαις codd. 29 Ῥωμαίους οὐ μόνον εἰς τὸ μέλλον μὴ δέχεσθαι suppl. Niebuhr in lac. 33-34 αἰρουμένους de Boor [αἰρουμένους codd. αἰρομένους edd. αἰρομένῳ Niebuhr in app. crit. 39 σφέτερα ante ἀμφοτέρα add. Bekker

## [3]

[1. (John of Antioch *Fr.* 194 = *Exc. de Virt. et Vit.* 72)

“Ὅτι Θεοδοσίος τὴν ἀρχὴν παρὰ Ἀρκαδίου τοῦ πατρὸς <δια>δεξάμενος ἀπόλεμος ἦν καὶ δειλία συνέζη καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην χρήμασι καὶ οὐχ ὅπλοις ἐκτήσατο, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῖς εὐνοῦχοις πάντα ἐπραττεν. καὶ ἐς τοσοῦτον τὰ πράγματα ἀτοπίας φέρεσθαι οἱ εὐνοῦχοι παρεσκεύασαν, ὥς συνελόντι εἰπεῖν ἀποβουκολῶντες τὸν Θεοδοσίον, ὥσπερ τοὺς παῖδας ἀθύρμασιν, οὐδὲν ὅ τι καὶ ἄξιον μνήμης διαπράξασθαι συνεχώρησαν, καίτοι ἀγαθῆς ὑπάρχοντα φύσεως· ἀλλ' ἐς ν' ἐν-αὐτοὺς συνελάσαντα βαναύσοις τέ τισι τέχναις καὶ θήραις προσκαρτερεῖν παρέπεισαν, ὥστε αὐτοὺς τε καὶ τὸν Χρυσάφιον ἔχειν τὸ

1 δια- add. Valesius 2-3 συζῶν . . . κτησάμενος Suda 7 συνεχώρησαν [παρεσκεύασαν Suda 8-9 συνελάσαντα . . . καὶ |ἐλληλυθῶς διετέλεσε βαναύσους τέ τινας μετὶν τέχνας καὶ θήρα προσκαρτερῶν, ὥστε τοὺς εὐνούχους καὶ Suda

outside the city mounted on horseback. For the barbarians do not think it proper to confer dismounted, so that the Romans, mindful of their own dignity, chose to meet the Scythians in the same fashion, lest one side speak from horseback, the other on foot . . . <it was agreed> not only that for the future the Romans not receive those who fled from Scythia, but also that those who had already fled should be handed back together with the Roman prisoners-of-war who had made their way back to their own country without ransom, unless for each one who escaped eight *solidi* were given to those who had captured him in war; that the Romans should make no alliance with a barbarian people against the Huns when the latter were preparing for war against them;<sup>5</sup> that there should be safe markets with equal rights for Romans and Huns; that the treaty should be maintained and last as long as the Romans paid seven hundred pounds of gold each year to the Scythian kings (previously the payments had been three hundred and fifty pounds of gold). On these terms the Romans and the Huns made a treaty and, having sworn their native oaths, they returned each to their own country. The fugitives amongst the Romans were handed back to the barbarians, amongst whom were Mama and Atakam, children of the royal house. Those who received them exacted the penalty for their flight by impaling them near to Carsum, a fortress in Thrace.

When they had made peace with the Romans, Attila, Bleda and their forces marched through Scythia subduing the tribes there and also made war on the Sorosgi.<sup>6</sup>

## [3]

[1. (John of Antioch *Fr.* 194 = *Exc. de Virt. et Vit.* 72)

Theodosius, who succeeded his father Arcadius as Emperor, was unwarlike and lived a life of cowardice. He obtained peace by money, not by fighting for it. Everything he did was under the influence of eunuchs, and they brought affairs to such a level of absurdity that, to put it briefly, they distracted Theodosius, as children are distracted with toys, and allowed him to do nothing at all worthy of record, although he had a good character. Even when he had reached fifty years of age they persuaded him to persist in certain low-class pursuits and in wild-beast hunting, so that they, and Chrysaphius in particular,

τῆς βασιλείας κράτος, ὅνπερ ἡ Πουλχερία μετήλθε, τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ 10  
τελευτήσαντος.  
(Cf. *Suda* Θ 145)]

[2. (*Suda* Θ 145)

Θεοδόσιος, βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων, ὁ μικρός. οὗτος διαδεξάμενος  
παρὰ πατρός τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀπόλεμος ὢν καὶ δειλιά συζῶν καὶ τὴν  
εἰρήνην χρήμασιν οὐχ ὅπλοις κτησάμενος, πολλὰ προεξένησε κακὰ  
τῇ Ῥωμαίων πολιτείᾳ. ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῖς εὐνούχοις τραφεῖς πρὸς πᾶν 5  
σφίσιν ἐπίταγμα εὐπειθής ἦν· ὥστε καὶ τοὺς λογάδας τῆς ἐκείνων  
δεῖσθαι ἐπικουρίας καὶ πολλὰ νεοχμεῖσθαι ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς καὶ  
στρατιωτικοῖς τάγμασι, μὴ παριόντων ἐς τὰς ἀρχὰς ἀνδρῶν τῶν  
διέπεω ταύτας δυναμένων ἀλλὰ τῶν χορηγούντων χρυσίον διὰ τὴν  
τῶν εὐνούχων πλεονεξίαν.]

8 δὲ post δὲ add. A

[4]

[ (*Suda* Θ 145)

... καὶ τῶν Σεβαστιανοῦ δορυφόρων πειρατικὸν συστὰν τόν  
τε Ἑλλησποντον καὶ τὴν Προποντίδα διαταράξαι.]

5

(Fr. 1a Dindorf, Müller V p.24)

Οὐάλιψ ὁ πάλαι τοὺς Ῥούβους τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐπαναστήσας  
τοῖς ἐξοῖς, καταλαβὼν Νοβίδουνον πόλιν πρὸς τῇ ὄχθῃ κειμένην τοῦ  
ποταμοῦ, τινὰς τε τῶν πολιτῶν διεχειρίσατο καὶ σύμπαντα τὰ ἐν τῷ  
ἄστει ἀθροίσας χρήματα κατατρέχειν τὴν Θρακῶν καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν 5  
παρεσκευάζετο μετὰ τῶν νεωτερίζων σὺν αὐτῷ ἐλομένων. τῆς δὲ  
παρασητισμένης αὐτὸν πεμψείσης ἐκ βασιλέως δυνάμεως τευχίρης  
γενόμενος τοὺς πολιορκούντας ἐκ τῶν περιβόλων ἡμύνετο, ἐφ' ὅσον  
αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς ἄμφ' αὐτὸν οἷα τε ἦν καρτερεῖν. ἡνίκα γὰρ ἀπη-  
γόρευον τῷ πόνῳ διὰ τὸ ἐκ διαδοχῆς τὸ Ῥωμαϊκὸν μάχεσθαι πλῆθος, 10  
ἐς τὰς ἐπάλλεις τοὺς παῖδας τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἰστώντες τὴν τῶν  
ἐκταντῶν βελῶν ἐπέειχον φορὰν. φίλοι γὰρ τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν παίδων οἱ  
στρατιώται οὔτε ἐβαλλον ἐς τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους οὔτε ἠκόντιζον. καὶ  
οὕτως αὐτῷ τριβομένου τοῦ χρόνου ἐπὶ συνθήκαις ἡ πολιορκία  
ἐλύετο. (Cf. *Suda* A 3145, T 458)

1 Ῥούβους Müller 6 αὐτὸν Müller aut αὐτὴν [αὐτῶν cod. 6-7 τευχίρης γενό-  
μενος *Suda* T 458 [τευχίρης [sic] γενομένης cod. 9 πρὸς τὸ Ῥ. μ. πλῆθος  
aut τῷ Ῥωμαϊκῷ μ. πλήθει Müller 11 ὄντες post γὰρ add. Müller

wielded the royal power. After her brother's death Chrysaphius was the  
object of Pulcheria's vengeance.  
(Cf. *Suda* Θ 145)

[2. (*Suda* Θ 145)

Theodosius the Younger, Emperor of the Romans. He became  
Emperor after his father and because he was unwarlike and lived in  
cowardice and obtained peace by money, not by fighting, he was the  
cause of many subsequent evils for the Roman state. Since he had been  
brought up under the thumbs of eunuchs, he was open to their every  
demand. The result was that even the senior officials needed their  
support, and there were many innovations in the civil and military ad-  
ministrations, since positions were not filled by people who could  
administer them but by people who paid gold for them because of the  
greed of the eunuchs.]

[4]

[ (*Suda* Θ 145)

Moreover, piracy broke out amongst Sebastian's retainers and  
harassed the Hellespont and the Propontis.]<sup>7</sup>

5

(Fr. 1a Dindorf; Müller V p.24)

Valips, who had earlier roused the Rubi against the eastern  
Romans, seized Novidunum, a city which lies on the river, slew some of  
its citizens and, having collected all the wealth in the city, prepared,  
together with those who had chosen to revolt with him, to overrun  
Thrace and Illyria.<sup>8</sup> When a force sent by the Emperor was upon him  
and he was besieged within the city, he kept the besiegers away from  
the circuit wall for as long as he and those with him could hold out.  
But when they were worn out by the toil of continually fighting the  
great number of Romans, they checked the clouds of enemy missiles  
by placing the children of their prisoners on the ramparts. For the  
soldiers loved the Roman children and hurled neither missiles nor  
javelins against those on the wall. In this way Valips gained a breathing  
space, and the siege was ended on terms.  
(Cf. *Suda* A 3145, T 458)

## 1. (Exc. de Leg. Gent. 1)

Ὅτι τῶν Σκυθῶν κατὰ τὸν τῆς πανηγύρεως καιρὸν κατα-  
στρατηγήσαντων Ῥωμαίους καὶ πολλοὺς ἀνελόντων, οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι  
ἐπέστελλον πρὸς τοὺς Σκύθας ἐν αἰτίᾳ σφᾶς ποιοῦμενοι τῆς τοῦ  
φρουρίου αἰρέσεως ἕνεκεν καὶ τῆς τῶν σπονδῶν ὀλιγωρίας. οἱ δὲ  
ἀπεκρίναντο ὡς οὐκ ἀρξάμενοι ἀλλ' ἀμυνόμενοι ταῦτα δράσειαν· τὸν  
γὰρ τῆς Μάργου ἐπίσκοπον εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν διαβεβηκότα γῆν καὶ διε-  
ρευνησάμενον τὰς παρὰ σφίσι βασιλείους θήκας σεσυληκέναι τοὺς  
ἀποκεκλιμένους θησαυροὺς· καὶ εἰ μὴ τοῦτον ἐκδοῖεν, ἐκδοῖεν δὲ καὶ  
τοὺς φυγάδας κατὰ τὰ ὑποκείμενα (εἶναι γὰρ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις πλείσ-  
τους) τὸν πόλεμον ἐπάξειν. Ῥωμαίων δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν οὐκ ἀληθῆ  
φαιμένων εἶναι, ἐν τοῖς σφετέραις λόγοις τὸ πιστὸν οἱ βάρβαροι  
θέμενοι κρίσεως μὲν τῶν ἀμφιβόλων κατωλιγώρουν, πρὸς πόλεμον  
δὲ ἐτράπησαν, καὶ περαιωθέντες τὸν Ἰστρον πόλεις καὶ φρούρια  
πλείστα ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ ἐκάκωσαν. ἐν οἷς καὶ τὸ Βιμνάκιον εἶλον·  
πόλιν δὲ αὕτη τῶν ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς Μυσῶν. ὧν γνωμένων, καὶ τῶν  
λογοποιούντων ὡς ὁ τῆς Μάργου ἐπίσκοπος ἐκδοθεῖν, ὥστε μὴ ἐνδὲς  
ἀνδρὸς περὶ τῷ παντὶ Ῥωμαίων τὸν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου ἐπαχθῆναι  
κίνδυνον, ὑποποτήσας ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐκδοθήσεσθαι, λαθὼν τοὺς ἐν τῷ  
ἄστει πρὸς τοὺς πολέμους παραγίνεται καὶ αὐτοῖς παραδώσκει  
ὑποσχέται τὴν πόλιν, εἰ γὰρ ἐπιεικὲς τι οἱ τῶν Σκυθῶν βουλευσάντο  
βασιλεῖς. οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν πάντα ποιήσκει τὰ ἀγαθὰ, εἰ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἄγοι ἐς  
ἔργον ὑπόσχεσιν· δεξιῶν τε καὶ ὄρκων ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰρημένοις δοθέντων,  
μετὰ βαρβαρικῆς πολυπληθείας ἐς τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἐπάνεισι γῆν καὶ  
ταύτην προλοχίσας ἀντικρὺ τῆς ὄχθης νυκτὸς διανίστηται ἐκ συν-  
θήματος καὶ ὑπὸ τοῖς ἀντιπάλαις τὴν πόλιν ποιεῖ. δηωθείσης δὲ τῆς  
Μάργου τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον, ἐπὶ μεῖζον ἠύξθη τὰ τῶν βαρβάρων  
πράγματα.

## 2. (Fr. 1b Dindorf, Müller V pp.25f.)

Ἐπολιόρουν οἱ Σκύθαι τὴν Ναῖσσόν· πόλιν δὲ αὕτη τῶν  
Ἰλλυριῶν ἐπὶ †Δανουβᾷ κειμένη ποταμῷ. Κωνσταντῖνον αὐτῆς εἶναι  
οἰκιστὴν φασιν, ὃς καὶ τὴν ὁμώνυμον ἑαυτῷ πόλιν ἐπὶ τῷ Βυζαντίῳ  
ἐδείματο. οἱ δὲ οὖν πολυάνθρωπόν τε πόλιν αἰρήσειν οἱ βάρβαροι  
μέλλοντες καὶ ἄλλως ἐρυμνὴν διὰ πάσης ἐχώρουν πείρας. τῶν δὲ  
ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄστεως οὐ θαρρούντων ἐπεξίεναι πρὸς μάχην, τὸν ποταμὸν  
ὥστε ῥαδίαν εἶναι πληθύνει τὴν διάβασιν ἐγεφύρωσαν κατὰ τὸ μεσημ-  
βρινὸν μέρος, καθ' ὃ καὶ τὴν πόλιν παρarreῖ, καὶ μηχανὰς τῷ

2 Δανουβᾷ cod. [τῷ Ναῖσσῳ ποταμῷ Müller τῷ Νούβᾳ ποταμῷ Dindorf  
7 τῷ ante πληθύνει add. Müller

## 1. (Exc. de Leg. Gent. 1)

When the Scythians at the time of the market overcame the Ro-  
mans by a trick and killed many of them, the Romans sent to the  
Scythians, blaming them for the capture of the fort and their contempt  
for the treaty. They replied that they had done these things not to  
initiate the trouble but as a riposte.<sup>9</sup> For they claimed that the bishop  
of Margus had crossed over to their land and, searching out their royal  
tombs,<sup>10</sup> had stolen the valuables stored there. Furthermore, they said  
that if they did not hand him over and also hand over the fugitives as  
had been agreed (and there were very many amongst the Romans),  
they would prosecute the war. When the Romans replied that this claim  
was untrue, the barbarians, confident in the truth of their own alle-  
gations, rejected arbitration of the disputed matters and turned to war.  
They crossed the Danube and ravaged very many cities and forts along  
the river, amongst which they took Viminacium, a city of Moesia in  
Illyria. While these things were happening, some were arguing that the  
bishop of Margus should be handed over, so that the whole Roman  
people should not be endangered by the war for the sake of one man.  
He, suspecting that he would be surrendered, slipped away from those  
in the city, crossed over to the enemy and promised that he would  
betray the city to them if the Scythian kings made him any reasonable  
offer. They said that if he fulfilled his promise, they would treat him  
well in every way, and hands were shaken and oaths given for what had  
been promised. He re-crossed to Roman territory with a large force of  
barbarians, which he concealed right by the river bank, and, rousing it  
during the night, he handed the city over to the enemy. When Margus  
had been laid waste in this way, the position of the barbarians was  
greatly improved.

## 2. (Fr. 1b Dindorf, Müller V pp.25f.)

The Scythians were besieging Naissus, a city of the Illyrians on  
the river Danuba.<sup>11</sup> They say that it was founded by Constantine,<sup>12</sup> who  
also built the city at Byzantium named after himself. Since the bar-  
barians were destined to take this populous and also well-fortified city,  
they made progress with every attempt. Since the citizens did not dare  
to come out to battle, the Scythians, to make crossing easy for their  
forces, bridged the river from the southern side at the point where it  
flowed past the city and brought their machines up to the circuit wall.<sup>13</sup>

περιβόλῳ προσήγον, πρῶτον μὲν δοκοὺς ἐπὶ τροχῶν κειμένας διὰ τὸ  
 πρόχειρον αὐτῶν εἶναι [ὥς] τὴν προσαγωγὴν· αἷς ἐφεστῶτες 10  
 ἄνθρωποι ἐς τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπάλλεων ἀμυνομένους ἐτόξευον, τῶν ἐξ  
 ἑκατέρας κεραίας ἐστῶτων ἀνδρῶν ὠθούντων τοῖς ποσὶ τοὺς  
 τροχοὺς καὶ προσαγόντων ὅπῃ καὶ δέοι τὰς μηχανάς, ὥς ἂν εἴη  
 βάλλειν ἐπίσκοπα διὰ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐφεστρίσι πεποιημένων θυρίδων.  
 ὥστε γὰρ [ἐν] τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς δοκοῦ ἀνδράσιν ἀκίνδυνον εἶναι τὴν μάχην, 15  
 λύγοις διαπλόκοις ἐκαλύπτοντο δέρρεις καὶ διρυέρας ἐχούσαις, κώ-  
 λυμα τῶν τε ἄλλων βελῶν καὶ ὅσα ἐπὶ σφᾶς πυρφόρα ἐκπέμποιτο.  
 πολλῶν δὲ τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ ἐπιτεχνισθέντων ὀργάνων τῇ πόλει,  
 ὥστε διὰ πλῆθος βελῶν ἐνδοῦναι καὶ ὑποχωρῆσαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν  
 ἐπάλλεων, προσήγοντο καὶ οἱ καλούμενοι κριοί. μεγίστη δὲ ἄρα καὶ 20  
 ἥδε ἡ μηχανή· δοκὸς ἐκ ξύλων πρὸς ἄλληλα νεύοντων χαλαραῖς  
 ἀπηλωμένη ἀλύσει, ἐπιδορατίδα καὶ προκαλύμματα ὃν εἴρηται  
 τρόπον ἔχουσα, ἀσφαλείας ἕνεκα τῶν ἐργαζομένων. καλωδίους γὰρ  
 ἐκ τῆς ὀπισθεν κεραίας εἰλκον βιαίως ἄνδρες αὐτὴν ἐς τὸ ἐναντίον  
 τοῦ δεχομένου τὴν πληγὴν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἤρριον, ὥστε τῇ ρύμῃ 25  
 πᾶν τὸ ἐμπύπτον τοῦ τείχους ἀφανίζεσθαι μέρος. οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν  
 τειχῶν ἀμυνομένοι ἀμαξιαίους λίθους πρὸς τοῦτο ἤδη παρεσκευασ-  
 μένους, ἥνικα τῷ περιβόλῳ προσαχθεῖν τὰ ὄργανα, ἐνέβαλλον, καὶ  
 τῶν μὲν αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι συνέτριψαν, πρὸς δὲ τὸ πλῆθος οὐκ ἀντήρ-  
 κουν τῶν μηχανῶν, καὶ γὰρ δὴ προσήγον καὶ κλίμακας, ὥστε πῇ μὲν 30  
 ἐκ τῶν κριῶν λυθέντος τοῦ τείχους, πῇ δὲ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐπάλλεσι  
 βιαζομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν μηχανῶν, ἀλῶναι τὴν πόλιν, τῶν  
 βαρβάρων ἐσφρησάντων κατὰ τὸ ραγὲν τοῦ περιβόλου μέρος ἐκ τῆς  
 τοῦ κριοῦ πληγῆς. τοῦτο δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν κλιμάκων, αἱ τῷ μήπω  
 πεσόντι τοῦ τείχους προσήγοντο. 35

10 ὡς secl. Müller [αὐτῶν εἶναι οὕτως τὴν Thompson 1947 15 ἐν secl.  
 Müller 16 λύγοις Müller [αὐταῖς cod. 19 ἐνδοῦναι Müller [δοῦναι cod.  
 25 ρύμη Müller [τυμή cod.

## [7]

[(Malalas, *Chron.* 14 p.361)

Ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς Θεοδόσιος βασιλεὺς ἐποίησε κακῶς Ἀντιόχῳ τῷ  
 πραιποσίτῳ καὶ πατρικίῳ, δυναμένῳ ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ καὶ κρατήσαντι  
 τῶν πραγμάτων. ἦν γὰρ καὶ ἀναθρεψάμενος τὸν αὐτὸν Θεοδόσιον ἐν  
 τῇ ζωῇ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πατρὸς, ὡς κουβικουλάριος καὶ διοικῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 αὐτοῦ πατρὸς Ἀρκαδίου τὴν πολιτείαν Ῥωμαίων, καὶ ἔμεινε μετὰ τὸ 5  
 πληρῶσαι αὐτόν, ὡς πατρίκιος καταυθεντῶν τοῦ αὐτοῦ Θεοδοσίου.  
 καὶ ἀγανακτήσας κατ' αὐτοῦ ἐδήμειυσεν αὐτόν καὶ κουρεύσας ἐποίησε  
 παπᾶν τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, ποιήσας

First, because their access was easy,<sup>14</sup> they brought up beams mounted  
 on wheels, upon which men stood who shot across at the defenders on  
 the ramparts. At the other end of the beams stood men who pushed the  
 wheels with their feet and propelled the machines wherever they were  
 needed, so that one could shoot successfully through the openings  
 made in the screens. In order that the men on the beam should fight in  
 safety, they were sheltered by screens woven from willow covered with  
 rawhide and leather to protect them against other missiles and whatever  
 fire darts might be shot at them.<sup>15</sup> When in this manner a large number  
 of machines had been brought up to the wall with the result that the  
 defenders on the battlements gave in because of the clouds of missiles  
 and evacuated their positions, the so-called 'rams' were brought up also.  
 This is a very large machine. A beam is suspended by slack chains from  
 timbers which incline together, and it is provided with a sharp metal  
 point and, for the safety of those working it, screens like those de-  
 scribed. With short ropes attached to the rear men vigorously swing the  
 beam away from the target of the blow and then release it, so that by  
 its force all the part of the wall facing it is smashed away. From the  
 walls the defenders tumbled down wagon-sized boulders which they  
 had prepared for this purpose when the machines were brought up to  
 the circuit. Some they crushed together with the men working them,  
 but they could not hold out against the great number of machines.  
 Then the enemy brought up scaling ladders, so that in some places the  
 wall was breached by the rams and elsewhere those on the battlements  
 were overcome by the number of machines. The barbarians entered  
 through the part of the circuit wall broken by the blows of the rams  
 and also over the scaling ladders which were set against that part which  
 was not crumbling, and the city was taken.

## [7]

[(Malalas, *Chron.* 14 p.361)

The Emperor Theodosius did harm to the head chamberlain and  
 patrician Antiochus who was powerful in the palace and determined  
 state policy. He, as a chamberlain, had been responsible for Theodosius'  
 education while his father, Arcadius, was alive, and after the latter's  
 death ran the Roman state. Even after Theodosius had grown up,  
 Antiochus, as patrician, retained power over him. The Emperor, be-  
 coming angry at him, confiscated his property, had him tonsured and  
 made him a priest of the great church at Constantinople. He also issued

διάταξιν μὴ εἰσέρχεσθαι εἰς ἀξίας συγκλητικῶν ἢ πατρικίων τοὺς  
εὐνοῦχος κουβικουλαρίους μετὰ τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς αὐτῶν στρατείας. 10  
τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ πραιποσίτων παλατίου. καὶ ἐτελεύτα ὁ αὐτὸς  
Ἀντίοχος, ὢν πρεσβύτερος. (Cf. Theophanes *Chron.* a.m. 5936;  
*Suda* A 2694, E 3604, Θ 145, Π 793, Τ 169)]

## [8]

[(Malalas *Chron.* 14 pp.361f.)

Ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς προεβάλετο ἑπαρχὸν πραιτωρίων καὶ  
ἑπαρχὸν πόλεως τὸν πατρίκιον Κῦρον, τὸν φιλόσορον, ἄνδρα σαρ-  
τατον ἐν πᾶσι. καὶ ἤρξεν ἔχων τὰς δύο ἀρχὰς ἔτη τέσσαρα. προϊὼν  
εἰς τὴν καροῦχαν τοῦ ἐπάρχου τῆς πόλεως καὶ φροντίζων τῶν  
κτισμάτων καὶ ἀνανεώσας πᾶσαν Κωνσταντινουπόλιν· ἦν γὰρ 5  
καθαριώτατος. περὶ οὗ ἔκραξαν οἱ Βυζάντιοι εἰς τὸ ἵππικὸν πᾶσαν  
τὴν ἡμέραν θεωροῦντος Θεοδοσίου ταῦτα, “Κωνσταντῖνος ἔκτισε,  
Κῦρος ἀνανέωσεν· αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τόπον, Αὐγουστε”. Κῦρος δὲ ἐκπλαγεὶς  
ἀπεφθέγγετο, “οὐκ ἀρέσκει μοι τύχη πολλὰ γελῶσα”. καὶ ἐχόλεσεν 10  
ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὅτι ἔκραξαν περὶ Κύρου καὶ μετὰ Κωνσταντίνου αὐτὸν  
ἔκραξαν, ὡς ἀνανεώσαντα τὴν πόλιν· καὶ κατεσκευάσθη λοιπὸν καὶ  
ἐπλάκη ὡς “Ἑλλήν ὁ αὐτὸς Κῦρος, καὶ ἐδημεύθη παυθεὶς τῆς ἀρχῆς.  
καὶ προσφυγὼν ἐγένετο καὶ αὐτὸς παπᾶς, καὶ ἐπέμφθη εἰς τὴν  
Φρυγίαν, ἐπίσκοπος γενόμενος εἰς τὸ λεγόμενον Κοτυαεὺν.  
(Cf. *Chron. Pasch.* p.588; Theophanes *Chron.* a.m. 5937; *Suda* Θ 145, K 2776; Nicephorus Callistus *HE* 14,57)]

## 9

1. (*Exc. de Leg. Gent.* 2)

Ὅτι ἐπὶ Θεοδοσίου τοῦ μικροῦ βασιλέως Ἀττήλας ὁ τῶν  
Οὐννων βασιλεὺς τὸν οἰκεῖον στρατὸν ἀγείρας γράμματα στέλλει  
παρὰ τὸν βασιλέα τῶν τε φυγάδων καὶ τῶν φόρων πέρι, ὅσοι προ-  
φάσει τοῦ πολέμου οὐκ ἐδέδοντο, τὴν ταχίστην οἱ ἐκπέμπεσθαι 5  
παρακελευόμενος· συντάξας δὲ ἕνεκα <τοῦ> μέλλοντος φόρου παρ’  
αὐτὸν πρέσβεις τοὺς διαλεξιμένους ἀφικνεῖσθαι, ὡς, εἰ μελλήσειαν ἢ  
πρὸς πόλεμον ὁρμήσειαν, οὐδὲ αὐτὸν εἶναι ἐθέλοντα τὸ Σκυθικὸν  
ἐφέξειν πλῆθος. ταῦτα ἀναγνόντες οἱ ἀμφὶ τὰ βασιλεία οὐδαμῶς τοὺς  
παρὰ σφᾶς καταφυγόντας ἐκδῶσεν ἔφασαν, ἀλλὰ σὺν ἐκείνοις τὸν  
πόλεμον ὑποστήσεσθαι, πέμψειν δὲ πρέσβεις τοὺς τὰ διάφορα λύ- 10  
σοντας. ὡς δὲ τῷ Ἀττήλᾳ τὰ δεδογμένα Ῥωμαίοις ἡγγέλλετο, ἐν  
ὀργῇ τὸ πρᾶγμα ποιούμενος τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἐδήγου γῆν, καὶ φρουριά  
τινα καθελὼν τῇ Ῥατιαρίᾳ προσέβαλε μεγίστη καὶ πολυανθρώπων.

5 τοῦ add. Maltese (1977)

a decree that no eunuch chamberlain, after he had completed his  
official career (that is, those who had served as head chamberlain of the  
palace), might advance to the rank of senator or patrician. Antiochus  
died a presbyter.<sup>16</sup> (Cf. Theophanes *Chron.* a.m. 5936; *Suda* A 2694,  
E 3604, Θ 145, Π 793, Τ 169)]

## [8]

[(Malalas *Chron.* 14 pp.361f.)

The Emperor made the patrician Cyrus, a philosopher and the  
wisest man of all, praetorian prefect and prefect of the city. He held  
these combined offices for four years. He used to go forth in the carriage  
of prefect of the city and he cared for the buildings and renovated the  
whole of Constantinople, for he was completely incorruptible. While  
Theodosius was watching at the Hippodrome, the populace of Byzan-  
tium hailed Cyrus for a whole day, “Constantine founded, Cyrus  
restored. That is his place, Augustus”.<sup>17</sup> Cyrus was stunned and said, “I  
don’t like Fortune when she laughs a lot”. The Emperor was angry that  
they had hailed Cyrus and named him with Constantine as the restorer  
of the city. Then a plot was laid and a charge contrived to the effect  
that Cyrus was a Hellene, and he was stripped of his office and his prop-  
erty was confiscated. He sought asylum, and was ordained a cleric and  
sent to Phrygia where he became bishop of the place called Cotyaeum.<sup>18</sup>  
(Cf. *Chron. Pasch.* p.588; Theophanes *Chron.* a.m. 5937; *Suda* Θ 145,  
K 2776; Nicephorus Callistus *HE* 14,57)]

## 9

1. (*Exc. de Leg. Gent.* 2)

During the reign of Theodosius the Younger, Attila, the king of  
the Huns, collected his army and sent letters to the Emperor concerning  
the fugitives and the payments of tribute, commanding that all that had  
not been handed over under the pretext of the present state of war  
should be sent to him with all speed. Moreover, concerning the future  
tribute ambassadors should come to him for discussions, for, if they  
prevaricated or prepared for war, he would not willingly restrain his  
Scythian forces. When those at court read these demands, they said  
that they would by no means hand over the fugitives amongst them and  
that, along with these, they would submit to war; but they would send  
ambassadors to settle the disputes. When the views of the Romans were  
reported to him, Attila reacted in anger and ravaged Roman territory,  
destroying some forts and attacking Ratiaria, a very large and populous  
city.

## 2. (Exc. de Leg. Rom. 2)

"Οτι Θεοδοσίους ἔπεμπε Σηνάτορα ἄνδρα ὑπατικὸν παρὰ τὸν Ἀττήλαν πρεσβευσόμενον. ὃς οὐδὲ τὸ τοῦ πρεσβευτοῦ ἔχων ὄνομα ἐθάρρησε πεζὸς παρὰ τοὺς Οὐννοὺς ἀφικέσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸν Πόντον καὶ τὴν Ὀδυσσηνῶν ἔπλευσε πόλῳ, ἐν ᾗ καὶ Θεόδουλος στρατηγὸς ἐκπεμψθεὶς διέτριβεν.

4 Ὀδυσσηνῶν Niebuhr [Ὀδυσσὸς cod.

## 3. (Exc. de Leg. Gent. 3)

"Οτι μετὰ τὴν ἐν Χερρονήσῳ μάχην Ῥωμαίων πρὸς Οὐννοὺς ἐγένοντο καὶ αἱ συμβάσεις, Ἀνατολίου πρεσβευσαμένου. καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ἐσπένδοντο, ὅπως ἐκδοθεῖεν μὲν τοῖς Οὐννοῖς οἱ φυγάδες, καὶ ἕξ χιλιάδες χρυσίου λιτρῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν πάλαι συντάξεων δοθεῖεν αὐτοῖς· φόρον δὲ ἔτους ἐκάστου δισχιλίας καὶ ἑκατὸν λίτρας χρυσοῦ σφίσι τεταγμένον εἶναι· ὑπὲρ δὲ αἰχμαλώτου Ῥωμαίου φεύγοντος καὶ ἐς τὴν σφετέρῃ γῇν ἄνευ λύτρων διαβαίνοντος δώδεκα χρυσοῦς εἶναι ἀποτίμησιν, μὴ καταβάλλοντας δὲ τοὺς υποδεχομένους ἐκδιδόναι τὸν φεύγοντα· μηδένα δὲ βάρβαρον Ῥωμαῖους κατὰ σφᾶς φεύγοντα δέχεσθαι.

Ταύτας προσεποιούντο μὲν ἐθέλονται Ῥωμαῖοι τὰς συνθήκας τίθεσθαι· ἀνάγκη δὲ υπερβάλλοντι δέει, ὅπερ κατεῖχε τοὺς σφῶν ἄρχοντας, πᾶν ἐπίταγμα καίπερ ὃν χαλεπὸν τυχέω τῆς εἰρήνης ἐσπουδακότες ἡσμένισον, καὶ τὴν τῶν φόρων συνταξὴν βαρυτάτην οὖσαν προσέεντο, τῶν χρημάτων αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν θησαυρῶν οὐκ εἰς δέον ἐκδεδαπανημένων, ἀλλὰ περὶ θέας ἀτόπους καὶ φιλοτιμίας οὐκ εὐλόγους καὶ ἡδονὰς καὶ δαπάνας ἀνεμείνας, ἃς οὐδεὶς τῶν εὐ φρονούντων οὐδὲ ἐν εὐπραγίαις ὑποσταίη, μήτι γε δὴ οἱ τῶν ὀπλων ὀλιγωρήσαντες, ὥστε μὴ μόνον Σκύθαις, ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς βαρβάροις τοῖς παρικοῦσι τὴν Ῥωμαίων ὑπακοῦσιν ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν.

Τούτων τῶν συντάξεων καὶ τῶν χρημάτων περὶ, ἅπερ ἔδει τοῖς Οὐννοῖς ἐκπέμπεσθαι, συνεισφέρειν πάντας ἡνάγκασαν δασμὸν εἰσπραττομένους καὶ τοὺς κατὰ χρόνον τινὰ τὴν βαρυτάτην κουφισθέντας τῆς γῆς ἀποτίμησιν εἴτε δικαστῶν κρίσει εἴτε βασιλέων φιλοτιμίαις. συνεισφέρον δὲ ῥητὸν χρυσίον καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ γερουσίᾳ ἀναγεγραμμένοι ὑπὲρ τῆς σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀξίας. καὶ ἦν πολλοῖς ἡ λαμπρὰ τύχη βίου μεταβολή· ἐσεπράττοντο γὰρ μετὰ αἰκισμῶν ἅπερ ἕκαστον ἀπεγράψαντο οἱ παρὰ βασιλέως τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἐπιτεταγμένοι, ὥστε τὸν κόσμον τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τὰ ἐπιπλά τοὺς πάλαι εὐδαίμονας προτιθέναι ἐν ἀγορᾷ. τοῦτο μὲν μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον τὸ κακὸν Ῥωμαῖους

18 ἢ post εὐπραγίαις add. Dindorf 23 ἡνάγκασε edd.

## 2. (Exc. de Leg. Rom. 2)

Theodosius sent Senator, a man of consular rank, as ambassador to Attila. Although he had the title of ambassador, he was not confident of reaching the Huns by land and so he sailed to the Black Sea to the city of Odessus, where Theodulus, who had been sent out as a general, was stationed.

## 3. (Exc. de Leg. Gent. 3)

After the battle between the Romans and the Huns in the Chersonese, a treaty was negotiated by Anatolius. The terms were as follows: that the fugitives should be handed over to the Huns, and six thousand pounds of gold be paid to complete the outstanding instalments of tribute; that the tribute henceforth be set at 2,100 pounds of gold per year; that for each Roman prisoner of war who escaped and reached his home territory without ransom, twelve *solidi* were to be the payment, and if those who received him did not pay, they were to hand over the fugitive; and that the Romans were to receive no barbarian who fled to them.

The Romans pretended that they had made these agreements voluntarily, but because of the overwhelming fear which gripped their commanders<sup>19</sup> they were compelled to accept gladly every injunction, however harsh, in their eagerness for peace. They paid over the instalments of the tribute, heavy as they were, although both their own wealth and that of the imperial treasures had been squandered not on necessities but upon disgusting spectacles, unreasonable displays of generosity, pleasures and dissolute banquets, such as no right-minded person would participate in, even in times when things were going well, even if military matters were of no concern to him. The result of this was that they submitted to pay tribute not only to the Scythians but also to the other barbarian neighbours of the Roman Empire.

To these payments of tribute and the other monies which had to be sent to the Huns they forced all taxpayers to contribute, even those who for a period of time had been relieved of the heaviest category of land tax through a judicial decision or through imperial liberality. Even members of the Senate contributed a fixed amount of gold according to their rank. To many their high station brought a change of lifestyle. For they paid only with difficulty what they had each been assigned by those whom the Emperor appointed to the task, so that formerly wealthy men were selling on the market their wives' jewellery and their furniture. This was the calamity that befell the Romans after the war,

ἐδέξατο, ὥστε πολλοὺς ἢ ἀποκαρτερήσαντας ἢ βρόχον ἀψαμένους  
τὸν βίον ἀπολιπεῖν. τότε δὲ ἐκ τοῦ παραχρήμα τῶν θησαυρῶν  
ἐξαυτληθέντων, τό τε χρυσίον καὶ οἱ φυγάδες ἐπέμποντο, Σκόττα ἐπὶ  
ταύτην τὴν πρᾶξιν ἀριγμένου· ὧν πλείστους Ῥωμαῖοι ἀπέκτευναν  
ἀπειθοῦντας πρὸς τὴν ἐκδοσιν, ἐν οἷς καὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν ὑπῆρχον  
Σκυθῶν, οἱ ὑπὸ Ἀττίλας τάττεσθαι ἀντράμενοι παρὰ Ῥωμαίους  
ἀφίκοντο.

Τοῖς δὲ αὐτοῦ ὁ Ἀττίλας προστιθεῖς ἐπιτάγμασι καὶ Ἀσημου-  
τίους ἐκέλευσεν ἐκδιδόναι ὅσους αἰχμαλώτους ὑπῆρχον ἔχοντες εἴτε  
Ῥωμαίους εἴτε βαρβάρους. Ἀσημοῦς δὲ ἐστὶ φρούριον καρτερόν, οὐ  
πολὺ μὲν ἀπέχον τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος, τῷ δὲ Θρακίῳ προσκειμένον μέρει·  
ὑπὲρ οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες ἄνδρες πολλὰ δευὰ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐργάσαντο,  
οὐκ ἀπὸ τειχῶν ἀμυνόμενοι, ἀλλ' ἐξω τῆς τάφρου μάχας ὑριστάμενοι  
πρὸς τε ἄπειρον πλῆθος καὶ στρατηγούς μέγιστον παρὰ Σκύθαις  
ἔχοντας κλέος, ὥστε τοὺς μὲν Οὐννοὺς ἀπορρεῦσαντας τοῦ φρουρίου  
ὑπαναχωρήσαι, τοὺς δὲ ἐπεκτρέχοντας καὶ περαιτέρω τῶν οἰκείων  
γνωμένους ἡνίκα ἀπήγγελλον αὐτοῖς οἱ σκοποὶ διέναι τοὺς πολεμίους  
λείαν Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἀπάγοντας, ἀδοκῆτοις τε ἐμπίπτειν καὶ σφέτερα τὰ  
ἐκείνων ποιῆσαι λάφυρα, πλήθει μὲν λειπομένους τῶν ἀντιπολε-  
μοῦντων, ἀρετῇ δὲ καὶ βίῳ διαφέροντας. πλείστους τούτων οἱ  
Ἀσημουντίοι ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ Σκύθας μὲν ἀπέκτευναν, Ῥωμαίους  
δὲ ἡλευθέρωσαν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀποδράσαντας τῶν ἐναντίων ἐδέξαντο.

Οὐκ ἀπάγειν οὖν ἔφη ὁ Ἀττίλας τὸν στρατὸν οὐδὲ ἐπικυροῦν  
τὰς τῆς εἰρήνης συνθήκας, εἰ μὴ ἐκδοθεῖεν οἱ παρ' ἐκείνους κατα-  
φυγόντες Ῥωμαῖοι ἢ καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δοθεῖεν ἀποτιμήσεις, ἀφε-  
θείσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ παρὰ Ἀσημουντίων ἀπαχθέντες αἰχμάλωτοι βάρ-  
βαροι. ἀντιλέγειν δὲ αὐτῷ ὡς οὐκ οἶός τε ἦν οὔτε Ἀνατόλιος πρεσ-  
βευόμενος οὔτε Θεόδουλος ὁ τῶν στρατιωτικῶν κατὰ τὸ Θρακίον  
ταγμάτων ἡγούμενος, (οὔτε γὰρ ἔπειθον οὔτε τὰ εὐλογα προ-  
τείναντες, τοῦ μὲν βαρβάρου τεθαρρηκότος καὶ προχείρως ἐς τὰ  
ὄπλα ὁρμώντος, αὐτῶν δὲ κατεπιτηχότων διὰ τὰ προὑπάρξαντα)  
γράμματα παρὰ τοὺς Ἀσημουντίους ἔστειλλον ἢ ἐκδιδόναι τοὺς παρ'  
αὐτοῖς καταφυγόντας αἰχμαλώτους Ῥωμαίους, ἢ ὑπὲρ ἐκάστου  
δώδεκα τιθέναι χρυσοῦς, διαφευθῆναι δὲ καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους  
Οὐννοὺς. οἱ δὲ τὰ αὐτοῖς ἐπεσταλμένα ἀναγνόντες ἔρασαν τοὺς μὲν  
παρ' αὐτοὺς καταφυγόντας Ῥωμαίους ἀφεῖναι ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ, Σκύθας  
δὲ ὅσους αἰχμαλώτους ἔλαβον ἀντρηκέναι, δύο δὲ συλλαβόντας ἔχειν  
διὰ τὸ καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους μετὰ τὴν γενομένην ἐπὶ χρόνον πολιορκίαν  
ἐξ ἐνέδρας ἐπιθεμένους τῶν πρὸ τοῦ φρουρίου νεμόντων παίδων

and the outcome was that many killed themselves either by starvation  
or by the noose. On that occasion the treasures were suddenly  
emptied, and the gold and fugitives sent off when Scottas arrived to  
collect them. The majority of the fugitives, who refused to be handed  
over, were killed by the Romans, amongst whom were some of the  
Scythian royalty who were unwilling to take orders from Attila and had  
come across to the Romans.

Attila added to these orders of his and demanded that the people  
of Asemus hand over the prisoners in their hands, both Roman and bar-  
barian. Asemus is a strong fortress close both to Illyria and the border  
of Thrace. The garrison of this place inflicted much damage upon the  
enemy, for they did not merely fight from their walls, but gave battle  
outside the ditch against an overwhelming force and generals of the  
greatest repute amongst the Scythians, so that the Huns, their numbers  
melting away, slowly withdrew from the fortress. Since their spies  
reported to the Asimuntians that the enemy were retreating, taking  
with them Roman booty, they set out to attack them a good distance  
from their homes and, falling upon the enemy unawares, they made the  
Hunnic spoils their own, since, though outnumbered by their ad-  
versaries, they were their superiors in courage and strength. Thus, in  
this war the Asimuntians killed many Scythians, freed many Romans  
and gave refuge to those who had fled from the enemy.

Attila said that he would neither withdraw his army nor ratify the  
terms of the peace unless the Romans who had fled to the Asimuntians  
were either handed over or a ransom paid for them and the barbarian  
prisoners whom they had taken were set free. Neither Anatolius the  
ambassador nor Theodulus the commander of the forces in Thrace  
was able to dispute Attila's claim. Indeed, even when they put forward  
strong arguments they could not persuade him, since he was confident  
and ready to resort to arms, whereas they were cowed by what had  
happened. Therefore, they sent letters to the people of Asemus telling  
them either to hand over the escaped Roman prisoners who were  
amongst them or pay twelve *solidi* for each and to set the Hunnic  
prisoners free. When they received these messages the Asimuntians  
declared that the Roman fugitives amongst them had departed to free-  
dom and the Scythians who had been taken prisoner had been put to  
death except for two whom they had kept because, after the siege had  
been underway for a while, the enemy had sprung an ambush and  
seized some of the children as they were pasturing flocks before the



ἀρπάσαι τινάς, οὓς εἰ μὴ ἀπολάβοιεν, οὐδὲ σφᾶς τοὺς νόμῳ πολέμου  
κτηθέντας ἀποδώσειν. ταῦτα ἀπαγγειλάντων τῶν παρὰ τοὺς Ἀση-  
μουντίους ἀριγμένων, τῷ τε Σκυθῶν βασιλεῖ καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις  
ἀρχουσιν ἐδόκει μὲν ἀναζητεῖσθαι οὓς οἱ Ἀσημουντίοι ἔφασαν  
75 ἡρπάσθαι παῖδας, οὐδενὸς δὲ φανέντος, οἱ παρὰ τοῖς Ἀσημουντίοις  
βάρβαροι ἀπεδόθησαν, πίστει τῶν Σκυθῶν δόντων ὡς παρ' αὐτοῖς  
οἱ παῖδες οὐκ εἶσαν. ἐπωμύνοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἀσημουντίοι, ὡς οἱ παρὰ  
σφᾶς καταφυγόντες Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ ἀφείδθησαν. ὥμνον δέ,  
καίπερ παρὰ σφίσιν ὄντων Ῥωμαίων· οὐ γὰρ ἐπίορκον ὦντο ὅρκον  
80 ὁμνῆσαι ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ σφετέρου γένους ἀνδρῶν.

[4. (Theophanes *Chron. a.m.* 5942)

Τοῦ δὲ στόλου, ὡς προέφημεν, ἐν Σικελίᾳ ἐκδεχομένου τὴν τῶν  
πρεσβευτῶν Γιζέριχου ἀφιξῆναι καὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως κέλευσιν, ἐν τῷ  
μεταξὺ Ἀττίλας, ὁ Μουνδιῶν παῖς, Σκύθης, γενόμενος ἀνδρεῖος καὶ  
ὑπερήφανος, ἀποβαλὼν Βδελλάν, τὸν πρεσβύτερον ἀδελφόν, καὶ  
μόνος ἄρχων τὸ τῶν Σκυθῶν βασίλειον, οὓς καὶ Οὐννοὺς καλοῦσιν,  
5 κατατρέχει τὴν Θράκην. δι' ὃν μάλιστα Θεοδόσιος σπένδεται <πρὸς>  
Γιζέριχον καὶ ἐπανάγει τὸν στόλον ἐκ Σικελίας. ἀποστέλλει δὲ τὸν  
Ἀσπαρα σὺν τῇ ὑπ' αὐτὸν δυνάμει καὶ Ἀρεόβινδον καὶ Ἀργαγίσκλον  
ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀττίλαν Ῥατιαρίαν ἥδη καὶ Νάϊσον καὶ Φιλίππουπολιν καὶ  
Ἀρκαδιούπολιν καὶ Κωνσταντίαν καὶ ἕτερα πλεῖστα πόλινματα  
10 καταστρεφάμενον καὶ σὺν αἰχμαλώτοις πολλοῖς ὑπέρογκον συμ-  
φορήσαντα λείων. τῶν σὺν στρατηγῶν ἐλαττωθέντων σφόδρα ταῖς  
μάχαις, προσήλθεν Ἀττίλας καὶ μέχρι θαλάσσης ἐκατέρας, τῆς τε τοῦ  
Πόντου καὶ τῆς πρὸς Καλλιπόλει καὶ Σηστῷ κεχυμένης, πᾶσαν πόλιν  
καὶ φρούρια δουλόμενος πλὴν Ἀδριανουπόλεως καὶ Ἡρακλείας, τῆς  
15 ποτε Περσῶν κληθείσης, ὥστε καὶ εἰς τὸν Ἀθύραν αὐτὸν φρούριον  
ἐλθεῖν. ἀναγκάζεται οὖν Θεοδόσιος πρεσβεύσασθαι πρὸς Ἀττίλαν  
καὶ ἐξακισχιλίας χρυσίου λίτρας ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως παρασχεῖν,  
χιλίων δὲ χρυσίου λιτρῶν ἐτήσιον φόρον αὐτῷ ἡρεμοῦντι προσομο-  
λογῆσαι τελεῖν. (Cf. Nicephorus Callistus *HE* 14,57)]  
20

1 στόλου b [λαοῦ xyz 6 πρὸς add. de Boor 12 τῶν σὺν στρατηγῶν b  
τῶν συστρατηγῶν xz 13 προσήλθεν y 19-20 προσωμολόγησε cg

10

(Exc. de Leg. Gent. 4)

Ὅτι γενομένων τῶν σπονδῶν Ἀττίλας αὖτις παρὰ τοὺς  
ἐώους ἔπεμψε πρέσβεις φυγάδας αἰτῶν. οἱ δὲ τοὺς πρεσβευομένους  
δεξάμενοι καὶ πλείστοις δώροις θεραπεύσαντες ἀπέπεμψαν φυγάδας  
μὴ ἔχειν φήσαντες. ὁ δὲ πάλιν ἑτέροις ἔπεμψεν. χρηματισταμένων δὲ

fortress. Unless these were returned, they would not hand over their  
prisoners whom they had captured under the rules of war. When the  
messengers to the Asimuntians brought back this reply, the Scythian  
king and the Roman commanders agreed that a search should be made  
for the children whom the Asimuntians claimed had been seized, and,  
when none were found, the Scythians swore that they did not have the  
children, and the barbarians in Asimuntian hands were given back. The  
Asimuntians also swore that the Romans who had escaped to them had  
departed to freedom, and they swore this although there were Romans  
amongst them. For they did not consider that they had sworn a false  
oath, since they had done it for the safety of men of their own race.

[4. (Theophanes *Chron. a.m.* 5942)

While the fleet was, as we have described,<sup>20</sup> in Sicily receiving the  
envoys of Gaiseric and awaiting the commands of the Emperor, Attila,  
the son of Mundius, a Scythian and a brave and haughty man, killed his  
elder brother Bleda, became sole ruler of the kingdom of the Scythians  
(whom they also call 'Huns') and devastated Thrace. Particularly be-  
cause of him Theodosius made a treaty with Gaiseric and withdrew the  
fleet from Sicily. Against Attila, who had already sacked Ratiaria,  
Naissus, Philippopolis, Arcadiopolis, Constantia and very many other  
cities and had collected an enormous plunder and many prisoners, he  
sent Aspar with the force under his command and Areobindus and  
Argagisclus.<sup>21</sup> The generals were badly beaten in the battles they  
fought, and Attila advanced to both seas, the Black Sea and that which  
washes Callipolis and Sestus. He captured every city and fortress except  
for Adrianople and Heracleia (which was once called Perinthus), so that  
he reached the fortress of Athyras itself. Theodosius was forced, there-  
fore, to send an embassy to Attila, to buy his withdrawal for six  
thousand pounds of gold and to promise to pay him a yearly tribute of  
one thousand pounds of gold if he kept the peace.  
(Cf. Nicephorus Callistus *HE* 14,57)]<sup>22</sup>

10

(Exc. de Leg. Gent. 4)

When the treaty was in force, Attila again sent envoys to the  
eastern Romans demanding the fugitives. They received the envoys,  
honoured them with many gifts and sent them away saying that they had  
no fugitives. Again, he sent others, and, when they had been enriched,

καὶ αὐτῶν, τρίτῃ παρεγένετο πρεσβεία, καὶ τετάρτῃ μετ' αὐτήν. ὁ γὰρ βάρβαρος ἐς τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀφορῶν φιλοτιμίαν, ἣν ἐποιοῦντο εὐλαβεῖα τοῦ μὴ παραβαθῆναι τὰς σπονδὰς, ὅσους τῶν ἐπιτηδείων εὖ ποιεῖν ἐβούλετο ἔπεμπε παρ' αὐτοῦς, αἰτίας τε ἀναπλάττων καὶ προφάσεις ἐφευρίσκων κενάς. οἱ δὲ παντὶ ὑπήκουον ἐπιτάγματι καὶ δεσπότου ἡγοῦντο τὸ πρόσταγμα, ὅπερ ἂν ἐκεῖνος παρεκελεύσατο. οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὸν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνελέσθαι πόλεμον εὐλαβοῦντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ Παρθυαίους ἐν παρασκευῇ τυγχάνοντας ἐδεδίεσαν καὶ Βανδύλους τὰ κατὰ θάλασσαν ταραττόντας καὶ Ἰσαύρους πρὸς τὴν ληστείαν διανισταμένους καὶ Σαρακηνοὺς τῆς αὐτῶν ἐπικρατείας τὴν ἔω κατατρέχοντας καὶ τὰ Αἰθιοπικὰ ἔθνη συνιστάμενα. διὸ δὴ τεταπενωμένοι τὸν μὲν Ἀττήλαν ἐθεράπευον, πρὸς δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ ἔθνη ἐπειρώζοντο παρατάττεσθαι δυνάμεις τε ἀθροίζοντες καὶ στρατηγοὺς χειροτονοῦντες.

## 11

1. (*Exc. de Leg. Gent. 5*)

Ὅτι καὶ αὐτίς Ἐδέκων ἦκε πρέσβις, ἀνὴρ Σκυθῆς μέγιστα κατὰ πόλεμον ἔργα διαπραξάμενος, σὺν Ὀρέστῃ, ὃς τοῦ Ῥωμαϊκοῦ γένους ὦν ᾧκει τὴν πρὸς τῷ Σάει ποταμῷ Παιόνων χώραν τῷ βαρβάρῳ κατὰ τὰς Αἰτίου στρατηγοῦ τῶν ἐσπερίων Ῥωμαίων συνθήκας ὑπακούουσιν. οὗτος ὁ Ἐδέκων ἐς τὰ βασιλεία παρελθὼν ἀπεδίδου τὰ παρὰ Ἀττήλα γράμματα, ἐν οἷς ἐποιεῖτο τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἐν αἰτία τῶν φυγάδων περὶ· ἀνθ' ὧν ἡπεῖλει ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα χωρεῖν, εἰ μὴ ἀποδοθεῖεν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀρέξονται Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν δοριάλωτον ἀροῦντες. εἶναι δὲ μήκος μὲν αὐτῆς κατὰ τὸ ρεῦμα τοῦ Ἰστρου ἀπὸ τῆς Παιόνων ἄχρι Νοβῶν τῶν Θρακίων, τὸ δὲ βάθος πέντε ἡμερῶν ὁδόν· καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν τὴν ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς μὴ πρὸς τῇ ὄχθῃ τοῦ Ἰστρου ποταμοῦ γίνεσθαι, ὥσπερ καὶ πάλαι, ἀλλ' ἐν Ναῖσσοις, ἣν ὄριον ὡς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δηλωθεῖσαν τῆς Σκυθῶν καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐτίθετο γῆς, πέντε ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ τοῦ Ἰστρου ἀπέχουσιν ποταμοῦ. πρέσβεις δὲ ἐκέλευσε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀμνηστῆσαι τοὺς περὶ τῶν ἀμνησθέντων διαλεξομένους, οὐ τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων, ἀλλὰ τῶν ὑπατικών ἀνδρῶν τοὺς μεγίστους· οὓς εἰ ἐκπέμπεω εὐλαβηθεῖεν, αὐτὸν δεξιόμενον σφᾶς ἐς τὴν Σερδικὴν διαβήσεσθαι.

Τούτων ἀναγνωσθέντων βασιλεῖ τῶν γραμμάτων, ὡς ὑπεξῆλθεν ὁ Ἐδέκων σὺν τῷ Βιγίλᾳ ἐρμηνεύσαντι ὅσαπερ ὁ βάρβαρος ἀπὸ στόματος ἔφρασε τῶν Ἀττήλα δεδογμένων, καὶ ἐς ἐτέρους οἴκους παρεγένετο, ὥστε αὐτὸν Χρυσάφιῳ τῷ βασιλέως ὑπασιωτῇ οἶα δὴ τὰ μέγιστα δυνάμενῳ ἐς ὅψω ἐλθεῖν, ἀπειθαύμασε τὴν τῶν

he sent a third embassy and a fourth after it. For the barbarian, mindful of the Romans' liberality, which they showed out of caution lest the treaty be broken, sent to them those of his retinue whom he wished to benefit, inventing new reasons and discovering new pretexts. The Romans heeded his every bidding and obeyed whatever order their master issued. They were not only wary of starting a war with Attila, but they were afraid also of the Parthians who were preparing for hostilities, the Vandals who were harrying the coastal regions, the Isaurians whose banditry was reviving, the Saracens who were ravaging the eastern parts of their dominions, and the Ethiopian tribes who were in the process of uniting. Therefore, having been humbled by Attila, they paid him court while they tried to organise themselves to face the other peoples by collecting their forces and appointing generals.<sup>23</sup>

## 11

1. (*Exc. de Leg. Gent. 5*)

Edeco, a Scythian who had performed outstanding deeds in war, came again as ambassador together with Orestes, a Roman by origin who lived in the part of Pannonia close to the river Save which became subject to the barbarian by the treaty made with Aetius, the general of the western Romans. This Edeco came to the court and handed over the letters from Attila, in which he blamed the Romans in respect of the fugitives. In retaliation he threatened to resort to arms if the Romans did not surrender them and if they did not cease cultivating the land which he had won in the war. This, he asserted, was a strip five days' journey wide and extending along the Danube from Pannonia to Novae in Thrace. Furthermore, he said that the market in Illyria was not on the bank of the Danube, as it had been before, but at Naissus, which he had laid waste and established as the border point between the Scythian and the Roman territory, it being five days' journey from the Danube for an unladen man. He ordered that ambassadors come to him and not just ordinary men but the highest ranking of the consulars; if the Romans were wary of sending them, he would cross to Serdica to receive them.

When the letters had been read out to the Emperor, Edeco departed with Vigilas, who had interpreted all of Attila's views which the barbarian had communicated, and went to another suite to meet Chrysaphius, the Emperor's chamberlain and the most powerful of his ministers. The barbarian expressed wonder at the magnificence of the

βασιλείων οἰκῶν περιφάνειαν. Βιγίλας δέ, ὡς τῷ Χρυσάφει ἐς  
 λόγους ἤλθεν ὁ βάρβαρος, ἔλεγεν ἑρμηνεύων, ὡς ἐπαυοῖη ὁ  
 25 Ἑδέκων τὰ βασιλεία καὶ τὸν παρὰ σφίοι μακαρίζοι πλοῦτον. ὁ δὲ  
 Χρυσάφιος ἔφασκεν ἔσεσθαι καὶ αὐτὸν οἰκῶν τε χρυσοστέγων καὶ  
 πλοῦτον κίριον, εἴ γε περιίδοι μὲν τὰ παρὰ Σκύθαις, ἔλοιτο δὲ τὰ  
 Ῥωμαίων. τοῦ δὲ ἀποκρῳαμένου ὡς τὸν ἐτέρου δεσπότου θερά-  
 30 ποντα ἄνευ τοῦ κυρίου οὐ θέμις τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἐπυνθάνετο ὁ εὐνούχος  
 εἴ γε ἀκώλυτος αὐτῷ ἢ παρὰ τὸν Ἀττίλαν εἴη εἴσοδος καὶ δύναμις  
 παρὰ Σκύθαις ἔχει τινα. τοῦ δὲ ἀποκρῳαμένου ὡς καὶ ἐπιτήδειος εἴη  
 τῷ Ἀττίλῃ καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἅμα τοῖς εἰς τοῦτο ἀποκεκρμένους λογάσω  
 35 ἐμπιστευεῖται φυλακῇ, (ἐκ διαδοχῆς γὰρ κατὰ ῥητὰς ἡμέρας ἕκαστον  
 αὐτῶν ἔλεγε μεθ' ὅπλων φυλάττειν τὸν Ἀττίλαν) ἔφασκεν ὁ εὐ-  
 νούχος, εἴπερ πίστεις δέξοιτο, μέγιστα αὐτῷ ἐρεῖν ἀγαθὰ· δεῖσθαι δὲ  
 οὐχολῆς· ταῦτην δὲ αὐτῷ ὑπάρχειν, εἴ γε παρ' αὐτὸν ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἔλθοι  
 χωρὶς Ὀρέστου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμπρεσβευτῶν. ὑποσχόμενος δὲ  
 τοῦτο ποιεῖν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐστίασιν πρὸς τὸν εὐνούχον παραγενόμενος,  
 40 ὑπὸ τῷ Βιγίλῃ ἑρμηνεῖ δεξιὰς καὶ ὅρκους ἔδοσαν, ὁ μὲν εὐνούχος ὡς  
 οὐκ ἐπὶ κακῷ τῷ Ἑδέκωνι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μεγίστοις ἀγαθοῖς τοὺς λόγους  
 ποιήσοιτο, ὁ δὲ ὡς οὐκ ἐξεῖποι τὰ αὐτῷ ῥηθησόμενα, εἰ καὶ μὴ  
 πέρατος κυρήσῃ. τότε δὴ ὁ εὐνούχος ἔλεγε τῷ Ἑδέκωνι, εἰ διεβὰς ἐς  
 τὴν Σκυθικὴν ἀνέλοι τὸν Ἀττίλαν καὶ παρὰ Ῥωμαίους ἦξει, ἔσεσθαι  
 45 αὐτῷ βίον εὐδαίμονα καὶ πλοῦτον μέγιστον. τοῦ δὲ ὑποσχομένου καὶ  
 φήσαντος ἐπὶ τῇ πράξει δεῖσθαι χρημάτων, οὐ πολλῶν δέ, ἀλλὰ  
 πεντήκοντα λιτρῶν χρυσοῦ δοθησομένων τῷ ὑπ' αὐτὸν τελούντι  
 πλήθει, ὥστε αὐτῷ τελείως συνεργῆσαι πρὸς τὴν ἐπίθεσιν, καὶ τοῦ  
 εὐνούχου τὸ χρυσίον παραχρήμα δώσειν ὑποσχομένου, ἔλεγεν ὁ  
 50 βάρβαρος ἀποπέμπεσθαι μὲν αὐτὸν ἀπαγγελοῦντα τῷ Ἀττίλῃ περὶ  
 τῆς πρεσβείας, συμπέμπεσθαι δ' αὐτῷ Βιγίλαν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ Ἀττίλα  
 ἐπὶ τοῖς φυγάσιν ἀπόκρισιν δεξόμενον. δι' αὐτοῦ γὰρ περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ  
 χρυσοῦ μνηύσῃ, καὶ ὅν τρόπον τοῦτο ἐκπεμφθήσεται. ἀπεληλυθότα  
 γάρ, ὥσπερ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, πολυπραγμονήσῃ τὸν Ἀττίλαν, τίς τε  
 55 αὐτῷ δωρεὰ καὶ ὅποσα παρὰ Ῥωμαίων δέδοται χρήματα· μὴ οἷόν τε  
 δὲ ταῦτα ἀποκρύπτειν διὰ τοὺς συμπορευομένους.

Ἔδοξε δὴ τῷ εὐνούχῳ εὐ λέγειν, καὶ τῆς γνώμης τὸν βάρ-  
 60 βαρον ἀποδεξάμενος ἀποπέμπει μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον καὶ ἐπὶ βασιλέα φέρει  
 τὴν βουλὴν. ὃς Μαρτιάλιον τὴν τοῦ μαγίστρου διέποντα ἀρχὴν προσ-  
 μεταπεψάμενος ἔλεγε τὰς πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον συνθήκας. ἀνάγκη δὲ  
 ἐθάρρει τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς· πασι γὰρ τῶν βασιλέως βουλῶν ὁ μά-  
 γιστρος ἐστὶ κωνωνός, οἷα δὴ τῶν τε ἀγγελιαφόρων καὶ ἑρμηνέων

palace rooms, and when he came to speak to Chrysaphius, Vigilas, while  
 translating, said that Edeco was praising the palace and congratulating  
 the Romans on their wealth. Chrysaphius said that he, too, would be-  
 come the owner of wealth and of rooms with golden ceilings if he were  
 to disregard Scythian interests and work for those of the Romans.  
 When Edeco replied that it was not right for the servant of another  
 master to do this without his lord's permission, the eunuch asked if he  
 had unrestricted access to Attila and any authority amongst the  
 Scythians. When Edeco replied that he was one of Attila's intimates and  
 that he, together with others selected from amongst the leading men,  
 was entrusted with guarding Attila (he explained that on fixed days  
 each of them in turn guarded Attila under arms), the eunuch said that if  
 he would receive oaths, he would speak greatly to his advantage; there  
 was, however, need of leisure for this, and they would have it if Edeco  
 came to dinner with him without Orestes and his other fellow ambassa-  
 dors. Edeco promised to do this and came to dinner at the eunuch's  
 residence. With Vigilas interpreting, they clasped right hands and  
 exchanged oaths, the eunuch that he would speak not to Edeco's harm  
 but to his great advantage, Edeco that he would not reveal what would  
 be said to him even if he did not work towards its achievement. Then  
 the eunuch said that if Edeco should cross to Scythia, slay Attila and  
 return to the Romans, he would enjoy a life of happiness and very great  
 wealth. Edeco promised to do this and said that for its accomplishment  
 he required money — not much, only fifty pounds of gold to be given  
 to the force acting under his orders, to ensure that they co-operated  
 fully with him in the attack. When the eunuch replied that he would  
 give the money immediately, the barbarian said that he should be sent  
 off to report to Attila upon the embassy and that Vigilas should be sent  
 with him to receive Attila's reply on the subject of the fugitives.  
 Through Vigilas he would send instructions as to how the gold was to  
 be dispatched. Since he had been away, he, like the others, would be  
 closely questioned by Attila as to who amongst the Romans had given  
 him gifts and how much money he had received, and because of his  
 companions he could not hide the fifty pounds of gold.

Edeco's words seemed sensible to the eunuch, and, accepting the  
 barbarian's advice, he dismissed him after dinner and took the plan to  
 the Emperor. The Emperor summoned Martialis, the master of the  
 offices, and told him of the agreements with the barbarian. (Of ne-  
 cessity he confided in this official, since the master of the offices, being

καὶ στρατιωτῶν τῶν ἀμφὶ τὴν βασιλέως φυλακὴν ὑπ' αὐτὸν ταττομένων. ἐδόκει δὲ αὐτοῖς βουλευομένοις τῶν προκειμένων περὶ μὴ μόνον Βιγίλαν, ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ Μαξιμῖνον ἐκπέμπειν πρεσβευόμενον 65 παρὰ τὸν Ἀττίλαν.

2. (Exc. de Leg. Rom. 3)

Ὅτι τοῦ Χρυσάφου τοῦ εὐνούχου παραwέσαντος Ἐδέκωνι ἀνελεῖν τὸν Ἀττίλαν, ἐδόκει τῷ βασιλεῖ Θεοδοσίῳ καὶ τῷ μαγίστρῳ Μαρτιαλίῳ βουλευομένοις τῶν προκειμένων περὶ μὴ μόνον Βιγίλαν ἀλλὰ καὶ Μαξιμῖνον ἐκπέμπειν πρεσβευόμενον παρὰ τὸν Ἀττίλαν, καὶ Βιγίλαν μὲν τῷ φανομένῳ τὴν τοῦ ἐρμηνεύς ἐπέχοντα τάξιν 5 πράττειν ἅπερ Ἐδέκωνι δοκεῖ, τὸν δὲ Μαξιμῖνον μηδὲν τῶν αὐτοῖς βουλευθέντων ἐπιστάμενον τὰ βασιλέως ἀποδιδόναι γράμματα. ἄντεγγραπτο δὲ τῶν πρεσβευομένων ἀνδρῶν ἕνεκα ὥς ὁ μὲν Βιγίλας ἐρμηνεύς, ὁ δὲ Μαξιμῖνος μείζωνος ἥπερ ὁ Βιγίλας ἀξίας γένους τε περιφανοῦς καὶ ἐπιτήδειος ἐς τὰ μάλιστα βασιλεῖ, 10 ἔπειτα ὥς οὐ δεῖ παρασαλεύοντα τὰς σπονδὰς τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐμβετεύειν γῇ, φηγάδας δὲ μετὰ τοὺς ἥδη ἐκδοθέντας ἐπτακαίδεκα ἀπέσταλκά σοι, ὥς ἐτέρων οὐκ ὄντων. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἦν ἐν τοῖς γράμμασιν. φράζειν δὲ τὸν Μαξιμῖνον ἀπὸ στόματος τῷ Ἀττίλᾳ μὴ χρῆναι αἰτεῖν πρέσβεις μεγίστης ἀξίας παρ' αὐτὸν διαβῆναι. τοῦτο γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ 15 προγόνων οὐδὲ ἐπὶ ἐτέρων τῶν ἀρχάντων τῆς Σκυθικῆς γενέσθαι, ἀλλὰ πρεσβεύσασθαι τὸν τε ἐπιτυχόντα στρατιώτην καὶ ἀγγελιαφόρον. εἰς δὲ τὸ διευκρινῆσαι τὰ ἀμφιβαλλόμενα ἐδόκει πέμπειν Ὀνηγήσιον παρὰ Ῥωμαίους· μὴ οἶδν τε γὰρ αὐτὸν Σερδικῆς 20 δηλωθείσης σὺν ὑπατικῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐς αὐτὴν προῖέναι.

Ἐπὶ ταύτην τὴν πρεσβείαν ἐκλιπαρήσας πείθει με Μαξιμῖνος αὐτῷ συναῖραι. καὶ δῆτα ἅμα τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐχόμενοι τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐς Σερδικὴν ἀφικνούμεθα τρισκαίδεκα ὁδὸν ἀνδρὶ εὐζώνῳ τῆς Κωνσταντίνου ἀπέχουσιν· ἐν ἣ καταλύσαντες καλῶς ἔχων ἡγησάμεθα 25 ἐπὶ ἐστίαν Ἐδέκωνα καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ βαρβάρους καλεῖν. πρόβατα οὖν καὶ βόας ἀποδομένων τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἡμῖν, κατασφάζαντες ἡριστοποιούμεθα. καὶ παρὰ τὸν τοῦ συμποσίου καιρὸν τῶν μὲν βαρβάρων τὸν Ἀττίλαν, ἡμῶν δὲ τὸν βασιλέα θανυμαζόντων, ὁ Βιγίλας ἔφη ὥς οὐκ εἶη θεὸν καὶ ἄνθρωπον δίκαια συγκρίνειν, ἄνθρωπον μὲν τὸν Ἀττίλαν, θεὸν δὲ τὸν Θεοδόσιον λέγων. ἥσχαλλον οὖν οἱ 30 Οὐννοι καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν ὑποθερμαζόμενοι ἐχαλέπων. ἡμῶν δὲ ἐς ἕτερα τρεψάντων τὸν λόγον καὶ φιλορροσύνη τὸν σφῶν αὐτῶν καταπραῖνάντων θυμόν, μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον ὥς διανέστημεν, δώροις ὁ

in charge of the messengers, interpreters and imperial bodyguard, is informed of all the Emperor's plans.) They discussed the proposal and decided to send as envoys to Attila not only Vigilas but also Maximinus.

2. (Exc. de Leg. Rom. 3)

When Chrysaphius had proposed to Edeco that he kill Attila, the Emperor Theodosius and the master of the offices Martialis discussed the proposal and decided to send as envoys to Attila not only Vigilas but also Maximinus. They told Vigilas, while apparently serving as interpreter, to take his orders from Edeco, and Maximinus, who knew nothing of what they had planned, to deliver the Emperor's letters. In reply to Attila it was written on behalf of the ambassadors that Vigilas was the interpreter and that Maximinus was a man of higher rank than Vigilas, of illustrious lineage and a confidant of the Emperor in matters of the highest importance. Then it was written, "It is not proper that one who is undermining the treaty should enter Roman territory", and, "In addition to those already handed over I have sent you seventeen fugitives, since there are no more".<sup>24</sup> These were the words in the letters. Maximinus was ordered to speak personally to Attila in order that he need not demand that envoys of the highest rank come to him; for this had not been the case with his ancestors or other rulers of Scythia, but ordinary soldiers and messengers had acted as ambassadors. To settle the matters in dispute it seemed best to send Onegesius to the Romans, for, since Serdica had been sacked, Attila could not proceed there with a man of consular rank.

Maximinus by his pleadings persuaded me to accompany him on this embassy. So, we set out together with the barbarians and reached Serdica, which is thirteen days from Constantinople for an unladen traveller. There we broke our journey and thought it proper to offer hospitality to Edeco and the barbarians with him. The inhabitants supplied us with sheep and cattle which we slaughtered, and we prepared a meal. While we were drinking, the barbarians toasted Attila and we Theodosius. But Vigilas said that it was not proper to compare a god and a man, meaning Attila by a man and Theodosius by a god. This annoyed the Huns, and gradually they grew heated and angry. But we turned the conversation to other things and by our friendly manner calmed their anger, and when we were leaving after dinner, Maximinus

8 ἐνεγγραπτο Bekker  
ἀπέσταλκέν οἱ Valesius  
πραῖνόντων B, edd.

12 ἀπέσταλκά σοι Niebuhr | ἀπέσταλκέ σοι codd.  
25 ἐστίασιν Papabasilaios (1896)

33 κατα-

Μαξιμῶνος Ἐδέκωνα καὶ Ὀρέστην ἐθεράπευσε σηρικοῖς ἐσθήμασι καὶ λίθοις Ἰνδικοῖς.

Ἀναμείνας δὲ τὴν Ἐδέκωνος Ὀρέστης ἀναχώρησεν πρὸς τὸν Μαξιμῶνον φράζει, ὡς σορός τε εἴη καὶ ἄριστος μὴ ὅμοια σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις τὰ βασιλείᾳ πλημμελήσας· χωρὶς γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ δεῖπνον τὸν Ἐδέκωνα καλοῦντες δώροις ἐτίμων. ἀπόρου δὲ τοῦ λόγου ὡς μηδὲν ἐπισταμένοις φανέντος, καὶ ἀνερωτήσασιν ὅπως καὶ κατὰ ποῖον καιρὸν περιώπται μὲν αὐτός, τετίμηται δὲ ὁ Ἐδέκων, οὐδὲν ἀποκρινάμενος ἐξῆλθεν· τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ὡς ἐβαδίζομεν, φέρομεν ἐπὶ Βιγίλαν ἄπερ ἡμῖν Ὀρέστης εἰρήκει. ὅς δὲ ἐκεῖνον ἔλεγεν μὴ δεῖν χαλεπαίνειν ὡς τῶν αὐτῶν Ἐδέκωνι μὴ τυγχάνοντα· αὐτὸν μὲν γὰρ ὁπάονά τε καὶ ὑπογραφέα εἶναι Ἀττήλα, Ἐδέκωνα δὲ τὰ κατὰ πόλεμον ἄριστον καὶ τοῦ Οὐννου γένους ἀναβεβηκέναι τὸν Ὀρέστην πολὺ. ταῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ τῷ Ἐδέκωνι ἰδιολογησάμενος ἔφρασκεν ὕστερον πρὸς ἡμᾶς, εἴτε ἀληθεύοντος εἴτε ὑποκρινόμενος, ὡς εἶποι μὲν αὐτῷ τὰ εἰρημένα, μόγις δὲ αὐτὸν καταπραΐναι τραπέντα ἐπὶ τοῖς λεχθεῖσιν εἰς ὁργήν.

Ἀφικόμενα δὲ ἐς Ναῖσσον ἔρημον μὲν εὗρομεν ἀνθρώπων τὴν πόλιν ὡς ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀνατραπέϊσαν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἱεροῖς καταλύμασι τῶν ὑπὸ νόσων κατεχομένων τινὲς ἐτύγχανον ὄντες. μικρὸν δὲ ἄνω τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐν καθαρῷ καταλύσαντες (σὺμπαντα γὰρ τὰ ἐπὶ τὴν ὄχθην ὁστέων ἦν πλεῖα τῶν ἐν πολέμῳ ἀναφενθέντων) τῇ ἐπαύριον πρὸς Ἀγίνθεον τὸν ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς ταγμάτων ἡγούμενον ἀφικόμεθα οὐ πόρρω ὄντα τῆς Ναῖσσοῦ, ἐφ' ᾧ τὰ παρὰ βασιλείᾳ ἀγγεῖλαι καὶ τοὺς φυγάδας παραλαβεῖν· τοὺς γὰρ ἐ' τῶν ιζ', περὶ ὧν Ἀττήλα ἐγγέγραπτο, αὐτὸν ἔδει παραδιδόναι. ἦλθομεν οὖν ἐς λόγους καὶ τοὺς ἐ' φυγάδας παραδοῦναι αὐτὸν τοῖς Οὐννοῖς παρεσκευάσαμεν· οὓς φλοορρησάμενος σὺν ἡμῖν ἀπέπεμψεν.

Διανυκτερεύσαντες δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ὁρίων τῆς Ναῖσσοῦ τὴν πορείαν ποιησάμενοι ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰστρον ποταμὸν ἕς τι χωρίον ἐσβάλλομεν συνηρεφές, καμπὰς δὲ καὶ ἐλιγμούς καὶ περιαγωγὰς πολλὰς ἔχον. ἐν ᾧ περ τῆς ἡμέρας διαφανούσης, οἰομένοις ἐπὶ δυσμὰς πορεύεσθαι <ἡ> τοῦ ἡλίου ἀνατολὴ κατεναντίον ὤφθη, ὥστε τοὺς ἀπείρως ἔχοντας τῆς τοῦ χωρίου θέσεως ἀναβοῆσαι, οἷα δὴ τοῦ ἡλίου τὴν ἐναντίαν ποιούμενον πορείαν καὶ ἕτερα παρὰ τὰ καθεστῶτα σημαίνοντος· ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς τοῦ τόπου ἀνωμαλίας ἐπὶ ἀνατολὰς ἐκέῃνο τὸ μέρος ἐβλεπε τῆς ὁδοῦ. μετὰ δὲ τὴν δυσχωρίαν ἐν πεδίῳ καὶ αὐτῷ ὑλώδει παρεγενόμεθα. ἐντεῦθεν βάρβαροι πορθμεῖς ἐν σκάφει

won over Edeco and Orestes with gifts of silk garments and pearls.<sup>25</sup>

While Orestes was awaiting Edeco's departure he said to Maximinus that he was a wise and very good man not to have committed the same offence as those at court, for they had invited Edeco to dinner without himself and had honoured him with gifts. This remark was meaningless to us since we were in ignorance of what had been done, and we asked him how and on what occasion he had been slighted and Edeco honoured. But he made no reply and went away. On the following day as we were travelling along, we told Vigilas what Orestes had said to us. Vigilas said that he should not be angry at being treated differently from Edeco, since Orestes was a servant and secretary of Attila, whereas Edeco, as one of the leading warriors and of the Hunnic race,<sup>26</sup> was by far his superior. Having said this and having spoken privately with Edeco, he later told us (either truthfully or otherwise) that he had reported to Edeco what had been said and had only with difficulty calmed him down since he had become very angry at the report.

When we arrived at Naissus, we found the city empty of people since it had been laid waste by the enemy. In the Christian hostels there were some persons suffering from disease. A short distance away from the river we halted in a clean place<sup>27</sup> (for all towards the river bank was full of the bones of men killed in the fighting) and on the following day we came to Agintheus, the general of the forces in Illyricum, who was not far from Naissus, to convey to him the Emperor's orders and to receive the fugitives. He was to hand over five of the seventeen about whom it had been written to Attila.<sup>28</sup> We spoke to him and caused him to hand over the five fugitives to the Huns. He treated them kindly and sent them off with us.

Having spent the night we set out on our journey from the border at Naissus to the river Danube.<sup>29</sup> We came upon a thickly-shaded place where the path took many twists and turns and detours. While we were here the day dawned, and, thinking that we were journeying westwards, we saw the sun rise<sup>30</sup> right in front of us. As a result those who were unfamiliar with the lie of the land cried out that the sun was travelling in the opposite direction and portended unusual events. But because of the irregularity of the terrain that part of the path turned to the East. After this difficult ground we came to a plain which was also wooded.<sup>31</sup> Here barbarian ferrymen received us and conveyed us across

55 τῇ ὄχθῃ conl. de Boor 65 διαφανούσης Niebuhr διαφανούσης de Boor  
66 ἡ add. Bekker 71 παρεγενόμεθα Dindorf [παραγενόμεθα codd. παρα-  
γόμεθα Niebuhr

μονοξύλοις, ἅπερ αὐτοὶ δένδρα ἐκτέμνοντες καὶ διαγλύφοντες κατα-  
σκευάζουσιν, ἐδέχοντο ἡμᾶς καὶ διεπόρθμενον τὸν ποταμόν, οὐχ ἡμῶν  
ἐνεκα παρασκευασμένοι, ἀλλὰ διαπορθμεύσαντες πλῆθος βαρ-  
βαρικόν, ὅπερ ἡμῶν κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀπηντήκει, οἷα δὲ βουλομένου ὡς  
ἐπὶ θήραν Ἀττήλα διαβαίνω ἐς τὴν Ῥωμαίων γῆν. τοῦτο δὲ ἦν  
πολέμου παρασκευὴν ποιουμένων τῷ βασιλείῳ Σκύθῃ, προφάσει τοῦ  
μὴ πάντας αὐτῷ τοὺς φυγάδας δεδόσθαι.

Περαιωθέντες δὲ τὸν Ἰστρον καὶ σὺν τοῖς βαρβάροις ὡς οἱ  
πορευθέντες σταδίους ἐν πεδίῳ τῷ ἐπιμένειν ἡναγκάσθημεν, ὥστε  
τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἐδέκωνα τῷ Ἀττήλῃ γενέσθαι τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀφίξεως  
μηνυτάς, καταμενάντων δὲ σὺν ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν ξεναγησάντων ἡμᾶς  
βαρβάρων, ἀμφὶ δεῖλῃν ὀψίαν δεῖπνον ἡμῶν αἰρουμένων, κρότος  
ἵππων ὡς ἡμᾶς ἐρχομένων ἠκούετο, καὶ δὴ ἄνδρες β' Σκύθαι παρε-  
γίνοντο ὡς τὸν Ἀττήλαν ἡμᾶς ἀπιέναι παρακελευόμενοι. ἡμῶν δὲ  
πρότερον ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον αὐτοὺς ἐλθεῖν αἰτησάντων, ἀποβάντες τῶν  
ἵππων εὐωχήθησαν καὶ ἡμῶν τῆς ὁδοῦ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἡγήσαντο. παρα-  
γενομένων δὲ ἐς τὰς Ἀττήλα σκηνάς ἀμφὶ θ' τῆς ἡμέρας ὥρα  
(πολλαὶ δὲ αὗται ἐτύγγανον οὕσαι) ἐπὶ τε λόφου τινὸς σκηνοποιῆσαι  
βουλευθέντων, οἱ ἐπιτυχόντες διεκώλυσαν βάρβαροι, ὡς τῆς Ἀττήλα  
ἐν χθαμαλῷ ὑπαρχούσης σκηνῆς.

Καταλυσάντων δὲ ὅπου τοῖς Σκύθαις ἐδόκει, Ἐδέκων καὶ  
Ὀρέστης καὶ Σκόττας καὶ ἕτεροι τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς λογάδων ἦκον  
ἀνερωτώντες τίνων τυχεῖν ἐσπουδακότες τὴν πρεσβειάν ποιούμεθα.  
ἡμῶν δὲ τὴν ἄλογον ἀποθauμαζόντων ἐρώτησιν καὶ ἐς ἀλλήλους  
ὁρώντων, διετέλουν πρὸς ὅχλου τῆς ἀποκρίσεως ἐνεκα γινόμενοι.  
ἐλπόντων δὲ Ἀττήλῃ καὶ οὐχ ἑτέροις λέγειν βασιλέα παρακελεύ-  
σασθαι, χαλεπήνας ὁ Σκόττας ἀπεκρίνατο τοῦ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἡγου-  
μένου ἐπιτάγμα εἶναι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν πολυπραγμοσύνη σφετέρᾳ παρ'  
ἡμᾶς ἐληλυθέναι. φησάντων δὲ μὴ τοῦτον ἐπὶ τοῖς πρέσβεσι κεῖσθαι  
τὸν νόμον, ὥστε μὴ ἐντυγχάνοντας μηδὲ ἐς ὧν ἐρχομένους παρ' οὐκ  
ἐστάλησαν δι' ἑτέρων ἀνακρίνεσθαι ὧν ἐνεκα πρεσβεύοντο, καὶ  
τοῦτο μηδὲ αὐτοὺς ἀγνοεῖν Σκύθας θαμνὰ παρὰ βασιλέα πρεσβευ-  
ομένους· χρῆναι δὲ τῶν ἴσων κυρεῖν· μὴ γὰρ ἄλλως τὰ τῆς πρεσ-  
βείας ἐρεῖν· ὡς τὸν Ἀττήλαν ἀνέξευξαν· καὶ αὐτίς ἐπανήκον Ἐδέ-  
κωνος χωρὶς καὶ ἅπαντα, περὶ ὧν ἐπρεσβεύμεθα, ἔλεγον προσ-  
τάττοντες τὴν ταχίστην ἀπιέναι, εἰ μὴ ἕτερα φράζεω ἔχομεν. ἐπὶ δὲ  
τοῖς λεχθεῖσι πλέον ἐπαποροῦντες (οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἐμφικτὸν γνώσκεν,  
ὅπως ἔκδηλα ἐγεγόνει τὰ ἐν παραβύστῳ δεδογμένα βασιλεῖ) συμ-  
φέρεω ἡγούμεθα μηδὲν περὶ τῆς πρεσβείας ἀποκρίνεσθαι, εἰ μὴ τῆς

the river in boats which they had made from single trunks, themselves  
cutting and hollowing out the trees. They had not made these boats for  
our sake, but had already ferried across a force of barbarians, which had  
met us on the road, since Attila wished to cross over to Roman terri-  
tory as if to hunt. But the royal Scythian was really doing this in  
preparation for war, on the pretext that all the fugitives had not been  
given up.<sup>32</sup>

When we had crossed the Danube and travelled about seventy  
stades with the barbarians, we were compelled to wait on some flat  
ground while Edeco's attendants went to Attila to announce our arrival.  
Our barbarian guides remained with us, and in the late afternoon we  
were taking our dinner when we heard the clatter of horses coming  
towards us and two Scythians arrived and told us to come to Attila.<sup>33</sup>  
We bade them first join us for dinner, and they dismounted and were  
well entertained. On the next day they led us on the road, and we  
arrived at Attila's tents (of which there were many) at about the ninth  
hour of the day. When we wanted to pitch our tents on a hill, the  
barbarians who had come to meet us prevented us because Attila's  
tent was on low ground.

When we had encamped where the Scythians thought best,  
Edeco, Orestes, Scottas and others of the leading men amongst the  
Huns came and asked what we hoped to achieve in making the embassy.  
We were shocked by this unreasonable question and looked at each  
other, but they persisted, becoming troublesome in their demands for  
a reply. When we said that the Emperor had ordered us to speak to  
Attila and no others, Scottas became angry and replied that this was  
the command of their leader; for they would not have come to us  
meddling on their own. We said that it was not the rule for ambassadors  
that they should wrangle through others over the purpose of their  
mission without meeting or coming into the presence of those to whom  
they had been sent. The Scythians, moreover, were not ignorant of this  
since they had sent frequent embassies to the Emperor: we deserved  
equal treatment, and if we did not receive it we would not tell the  
purpose of the embassy. They went off to Attila and came back again  
without Edeco and told us everything for which we had come on the  
embassy, ordering us to leave with all speed if we had nothing further  
to say. At these words we were even more puzzled, since we could not  
see how things which the Emperor had decided in secret had come to  
their knowledge. We considered that it was of no advantage to our

77 παρασκευὴ ποιούμενη Bekker 88 τὰς Bekker [τοῦ codd. 109 ἐν παρα-  
βύστῳ Niebuhr [ἐν παραβύστα E. θύ παραβύστα X. θεῶν παραβύστα edd.

παρὰ τὸν Ἀττίλαν εἰσόδου τύχομεν· διὸ ἐφάσκομεν, εἴτε τὰ εἰρημένα τοῖς Σκύθαις εἴτε καὶ ἕτερα ἤκομεν πρεσβευόμενοι, τοῦ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἡγουμένου τὴν πεῦσω εἶναι, καὶ μηδαμῶς ἄλλοις τούτου χάριν διαλεχθῆσεσθαι· οἱ δὲ ἡμᾶς παραχρῆμα ἀναχωρεῖν προσέταττον.

Ἐν παρασκευῇ δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ γενομένους τῆς ἀποκρίσεως ἡμᾶς 115 ὁ Βιγίλας κατεμέμετο, ἐπὶ ψεύδει ἀλῶναι ἡμεῶν λέγων ἢ ἀπράκτους ἀναχωρεῖν. εἰ γὰρ ἐς λόγους τῷ Ἀττίλᾳ ἔτυχον, φησὶν, ἐλληλυθῶς, ἐπεπεῖκεν βραδίως ἂν αὐτὸν τῆς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἀποστήναι διαφορᾶς, οἷα δὴ ἐπιτήδειος αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ κατὰ Ἀνατόλιον πρεσβείᾳ γενομένους. <πρὸς> ταῦτα εὐνοῦν αὐτῷ τὸν Ἐδέκωνα 120 ὑπάρχειν ἔφασκεν, ὥστε λόγῳ τῆς πρεσβεΐας καὶ τῶν ὅπως οὖν εἴτε ἀληθῶς εἴτε ψευδῶς ῥηθησομένων προφάσεως τυχεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ βουλευσάσθαι περὶ τῶν αὐτοῖς κατὰ Ἀττίλα δεδογμένων, καὶ ὅπως τὸ χρυσίον, οὐπερ ἔφασκε δεῖσθαι ὁ Ἐδέκων, κομίσει τὸ διανεμηθισόμενον <τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτὸν> ταττομένοις ἀνδράσι. προδομένος δὲ 125 ἐλελήθει. ὁ γὰρ Ἐδέκων, εἴτε δόλῳ ὑποσχόμενος εἴτε καὶ τὸν Ὀρέστην εὐλαβηθείς, μὴ ἐς τὸν Ἀττίλαν ἀγάγοι ἅπερ ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ Σερδικῇ μετὰ τὴν ἐστίασιν εἰρήκει, ἐν αἰτία ποιοῦμενος τὸ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ βασιλεῖ καὶ τῷ εὐνούχῳ ἐς λόγους αὐτὸν ἐλληλυθέναι, καταμηνύει τὴν μελετηθεῖσαν αὐτῷ ἐπιβουλὴν καὶ τὸ ποσὸν τοῦ ἐκπεμψθη- 130 σομένου χρυσίου, ἐκλέγει δὲ καὶ ἑφ' οἷς τὴν πρεσβεΐαν ἐποιούμεθα.

Τῶν δὲ φορτίων ἤδη τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις ἐπιτεθέντων, καὶ ἀνάγκη τὴν πορείαν κατὰ τὸν τῆς νυκτὸς καιρὸν ποιεῖσθαι πειρώμενοι, μετεξέτεροι τῶν βαρβάρων παραγενόμενοι ἐπαινεῖν ἡμᾶς τοῦ 135 καιροῦ χάριν παρακελεύσασθαι τὸν Ἀττίλαν ἔλεγον. ἐν αὐτῷ οὖν τῷ χωρίῳ, ὅθεν καὶ διανέστημεν, ἤκον ἡμῶν βοῦν ἄγοντές τινας καὶ ποταμίους ἰχθύας παρὰ τοῦ Ἀττίλα διαπεμψθέντας, δειπνήσαντες οὖν ἐς ὕπνον ἐτράπημεν.

Ἡμέρας δὲ γενομένης ὥόμεθα μὲν ἡμερόν τι καὶ πρῶον παρὰ τοῦ βαρβάρου μηνυθῆσεσθαι· ὁ δὲ πάλιν τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐπεμπε παρα- 140 κελεύόμενος ἀπιέναι, εἰ μὴ ἔχομεν τι παρὰ τὰ αὐτοῖς ἐγνωσμένα λέγειν. οὐδὲν οὖν ἀποκρῳάμενοι πρὸς τὴν ὁδὸν παρασκευαζόμεθα, καίπερ τοῦ Βιγίλα διαφιλονεικοῦντος λέγειν εἶναι καὶ ἕτερα ἡμῶν ῥηθησόμενα. ἐν πολλῇ δὲ κατκρεία τὸν Μαξιμῖον ἰδὼν, παραλαβὼν 145 Ῥουστίκιον ἐξεπιστάμενον τὴν βαρβάρων φωνὴν (ὃς οὖν ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Σκυθικὴν ἐλληλύνει οὐ τῆς πρεσβεΐας ἕνεκα, ἀλλὰ κατὰ πρᾶξιν τινα πρὸς Κωνσταντίου, ὃν Ἰταλιώτην ὄντα ὑπογραφεᾶ Ἀττίλα ἀπεστάλκει Ἀέτιος ὁ τῶν ἐσπερίων Ῥωμαίων στρατηγός) παρὰ τὸν Σκότταν ἀρκινούμενος (οὐ γὰρ Ὀνηγήσιος τῆνικαῦτα παρῆν) καὶ

embassy to give a reply unless we were granted access to Attila. We, therefore, said that their leader was asking whether we had come as envoys on the matters mentioned by the Scythians or on other business and that we would by no means discuss this with others than himself. They ordered us to depart immediately.

While we were preparing for our journey Vigilas criticised us for our answer, saying that it was better to be caught in a lie than to leave without achieving anything. "If", he said, "I had been able to speak with Attila, I should easily have persuaded him to set aside his differences with the Romans, since I became friendly with him on the embassy with Anatolius".<sup>34</sup> He claimed that Edeco supported him in this,<sup>35</sup> in order that by arguing for continuing the embassy and for saying anything, whether true or false, he might have an excuse to consult over what they had decided against Attila and as to how the gold, which Edeco said he needed for distribution amongst those under his orders, might be brought. But he did not know that he had been betrayed. For Edeco had either made his promise falsely or he was afraid of Orestes, lest he say to Attila what he had said to us at Serdica after the banquet, blaming Edeco for having spoken with the Emperor and the eunuch without himself. Therefore, he reported to Attila the plot that had been hatched against him and the amount of gold that was to be sent, and he revealed the purpose of the embassy.

Our baggage had already been loaded upon the animals, and out of necessity we were attempting to start out on our journey at night, when some barbarians came to us and said that Attila bade us wait because of the hour. At that very spot from which we had set out men came bringing us an ox and fish from the river, which Attila had sent us. Therefore, we ate dinner and turned to sleep.

When day came we thought that there would be some mild and conciliatory indication from the barbarian. But he again sent the same men, ordering us to leave if we had nothing to say beyond what was already known to them. We said nothing and prepared for our journey, although Vigilas argued persistently that we should claim that we had other things to say. Seeing that Maximinus was very dejected, I took with me Rusticius,<sup>36</sup> who knew the language of the barbarians (he had come with us to Scythia not on the embassy but on business with Constantius, who was an Italian and secretary of Attila, sent to him by Aetius, the general of the western Romans),<sup>37</sup> and approached Scottas, for Onegesius was not there at the time. With Rusticius as interpreter,

120 ταῦτα κ.τ.λ. corrupta indicant edd., πρὸς scripsi [διὰ ταῦτα . . . [ἔφασκεν] Hoeschel ταῦτα δ' ἔλεγον ἐλλήνων Bekker 125 τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτὸν add. Bekker

αὐτὸν προσειπὼν ὑπὸ ἑρμηνεῖ τῷ Ῥουστικῷ ἔλεγον δῶρα πλείστα 150  
 παρὰ τοῦ Μαξιμίνου λήψεσθαι, εἶπερ αὐτὸν τῆς παρὰ τὸν Ἀττίλαν  
 εἰσόδου παρασκευάσοι τυχεῖν. τὴν γὰρ αὐτοῦ πρεσβείαν οὐ μόνον  
 Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Οὐννοῖς συνοίσειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ὀνγηγσίω, ὃν παρ' αὐτὸν  
 βασιλεὺς ἰέναι βούλεται καὶ τὰ τοῖς ἔθνεσι διευκρυνῆσαι ἀμύβολα·  
 ἀφικόμενον δὲ μεγίστων τεύξεσθαι δωρεῶν. χρήναι οὖν μὴ παρόντος 155  
 Ὀνγηγσίῳ ἡμῖν, μᾶλλον δὲ τὰδελεφῶ, ἐπὶ τῇ ἀγαθῇ συναγωνίζεσθαι  
 πράξει. πείθεσθαι δὲ καὶ αὐτῷ τὸν Ἀττίλαν μεμαθηκέναι ἔλεγον·  
 οὐκ ἐν ἀκοῇ δὲ ἔσεσθαι βεβαίως τὰ κατ' αὐτόν, εἰ μὴ γε πείρα τὴν  
 αὐτοῦ γνότημεν δύναμιν. ὃς δὲ ὑπολαβὼν μηκέτι ἀμφιβόλους εἶναι ἔφη  
 τοῦ καὶ αὐτὸν ἴσα τῷ ἀδελφῷ παρὰ Ἀττίλα λέγειν τε καὶ πράττειν· 160  
 καὶ παραχρῆμα τὸν ἵππον ἀναβάς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττίλα διήλασε σκηνήν.

Πρὸς δὲ τὸν Μαξιμίνον ἐπανελθὼν ἀλύοντα ἅμα τῷ Βιγίλῃ καὶ  
 διαπορούμενον ἐπὶ τοῖς καθεστῶσιν ἔλεγον ἃ τε τῷ Σκόττῃ διεί-  
 λεγμαι καὶ ἄπερ παρ' αὐτοῦ ἠκηκόεω, καὶ ὥς δεῖ τὰ τῷ βαρβάρῳ 165  
 δοθησόμενα παρασκευάζειν δῶρα καὶ τὰ αὐτῷ παρ' ἡμῶν ρηθησόμε-  
 να ἀναλογίζεσθαι. ἀμρότεροι οὖν ἀναπηδήσαντες (ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ  
 ἐδάφους καὶ τῆς πῶας κείσθαι σφᾶς συνέβαινε) ἐπήρεσάν τε τὴν  
 πρᾶξιν καὶ τοὺς ἥδη μετὰ τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἐξορμήσαντας ἀνεκάλουν  
 καὶ διεσκέψαντο, ὅπως τε προσείποιεν τὸν Ἀττίλαν καὶ ὅπως αὐτῷ  
 τὰ τε βασιλέως δῶρα δοῖεν καὶ ἄπερ αὐτῷ ὁ Μαξιμίνος ἐκόμιζεν. 170

Ἀμφὶ δὲ ταῦτα πονομένους διὰ τοῦ Σκόττα ὁ Ἀττίλας μετε-  
 πέμψατο, καὶ δῆτα ἐς τὴν ἐκείνου <σκηνήν> παραγνώμεθα ὑπὸ  
 βαρβαρικῷ κύκλῳ φρουρουμένην πλήθους. ὥς δὲ εἰσόδου ἐτύχομεν,  
 εὗρομεν ἐπὶ ξυλῶν δόκῳ τὸν Ἀττίλαν καθήμενον. στάντων δὲ 175  
 ἡμῶν μικρὸν ἀπωτέρω τοῦ θρόνου, προσελθὼν ὁ Μαξιμίνος ἠσπά-  
 σατο τὸν βάρβαρον, τὰ τε παρὰ βασιλέως γράμματα δοὺς ἔλεγεν ὡς  
 σὼν εἶναι αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν εὐχεται βασιλεὺς. ὁ δὲ ἀπε-  
 κρίνατο ἔσεσθαι Ῥωμαίοις ἄπερ αὐτῷ βούλωντο. καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Βιγίλαν  
 εὐνὴς τρέπει τὸν λόγον θηρίον ἀναιδὲς ἀποκαλῶν, ὅτου χάρω παρ'  
 αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν ἠθέλησεν ἐπιστάμενος τὰ τε αὐτῷ καὶ Ἀνατολίῳ ἐπὶ 180  
 τῇ εἰρήνῃ δόξαντα, ὥς εἴρητο μὴ πρότερον πρέσβεις παρ' αὐτὸν  
 ἐλθεῖν πρὶν ἢ πάντες οἱ φυγάδες ἐκδοθεῖεν βαρβάροις. τοῦ δὲ  
 φήσαντος ὥς ἐκ τοῦ Σκυθικοῦ γένους παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις οὐκ εἴη φυγάς,  
 τοὺς γὰρ ὄντας ἐκδεδόσθαι, χαλεπήνας μᾶλλον καὶ αὐτῷ πλείστα 185  
 λοιδορησάμενος μετὰ βοῆς ἔλεγεν ὡς αὐτὸν ἀνασκολοπίσας πρὸς  
 βορὰν οἰωνοῖς ἐδεδώκει ἦν, εἰ μὴ γε τῷ τῆς πρεσβείας θεσμῷ  
 λυμάνεσθαι ἐδόκει, καὶ ταύτην αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀναιδείᾳ καὶ τῇ τῶν

I spoke to Scottas and said that he would receive many gifts from  
 Maximinus if he obtained him an interview with Attila. For his embassy  
 would benefit not only the Romans and the Huns, but also Onegesius  
 whom the Emperor wished to come to him to settle the disputes  
 between the two peoples and who, if he came, would receive very great  
 gifts. Since Onegesius was absent he must help us — or, rather, his  
 brother — in this laudable enterprise. I said that we had heard that he,  
 too, had influence with Attila, but that the reports about him would  
 not seem well-founded unless we had an example of his power. He rose  
 to the challenge and said that we should no longer doubt that he spoke  
 and acted before Attila on an equality with his brother. Then he  
 immediately mounted his horse and galloped off to Attila's tent.

I returned to Maximinus, who, like Vigilas, was in despair and at  
 a loss in the present situation, and I told him what I had said to Scottas  
 and what he had replied. I said that they should prepare the gifts to give  
 the barbarian and work out what they would say to him. Both of them  
 leaped up (for they had been lying on the grass) and applauded what I  
 had done. They called back those who had already set out with the  
 pack animals and fell to considering how they should address Attila  
 and how to present to him the gifts from the Emperor and those  
 which Maximinus had brought for him.

While we were busy with these matters, Attila summoned us  
 through Scottas, and we came to his tent, which was surrounded by a  
 ring of barbarian guards. When we were granted entrance, we saw Attila  
 seated on a wooden chair. We halted a little before the throne, and  
 Maximinus advanced, greeted the barbarian, gave him the letters from  
 the Emperor and said that the Emperor prayed that he and his  
 followers were safe and well. He replied that the Romans would have  
 what they wished for him. Then he immediately directed his words  
 towards Vigilas, calling him a shameless beast and asking why he had  
 wished to come to him when he knew the peace terms agreed between  
 himself and Anatolius, which specified that no ambassadors should  
 come to him before all the fugitives had been surrendered to the  
 barbarians. When Vigilas replied that there was not one fugitive of the  
 Scythian race amongst the Romans, for all who were there had been  
 surrendered, Attila became even more angry and abused him violently,  
 shouting that he would have impaled him and left him as food for the  
 birds if he had not thought that it infringed the rights of ambassadors  
 to punish him in this way for the shamelessness and effrontery of his

168 ἀνεκαλοῦντο Thompson (1947)

172 σκηνήν add. de Boor

173 φρουρουμένην de Boor [ἐφρουρουμένην codd., πεφρουρουμένην Hoeschel]

186 ἐδεδώκει Hoeschel [ἐδεδώρει codd., ἐδεδώρητ' de Boor]



λόγων ἱταμότῃ ἐπιθεῖναι δίκην· φυγάδας γὰρ τοῦ σφετέρου ἔθνους  
 παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις εἶναι πολλούς, ὧν ἐκέλευε τὰ ὀνόματα ἐγγεγραμ-  
 μένα χάρτῃ τοὺς ὑπογραφέας ἀναγνώσκειν. ὥς δὲ διεξήλθον  
 190 ἅπαντας, προσέταττε μηδὲν μελλήσαντα ἀπιέναι· συμπέμψειν δὲ  
 αὐτῷ καὶ Ἦσλαν Ῥωμαίοις λέγοντα πάντας τοὺς παρὰ σφίσι κατα-  
 φυγόντας βαρβάρους ἀπὸ τῶν Καρπιλιέδους χρόνων, ὃς ὠμήρευσεν  
 παρ' αὐτῷ παῖς ὢν Ἀετίου τοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐσπέρᾳ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοῦ,  
 195 ἐκπέμψαι παρ' αὐτόν. μὴ γὰρ συγχωρήσειεν τοὺς σφετέρους θερά-  
 ποντας ἀντίον αὐτοῦ ἐς μάχην ἰέναι, καίπερ μὴ δυναμένους ὠφελεῖν  
 τοὺς τὴν φυλακὴν αὐτοῖς τῆς οἰκείας ἐπιτρέψαντας γῆς. τῶν γὰρ  
 πόλιν ἢ ποῖον φρούριον σεσῶσθαι, ἔλεγεν, ὑπ' ἐκείνων, οὐπερ αὐτὸς  
 ποιῆσαι τὴν αἵρεσιν ὥρμησεν; ἀπαγγέλλαντας δὲ τὰ αὐτῷ περὶ τῶν  
 200 φυγάδων δεδογμένα αὐτῷ ἐπανήκειν μηνύοντας, πότερον αὐτοὺς  
 ἐκδιδόναι βούλονται ἢ τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀναδέχονται πόλεμον. παρα-  
 κελευσάμενος δὲ πρότερον καὶ τὸν Μαξιμῶν ἐπιμένειν, ὥς δι' αὐτοῦ  
 περὶ τῶν γεγραμμένων ἀποκρυνόμενος βασιλεῖ, ἐπέτρεπε τὰ δῶρα  
 δόντας, ἅπερ ὁ Μαξιμῶν ἔφερεν, ὑπεξείναι.

Δόντες τοῖνυν καὶ ἐπανιώντες ἐς τὴν σκητὴν ἐκάστου τῶν  
 205 λεχθέντων περὶ ἰδιολογούμεθα. καὶ Βιγίλα θαυμάζοντας, ὅπως  
 πάλαι αὐτῷ πρεσβευομένῳ ἥπιός τε καὶ πρῶος νομισθεὶς τότε  
 χαλεπῶς ἐλοιδορήσατο, ἔλεγον, μήποτε τῶν βαρβάρων τῶν ἐν  
 Σερδικῇ ἐστιαθέντων σὺν ἡμῖν δυσμενῇ αὐτῷ τὸν Ἀττήλαν παρε-  
 σκεύασαν ἀπαγγέλλαντες, ὥς θεὸν μὲν τὸν Ῥωμαίων ἐκάλεε βασιλέα,  
 210 ἄνθρωπον δὲ τὸν Ἀττήλαν. τοῦτον τὸν λόγον ὁ Μαξιμῶν ὥς  
 πιθανὸν ἐδέχετο οἷα δὴ ἀμέτοχος ὢν τῆς συνωμοσίας, ἦν κατὰ τοῦ  
 βαρβάρου ὁ εὐνοῦχος ἐποίησατο. ὁ δὲ Βιγίλας ἀμφίβολός τε ἦν καὶ  
 ἐμοὶ ἐδόκει προαράσεως ἀπορεῖν, δι' ἣν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀττήλας ἐλοιδορή-  
 215 σατο· οὔτε γὰρ τὰ ἐν Σερδικῇ, ὥς ὕστερον ἡμῖν διηγείτο, οὔτε τὰ τῆς  
 ἐπιβουλῆς εἰρησθαι τῷ Ἀττήλᾳ ἐνόμιζεν, μηδενὸς μὲν ἐτέρου τῶν ἐκ  
 τοῦ πλήθους διὰ τὸν ἐπικρατοῦντα κατὰ πάντων φόβον ἐς λόγους  
 αὐτῷ θαρροῦντος ἐλθεῖν, Ἐδέκωνος δὲ πάντως ἐχεμυθίσοντος διὰ  
 220 τε τοὺς ὅρκους καὶ τὴν ἀδελφίαν τοῦ πράγματος, μήποτε καὶ αὐτός, ὥς  
 τοιοῦτον μέτοχος λόγων, ἐπιτήδειος νομισθεὶς θάνατον ὑρέξει  
 ἑαυτῷ.

Ἐν τοιαύτῃ οὖν ἀμφιβολίᾳ τυγχάνουσιν ἐπιστὰς Ἐδέκων καὶ  
 τὸν Βιγίλαν ἔξω τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀπαγωγῶν συνόδου ὑποκρυνόμενός τε  
 ἀληθεύειν τῶν αὐτοῖς βεβουλευμένων ἕνεκα καὶ τὸ χρυσιὸν  
 225 κομισθῆναι παρακελευσάμενος τὸ δοθησόμενον τοῖς ἅμα αὐτῷ περὶ  
 τὴν πρᾶξιν ἐλευσομένους ἀνεχώρει. πολυπραγμονοῦντας δὲ τῖνες οἱ

195 μὴ γὰρ codd. [καὶ γὰρ Hoeschel καὶ γὰρ οὐ Niebuhr 204 δόντας . . .  
 ὑπεξείναι om. X et edd. 212 ἀμέτοχος Valesius [μέτοχος codd.

words. He continued that there were many fugitives of his own race  
 amongst the Romans and he ordered the secretaries to read out their  
 names, which were written on papyrus. When the secretaries had read  
 out all the names, Attila told Vigilas to depart immediately and he said  
 that he would send with him Esclas to tell the Romans to return to him  
 all the barbarians who had fled to them from the time of Carpilio (the  
 son of Aetius, the general of the Romans in the West), who had been a  
 hostage at his court.<sup>38</sup> He would not allow his own servants to go to war  
 against himself, even though they were unable to help those who en-  
 trusted to them the guarding of their own land. For, asked Attila, what  
 city or fortress had been saved by them after he had set out to capture  
 it? When they had announced his views on the fugitives, they were to  
 return and report whether the Romans were willing to give them up or  
 would go to war on their behalf. Maximinus he first ordered to remain  
 with the court so that through him he might reply to the Emperor's  
 written messages, and then he told us to hand over the gifts which  
 Maximinus was bringing and to withdraw.<sup>39</sup>

We handed over the gifts and, returning to our tent, discussed  
 amongst ourselves each of the things which had been said. Vigilas  
 expressed amazement that while Attila had seemed calm and mild  
 towards him on the previous embassy, on the present occasion he  
 abused him violently. I said that perhaps some of the barbarians who  
 had dined with us at Serdica had made Attila angry by telling him that  
 Vigilas had called the Roman Emperor a god and Attila a man. Maxi-  
 minus, since he had no part in the plot which the eunuch had devised  
 against the barbarian, accepted this explanation as likely. But Vigilas  
 was at a loss and appeared to me to have no explanation of why Attila  
 had railed at him. For he did not think, as he told us later, that either  
 the business at Serdica or the details of the plot had been reported to  
 Attila, since no one else from the group, because of the fear which  
 constrained all of them, would dare to go to speak with him, and  
 Edeco would keep entirely quiet both because of his oaths and because  
 of the uncertainty in the matter, in case he should be judged to have  
 forwarded the plot, since he took part in the talks, and be killed as a  
 punishment.

While we were in this state of uncertainty, Edeco arrived. He  
 drew Vigilas aside from our group and, pretending to be serious about  
 what they had planned, said that the gold should be brought to be given  
 to those who would co-operate with him in the attempt. Then he left.

τοῦ Ἐδέκωνος πρὸς αὐτὸν λόγοι ἀπατᾶν ἔσπευδεν ἡπατήμενος αὐτός, καὶ τὴν ἀληθῆ αἰτίαν ἀποκρυψάμενος ἔφασκε παρ' αὐτοῦ Ἐδέκωνος εἰρησθαι ὥς καὶ αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀττήλας περὶ τῶν φυγάδων χαλεπαῖνοι· ἔδει γὰρ ἢ πάντας ἀπολαβεῖν ἢ πρέσβεις ἐκ τῆς μεγίστης ἐξουσίας ἀρκεῖσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν.

Ταῦτα διαλεγόμενοι παραγενόμενοι τινας τοῦ Ἀττήλα ἔλεγον μήτε Βιγίλαν μήτε ἡμᾶς Ῥωμαῖον αἰχμάλωτον ἢ βάρβαρον ἀνδράποδον ἢ ἵππους ἢ ἕτερόν τι πλὴν τῶν εἰς τροφήν ὠνεῖσθαι, ἄχρις ὅτου τὰ μεταξὺ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Οὐννων ἀμφίβολα διακριθεῖη. σεσοφισ-  
 μένους δὲ ταῦτα καὶ κατὰ τέχνην ἐγένετο τῷ βαρβάρῳ, ὥστε τὸν μὲν Βιγίλαν ραδίως ἐπὶ τῇ κατ' αὐτοῦ ἁλῶναι πράξει ἀποροῦντα αἰτίας, ἐφ' ἧπερ τὸ χρυσίον κομίζοι, ἡμᾶς δὲ προφάσει ἀποκρίσεως ἐπὶ τῇ πρεσβείᾳ δοτησομένης Ὀνηγήσιον ἀπεκδέξασθαι τὰ δῶρα κομιού-  
 μενον, ἅπερ ἡμεῖς τε δίδοναι ἐβουλόμεθα καὶ βασιλεὺς ἀπεστέλλει.

Συνέβηκε γὰρ αὐτὸν σὺν τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ τῶν Ἀττήλα παίδων ἐς τὸ τῶν Ἀκατζίρων ἔθνος ἐστάλθαι, ὃ ἐστὶ Σκυθικὸν ἔθνος, παρέστη δὲ τῷ Ἀττήλα ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύτης. πολλῶν κατὰ φύλα καὶ γένη ἀρχόντων τοῦ ἔθνους, Θεοδόσιος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκπέμπει δῶρα, ὥστε ὁμοιοῖα σφετέρᾳ ἀπαγορεῦσαι μὲν τῇ τοῦ Ἀττήλα συμμαχίᾳ, τὴν δὲ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους εἰρήνην ἀσπάξεσθαι. ὁ δὲ τὰ δῶρα ἀπο-  
 κομίζων οὐ κατὰ τάξιν ἐκάστῳ τῶν βασιλέων τοῦ ἔθνους δίδωσιν, ὥστε τὸν Κουρίδαχον πρεσβύτερον ὄντα τῇ ἀρχῇ τὰ δῶρα δεξάμενον δευτέρου, οἷα δὲ περιοφθέντα καὶ τῶν σφετέρων στερηθέντα γερῶν, ἐπικαλέσασθαι τὸν Ἀττήλαν κατὰ τῶν συμβουλευόντων, τὸν δὲ μὴ μελλήσαντα πολλὴν ἐκπέμψαι δύναμιν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀνελόντα, τοὺς δὲ παραστησάμενον καλεῖν τὸν Κουρίδαχον τῶν νικητηρίων μεθέξοντα. τὸν δὲ ἐπιβουλὴν ὑποτοπήσαντα εἰπεῖν ὡς χαλεπὸν ἀνθρώπῳ ἐλθεῖν ἐς ὄψιν θεοῦ· εἰ γὰρ οὐδὲ τὸν τοῦ ἡλίου δίσκον ἀτενῶς ἔστω ἰδεῖν, πῶς τὸν μέγιστον τῶν θεῶν ἀπαθῶς τις ὄψοιτο; οὕτω μὲν οὖν ὁ Κουρίδαχος ἔμεθεν ἐπὶ τοῖς σφετέροις καὶ διεφύλαξε τὴν ἀρχήν, τοῦ λοιποῦ παντὸς τοῦ Ἀκατζίρων ἔθνους τῷ Ἀττήλα παραστάντος· οὐπερ ἔθνος βασιλέα τὸν πρεσβύτερον τῶν παίδων καταστήσαι βουλόμενος Ὀνηγήσιον ἐπὶ ταύτῃ ἐκπέμπει τὴν πρᾶξιν. διὸ δὴ καὶ ἡμᾶς, ὡς εἴρηται, ἐπιμεῖναι παρακελευσάμενος τὸν Βιγίλαν διαρῆκεν ἅμα Ἡσλᾶ προφάσει μὲν τῶν φυγάδων ἐς τὴν Ῥωμαίων διαβησόμενον, τῇ δὲ ἀληθείᾳ τῷ Ἐδέκωνι τὸ χρυσίον κομιούντα.

Τοῦ δὲ Βιγίλα ἐξορμήσαντος, μίαν μετὰ τὴν ἐκεῖνον ἀναχώ-  
 ρησιν ἡμέραν ἐπιμεῖναντες τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπὶ τὰ ἀρκτικώτερα τῆς

When we asked what Edeco had said to him, Vigilas, being himself deceived, tried to deceive us. Hiding the true reason, he said that Edeco had told him that Attila was angry with him over the fugitives, since it was necessary either that he receive them all or that ambassadors of the highest rank come to him.

While we were discussing these things, some of Attila's men came and said that neither Vigilas nor ourselves were to buy any Roman prisoner, or barbarian slave, or horses, or anything else except for food until the disputes between the Romans and the Huns had been settled. This was cunningly contrived and part of the barbarian's plan that Vigilas should be easily trapped in the plot against himself without a reason for bringing the gold, and that, on the excuse of a reply to be given to the embassy, we should await Onegesius, who would thus receive the gifts which the Emperor had sent and which we wished to deliver.

It happened that Onegesius had been sent together with Attila's eldest son<sup>40</sup> to the Akatziri, a Scythian people that had submitted to Attila for the following reason.<sup>41</sup> This people had many rulers according to their tribes and clans, and the Emperor Theodosius sent gifts to them to the end that they might unanimously renounce their alliance with Attila and seek peace with the Romans. The envoy who conveyed the gifts did not deliver them to each of the kings by rank, with the result that Kouridachus, the senior in office, received his gifts second and, being thus overlooked and deprived of his proper honours, called in Attila against his fellow kings. Attila without delay sent a large force, destroyed some and forced the rest to submit. He then summoned Kouridachus to share in the prizes of victory. But he, suspecting a plot, declared that it was hard for a man to come into the sight of a god: "For if it is not possible to look directly at the sun's disc, how could one look at the greatest of the gods without harm?" In this way Kouridachus remained amongst his own folk and saved his realm, while all the rest of the Akatzirian people submitted to Attila. He, wishing to make his eldest son king of this people, sent Onegesius for this purpose. Therefore, as I have said, he ordered us to remain with him and sent off Vigilas with Eslas to cross to Roman territory on the pretext of the fugitives, but in reality so that Vigilas might bring the gold to Edeco.

When Vigilas had left, we waited for one day after his departure and on the next set out with Attila for the more northerly parts of the

242 Ἀκατζίρων BE [Ἀκατρίων Müller codd. Ἀκατρίων Müller] 257 Ἀκατζίρων scripsi [Κατζίρων Müller]

χώρας σὺν Ἀττῆλᾳ ἐπορεύθημεν, καὶ ἄχρι τῶς βαρβάρῳ συμ-  
 προελθόντες ἐτέραν ὁδὸν ἐτράπημεν, τῶν ξεναγούντων ἡμᾶς Σκυ-  
 θῶν τοῦτο ποιῆν παρακελευσμένων, ὥς τοῦ Ἀττῆλα ἐς κώμην τινὰ  
 παρεσομένου, ἐν ᾗ γαμῆν θυγατέρα Ἑσκάμ ἐβούλετο, πλείστας μὲν  
 ἔχων γαμετάς, ἀγόμενος δὲ καὶ ταύτην κατὰ νόμον τὸν Σκυθικόν.  
 ἐνθὲνδε ἐπορεύμεθα ὁδὸν ὁμαλὴν ἐν πεδίῳ κειμένην ναυσιπόροις τε  
 προσεβάλομεν ποταμοῖς, ὧν οἱ μέγιστοι μετὰ τὸν Ἰστρον ὁ τε Δρή-  
 κων λεγόμενος καὶ ὁ Τίγας καὶ ὁ Τιφῆσας ἦν. καὶ τούτους μὲν  
 ἐπεραιώθημεν τοῖς μονοξύλοις πλοίοις, οἷς οἱ προσοικούντες τοὺς  
 ποταμοὺς κέχρηται, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ταῖς σχεδιαῖς διεπλεύσαμεν, ὅς  
 ἐπὶ τῶν ἁμαξῶν οἱ βάρβαροι διὰ τοὺς ληναζοντας φέρουσι τόπους.  
 ἐχορηγοῦντο δὲ ἡμῖν κατὰ κώμας τροφαί, ἀντὶ μὲν σίτου κέγχρος,  
 ἀντὶ δὲ οἴνου ὁ μέδος ἐπιχωρίως καλούμενος. ἐκομίζοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ  
 ἐπόμενοι ἡμῖν ὑπηρέται κέγχρον καὶ τὸ ἐκ κριθῶν χορηγούμενον  
 πόμα· κάμον οἱ βάρβαροι καλοῦσιν αὐτό.

Μακρὰν δὲ ἀνύσαντες ὁδὸν περὶ δειλὴν ὀψίαν κατεσκηνώσαμεν  
 πρὸς λίμνῃ τινὶ πότιμον ὕδωρ ἐχούσῃ, ὅπερ οἱ τῆς πλησίον ὑδρεύοντο  
 κώμης. πνεῦμα δὲ καὶ θύελλα ἐξαπνύτης διαναστᾶσα μετὰ βροντῶν  
 καὶ συχνῶν ἀστραπῶν καὶ θμβρου πολλοῦ οὐ μόνον ἡμῶν ἀνέτρεψε  
 τὴν σκητὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν κατασκευὴν σύμπασαν ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ ἐκύλισε  
 τῆς λίμνης. ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς κρατούσης τὸν ἀέρα ταραχῆς καὶ τοῦ συμ-  
 βάντος δειματωθέντες τὸ χωρίον ἀπελείπομεν καὶ ἀλλήλων χωρίζο-  
 μεθα, ὥς ἐν σκότῳ καὶ ὑετῷ, τραπέντες ὁδόν, ἦν αὐτῷ ῥαδίαν  
 ἕκαστος ἔσεσθαι ᾤετο. ἐς δὲ τὰς καλύβας τῆς κώμης παραγενόμενοι  
 (τὴν αὐτὴν δὲ πάντες διαφόρως ἐτράπημεν) ἐς ταύτην συνήειμεν καὶ  
 τῶν ἀπολειπομένων σὺν βοῇ τὴν ζήτησιν ἐποιούμεθα, ἐκπηδήσαντες  
 δὲ οἱ Σκύθαι διὰ τὸν θόρυβον τοὺς καλᾶμους, οἷς πρὸς τῷ πυρὶ  
 κέχρηται, ἀνέκαιον φῶς ἐργαζόμενοι, καὶ ἀνηρώτων ὅ τι βουλό-  
 μενοι κεκράγαμεν. τῶν δὲ σὺν ἡμῖν βαρβάρων ἀποκριναμένων ὥς διὰ  
 τὸν χειμῶνα ταραττόμεθα, πρὸς σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καλοῦντες ὑπε-  
 δέχοντο καὶ ἀλέαν παρεῖχον καλᾶμους πλείστους ἐναύοντες.

Τῆς δὲ ἐν τῇ κώμῃ ἀρχούσης γυναῖκος (μία δὲ αὕτη τῶν Βλήδα  
 γυναικῶν ἐγεγόνει) τροφὰς ἡμῶν διαπεμψαμένης καὶ ἐπὶ συνουσίᾳ  
 γυναῖκας εὐπρεπεῖς (Σκυθικὴ δὲ αὕτη τιμή) τὰς μὲν γυναῖκας ἐκ τῶν  
 προκειμένων ἐδωδύμων φιλοφρονησάμενοι, τῇ πρὸς αὐτὰς ὁμιλίᾳ  
 ἀπαγορεύσαντες, ἐγκαταμεύαντες δὲ ταῖς καλύβαις ἅμα ἡμέρᾳ ἐς  
 τὴν τῶν σκευῶν ἐτράπημεν ἀναζήτησιν, καὶ σύμπαντα εὐρηκότες, τὰ  
 μὲν ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ, ἐν ᾧ περ τῇ προτεραίᾳ καταλύσαντες ἐτύχομεν,  
 τὰ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τῇ ὄχθῃ τῆς λίμνης, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ὕδατι.

279 χορηγούμενον Dindorf [χορηγούμενοι codd. 301 ἀπηγορεύσαμεν  
 Hoeschel 303 ἐν ᾧ περ τῇ de Boor [ᾧ περ ἐν τῇ codd. [οὐ περ ἐν τῇ Hoeschel

country. For a while we travelled with him and then turned off onto a  
 different road at the command of our Scythian guides, since Attila was  
 to go to a certain village where he wished to marry a daughter of  
 Escam.<sup>42</sup> (Although he had many wives, he was marrying her according  
 to Scythian custom.) From there we travelled along a level road over a  
 plain and crossed navigable rivers, of which the greatest, after the  
 Danube, were the ones named the Drecon, the Tigas and the Tiphesas.<sup>43</sup>  
 These we crossed in boats made of single tree trunks, which those living  
 near the rivers used; the others we negotiated on the rafts which the  
 barbarians carry on their wagons because of the marshy areas. At the  
 villages we were abundantly supplied with foodstuffs, millet instead of  
 wheat and instead of wine what is called by the natives *medos*. The  
 attendants in our train also carried millet and the drink made from  
 barley which the barbarians call *kamon*.<sup>44</sup>

Having completed a long journey, in the late afternoon we  
 encamped near to a pool containing drinkable water which supplied the  
 inhabitants of the nearby village. Suddenly a wind and a storm arose  
 with thunder and a great deal of lightning and rain, and it not only  
 collapsed our tent but blew all our baggage into the pool. Terrified by  
 the tumult that was raging in the air and by what had already hap-  
 pened, we fled the place and scattered, each of us in the darkness and  
 the downpour taking the path which we thought would be the easiest.<sup>45</sup>  
 Arriving at the huts of the village (which we all reached by our different  
 routes), we gathered together and began to shout for the things we  
 needed. At the uproar the Scythians rushed out, kindling the reeds  
 which they used for fire and making light, and asked us what we  
 wanted with our shouting. When the barbarians who were with us  
 replied that we were panicked by the storm, they called to us and took  
 us into their own homes and, burning a great quantity of reeds, gave  
 us warmth.

The woman who ruled the village (she had been one of Bleda's  
 wives) sent us food and attractive women for intercourse, which is a  
 mark of honour amongst the Scythians. We plied the women generously  
 from the foods placed before us, but refused intercourse with them.  
 We remained in the huts and at about daybreak we went to search for  
 our baggage and found it all, some in the spot in which we had  
 happened to halt on the previous day, some at the edge of the pool, and  
 some actually in the water. We gathered it up and spent the day in

ἀνελάβομεν καὶ ἐκεῖνην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν τῇ κώμῃ διετρίψαμεν ἅπαντα 305  
 διατερσαίνοντες· ὃ τε γὰρ χειμῶν ἐπέπαυτο καὶ λαμπρὸς ἥλιος ἦν.  
 ἐπιμεληθέντες δὲ καὶ τῶν ἵππων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ὑποζυγίων παρὰ  
 τὴν βασιλίδαν ἀφικόμεθα, καὶ αὐτὴν ἀσπασάμενοι καὶ δώροις ἀμειψά-  
 μενοι, τρισὶ τε ἀργυραῖς φιάλαις καὶ ἐρυθροῖς δέρμασι καὶ τῷ ἐξ 310  
 Ἰνδίας πεπέρει καὶ τῷ καρπῷ τῶν φωνίκων καὶ ἑτέροις τραγήμασι  
 διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐπιχωριάξω τοῖς βαρβάροις οὓσι τιμίους, ὑπέξιμεν εὐχά-  
 μενοι αὐτῇ ἀγαθὰ τῆς ξενίας πέρι.

Ἡμερῶν δὲ ἑ' ὁδὸν ἀνύσαντες ἐν κώμῃ τῷ ἐπεμείναμεν, τῶν  
 ξεναγούντων παρακελευσαμένων Σκυθῶν, οἳα δὲ τοῦ Ἀττήλα ἐς 315  
 αὐτὴν ἐμβαλοῦντος τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ ἡμῶν κατόπῳ αὐτοῦ πορεύεσθαι  
 ὀρεϊλόντων. ἐνθα δὲ <ἐνε>τυγχάνομεν ἀνδράσι τῶν ἐσπερίων  
 Ῥωμαίων καὶ αὐτοῖς παρὰ τὸν Ἀττήλαν πρεσβευομένους· ὧν Ῥω-  
 μύλος ἦν, ἀνὴρ τῇ τοῦ κόμητος ἀξία τετιμημένος, καὶ Προμοῦτος τῆς  
 Νωρικῶν ἀρχῶν χώρας καὶ Ῥωμανὸς στρατιωτικοῦ τάγματος 320  
 ἡγεμῶν. συνῆν δὲ αὐτοῖς Κωνσταντίος, ὃν ἀπεστάλκει Ἀέτιος παρὰ  
 τὸν Ἀττήλαν ὑπογραφῆως χάριω, καὶ Τατοῦλος ὁ Ὀρέστου πατὴρ  
 τοῦ μετὰ Ἐδέκωνος, οὗ τῆς πρεσβείας ἕνεκα, ἀλλὰ οἰκείωτος χάριω  
 ἅμα σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τὴν πορείαν ποιοῦμενοι, Κωνσταντίος μὲν διὰ <τὴν  
 ἐν> ταῖς Ἰταλίαις προῦπάρξασαν πρὸς τοὺς ἄνδρας γινῶσκω, Τα- 325  
 τοῦλος δὲ διὰ συγγένειαν· ὁ γὰρ αὐτοῦ παῖς Ὀρέστης Ῥωμύλου  
 θυγατέρα ἐγεγαμήκει. . . . ἀπὸ Παταβίωνος τῆς ἐν Νωρικῷ πόλεως  
 ἐπρεσβεύοντο ἐκμειλιττόμενοι τὸν Ἀττήλαν ἐκδοθῆναι αὐτῷ βου-  
 λόμενον Σιλβανόν, ἀσήμου τραπέζης κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην προεσιτώτα,  
 ὡς φιάλας χρυσᾶς παρὰ Κωνσταντίου δεξάμενον, ὃς ἐκ Γαλατῶν 330  
 μὲν τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐσπέρᾳ ὠρμάτο, ἀπέσταλτο δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς παρὰ Ἀττή-  
 λαν τε καὶ Βλήδαν, ὥσπερ ὁ μετ' αὐτὸν Κωνσταντίος, ὑπογραφῆως  
 χάριω. κατὰ δὲ τὸν χρόνον, ἐν ᾧ ὑπὸ Σκυθῶν ἐν τῇ Παιόνων ἐπο-  
 λιορκεῖτο τὸ Σίρμιον, τὰς φιάλας παρὰ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἐπισκόπου  
 ἐδέξατο ἐφ' ᾧ αὐτὸν λύσασθαι, εἴ γε περιόντος αὐτοῦ ἄλωναί τὴν 335  
 πόλιν συμβαίη, ἢ ἀναιρεθέντος ὠνήσασθαι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους  
 ἀπαγομένους τῶν ἀστῶν. ὁ δὲ Κωνσταντίος μετὰ τὸν τῆς πόλεως  
 ἀνδραποδισμόν ὀλιγωρήσας τῶν Σκυθικῶν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην κατὰ  
 πρᾶξιν τινα παραγίνεται καὶ κομίζεται παρὰ τοῦ Σιλβανοῦ χρυσίον  
 τὰς φιάλας δούς, ὥστε ῥητοῦ χρόνου ἐντὸς ἢ ἀποδόντα τὸ ἐκδα- 340  
 νεισθὲν χρυσίον ἀναλαβεῖν τὰ ἐνέχυρα, ἢ αὐτοῖς τὸν Σιλβανὸν ἐς ὃ

the village drying it all out, for the storm had ceased and the sun was  
 shining brightly. When we had taken care of the horses and the rest of  
 the baggage animals, we visited the queen, thanked her, and repaid her  
 with three silver bowls, red skins, Indian pepper, dates and other dried  
 fruits which the barbarians value because they are not native to their  
 own country. Then we called blessings upon her for her hospitality  
 and departed.

When we had completed a journey of seven days, on the orders of  
 our Scythian guides we halted at a village, since Attila was to take the  
 same road and we had to follow behind him. There we met some  
 western Romans who were also on an embassy to Attila. Amongst them  
 were Romulus, who had the rank of count, Promotus, the governor of  
 Noricum, and the general Romanus.<sup>46</sup> With them were Constantius,  
 whom Aetius had sent to Attila as his secretary, and Tatulus, the father  
 of Orestes who was with Edeco. They were not members of the  
 embassy but were travelling with the envoys out of personal friendship,  
 Constantius because of his earlier acquaintance with them in Italy,  
 Tatulus out of kinship, since his son Orestes had married a daughter  
 of Romulus. . . . They were making this embassy from Patavio, a city  
 in Noricum,<sup>47</sup> in order to pacify Attila, who wanted Silvanus, the  
 manager of the bank dealing in bullion at Rome,<sup>48</sup> to be handed over  
 to him on the ground that he had received some golden bowls from  
 Constantius. This Constantius came from the Gauls of the West<sup>49</sup> and  
 he too, like the later Constantius, had been sent by Aetius to Attila and  
 Bleda as secretary. At the time when Sirmium, a city of Pannonia, was  
 being besieged by the Scythians,<sup>50</sup> Constantius was given the bowls by  
 the bishop of the city for the purpose of ransoming him if the city  
 were captured and he survived, or, if he were killed, of buying the  
 freedom of those citizens who were being led off as prisoners. However,  
 after the capture of the city, Constantius ignored the rights of the  
 Scythians<sup>51</sup> and, coming to Rome on business, handed over the bowls  
 to Silvanus and received from him gold on condition that either within  
 a stated period of time he repay the gold with interest and recover the  
 sureties or Silvanus do with them as he wished. But Attila and Bleda

316 ἐνε- add, Hoeschel 323-24 τὴν ἐν add, Niebuhr 326 lac. post ἐγεγα-  
 μήκει ponit de Boor, post πόλεως edd. 328 ἀσήμου Bury | ἀρμίου X (aut  
 ἀσμίου E) ἀργυρίου Valesius 336 τὸν post πόλεως ponunt MP, omittunt BE  
 337 Σκυθικῶν codd., praeter M (συνθικῶν) [συνθηκῶν Niebuhr 339-40  
 ἐκδαπανησθὲν P

τι βούλοιτο χρήσασθαι. τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Κωνσταντίον ἐν ὑποψίᾳ  
 προδοσίας ποιησάμενοι Ἀττήλας τε καὶ Βλήδας ἀνεσταύρωσαν·  
 μετὰ δὲ χρόνον τῷ Ἀττήλᾳ ὡς τὰ περὶ τῶν φιαλῶν ἐμνηνύθη, ἐκ-  
 δοθῆναι αὐτῷ τὸν Σιλβανὸν οἷα δὴ φῶρα τῶν αὐτοῦ γενόμενον  
 ἐβούλετο. πρέσβεις τοῖνυν παρὰ Ἀετίου καὶ τοῦ βασιλεύοντος τῶν  
 ἐσπερίων Ῥωμαίων ἐστάλησαν ἐροῦντες ὡς χρήστης Σιλβανὸς  
 Κωνσταντίου γενόμενος τὰς φιάλας ἐνέχυρα καὶ οὐ φῶρια λαβῶν  
 ἔχοι, καὶ ὡς ταύτας ἀργυρίου χάρῳ ἱερεῦσι καὶ <οὐ> τοῖς ἐπι-  
 τυχοῦσιν ἀπέδοτο· οὔτε γὰρ θέμις ἀνθρώποις εἰς σφετέρην διακονίαν  
 κεχρησθαι ἐκπώμασιν ἀνατεθεῖσι θεῷ. εἰ οὖν μὴ <μετὰ> τῆς  
 εὐλόγου προφάσεως καὶ εὐλαβείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀποσταίῃ τοῦ τὰς φιάλας  
 αἰτεῖν, ἐκπέμπεω τὸ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν χρυσίον τὸν Σιλβανὸν παραιτου-  
 μένους· οὐ γὰρ ἐκδώσειν ἀνθρώπον ἀδικοῦντα οὐθέν. καὶ αὕτη μὲν  
 αἰτία τῆς τῶν ἀνδρῶν πρεσβείας, καὶ παρείποντο ὅτι καὶ ἀποκρινά-  
 μενος ἀποπέμψοι σφᾶς ὁ βάρβαρος.

Ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς οὖν ὁδοῦ γενόμενοι, προπορευθῆναι αὐτὸν ἀνα-  
 μείναντες σὺν τῷ παντὶ ἐπηκολουθήσαμεν πλήθει. καὶ ποταμούς  
 τινας διαβάντες ἐν μεγίστῃ παρεγνώμεθα κώμῃ, ἐν ἣ τὰ τοῦ Ἀττήλα  
 οἰκήματα περιωρνεύετο τῶν ἀπανταχοῦ εἶναι ἐλέγετο ξύλοις τε καὶ  
 σανίσιν εὐξέστοις ἡρμοσμένα καὶ περιβόλῳ ξυλῶν κυκλούμενα οὐ  
 πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς εὐπρέπειαν συλλαμβάνοντι. μετὰ δὲ τὰ  
 τοῦ βασιλέως ἦν τὰ τοῦ Ὀνιγγησίου διαπρεπῆ καὶ περίβολον μὲν ἐκ  
 ξύλων καὶ αὐτὰ ἔχοντα, οὐχ ὁμοίως δὲ ὥσπερ ὁ Ἀττήλα πύργους  
 ἐκοσμεῖτο. βαλανεῖον δὲ ἦν οὐ πόρρω τοῦ περιβόλου, ὅπερ Ὀνιγγή-  
 σιος μετὰ τὸν Ἀττήλαν παρὰ Σκύθαις ἰσχύων μέγα ᾠκοδόμει λίθους  
 ἐκ τῆς Παιόνων διακομίσας γῆς· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ λίθος οὐ δένδρον  
 παρὰ τοῖς ἐκείνῳ τὸ μέρος οἰκοῦσι βαρβάροις ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ ἐπεισάκτω  
 τῇ ὕλῃ κέχρηται ταύτῃ. ὁ δὲ ἀρχιτέκτων τοῦ βαλανείου ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 Σιρμίον αἰχμάλωτος ἀχθεῖς, μισθὸν τοῦ εὐρέματος ἐλευθερίαν  
 λήψασθαι προσδοκῶν ἔλαυε μείζονι πόνῳ περιπεσὼν τῆς παρὰ  
 Σκύθαις δουλείας· βαλανέα γὰρ αὐτὸν Ὀνιγγήσιος κατέστησεν, καὶ  
 λοιομένῳ αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς ἄμφ' αὐτὸν διηκονεῖτο.

Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ κώμῃ εἰσιόντα τὸν Ἀττήλαν ἀπῆντων κόραι  
 στοιχηδὸν προπορευόμεναι ὑπὸ ὀνόματι λεπταῖς τε καὶ λευκαῖς  
 ἐπὶ πολὺ ἐς μῆκος παρατεωρούσαις, ὥστε ὑπὸ μιᾷ ἐκάστῃ ὀνόμῃ  
 ἀνεχομένη ταῖς χερσὶ τῶν παρ' ἐκάτερα γυναικῶν κόρας ζ' ἢ καὶ  
 πλείους βαδίζούσας (ἦσαν δὲ πολλαὶ τοιαῦται τῶν γυναικῶν ὑπὸ ταῖς  
 ὀνόμασι τάξεις) ἄδew ἄσματα Σκυθικά. πλῆσιον δὲ τῶν Ὀνιγγησίου

came to suspect Constantius of treachery and crucified him, and, after  
 a time, Attila, being informed of the matter of the bowls, wished Sil-  
 vanus to be handed over to him as a thief of his own possessions. There-  
 fore, envoys had been sent by Aetius and the Emperor of the western  
 Romans to say that, as Constantius' creditor, Silvanus had received the  
 bowls as sureties and not as stolen property and that he had sold them  
 for silver to priests and not to common citizens; for it was not right  
 that men should use for their own purposes vessels dedicated to God.  
 Accordingly, if, after<sup>52</sup> this reasonable explanation and out of respect  
 for divinity, Attila would not drop his demand for the bowls, they  
 would send gold for them but would not surrender Silvanus, since they  
 would not hand over a man who had done no wrong. This was the  
 reason for their embassy, and they were attending him so that the  
 barbarian might give his reply and dismiss them.

Since we were on the same journey, we waited for Attila to go  
 ahead and followed with our whole party. Having crossed some rivers,  
 we came to a very large village<sup>53</sup> in which Attila's palace was said to be  
 more spectacular than those elsewhere. It was constructed of timbers  
 and smoothly planed boards<sup>54</sup> and was surrounded by a wooden wall  
 which was built with an eye not to security but to elegance. The  
 buildings of Onegesius were second only to those of the king in magni-  
 ficence, and they too had a circuit wall made of timbers but not em-  
 bellished with towers, as was Attila's. Not far from this wall was a bath  
 which Onegesius, whose power amongst the Scythians was second only  
 to that of Attila, had built, fetching stones from Pannonia. For there is  
 neither stone nor timber amongst the barbarians who inhabit this area,  
 but the wood that they use is imported. The builder of the bath had  
 been taken prisoner at Sirmium, and he hoped to gain his freedom as a  
 reward for his inventive work. But he was disappointed and fell into  
 greater distress than slavery amongst the Scythians. For Onegesius made  
 him bath attendant, and he waited upon him and his followers when  
 they bathed.

In this village, as Attila was entering, young girls came to meet  
 him and went before him in rows under narrow cloths of white linen,  
 which were held up by the hands of women on either side. These cloths  
 were stretched out to such a length that under each one seven or more  
 girls walked. There were many such rows of women under the cloths,  
 and they sang Scythian songs. When Attila came near to Onegesius'

348 οὐ add. Bekker [καὶ exp. Müller 350 μετὰ post μὴ inserui, quod Niebuhr  
 pro μὴ scripsit 351 εὐλόγῳ προφάσει Bornmann (1974) 353 ἐκδώσεις X  
 366 οὐδὲν γὰρ MP οὐδέ post γὰρ exp. Hoeschel

οικήμάτων γενόμενον (δι' αὐτῶν γὰρ ἡ ἐπὶ τὰ βασιλεια ἦγεν δδός) ὑπεξεληθοῦσα ἡ τοῦ Ὀνηγησίου γαμετὴ μετὰ πλήθους θεραπόντων, τῶν μὲν ὄψα, τῶν δὲ οἶνον φερόντων (μεγίστη δὲ αὕτη παρὰ Σκύθαις ἐστὶ τιμὴ) ἡσπάζετό τε καὶ ἡξίου μεταλαβεῖν ὧν αὐτῷ φιλοφρονουμένη ἐκόμισεν. ὃς δὲ ἐπιτρεπίου ἀνδρὸς χαριζόμενος γαμετῇ ἡσθιεν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου ἡμενος, τῶν παρεπομένων τὸν πῖνακα (ἀργύρεος δὲ ἦν οὗτος) ἐς ὕψος ἀράντων βαρβάρων. ἀπογευσάμενος δὲ καὶ τῆς προσενεχθείσης αὐτῷ κύλικος ἐς τὰ βασιλεια ἐχώρει ὄντα τῶν ἄλλων ὑπέρτερα καὶ ἐν ὑψηλῷ διακείμενα χωρίῳ.

Ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐν τοῖς Ὀνηγησίου, ἐκεῖνον παρακελευσαμένον, ἐγκατεμέναμεν· ἐπανεληλύθει γὰρ σὺν τῷ Ἀττήλα παιδί. ἡριστοποιησάμεθα <δέ>, δεξιωσαμένης ἡμᾶς τῆς τε γαμετῆς καὶ τῶν κατὰ γένος αὐτῷ διαφερόντων· αὐτὸς γὰρ τῷ Ἀττήλα μετὰ τὴν ἐπάνοδον τότε πρῶτον ἐς ὄψω ἐλθὼν καὶ αὐτῷ τὰ ἐπὶ τῇ πράξει, ἐφ' ἣν ἔσταλτο, ἀπαγγέλλων καὶ τὸ πάθος τὸ τῷ Ἀττήλα παιδί συνενεχθῆναι (τὴν γὰρ δεξιᾶν χεῖρα ἐξολισθήσας κατέαξεν) συνενωχεῖσθαι ἡμῶν οὐκ ἦγε σχολήν. μετὰ δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον ἀπολιπόντες τὰ τοῦ Ὀνηγησίου οἰκήματα πλησίον τῶν Ἀττήλα κατεσκηνώσαμεν ἐπιτραπέντες, ὥστε καιροῦ καλοῦντος ἡ παρὰ τὸν Ἀττήλαν ἐσιέναι τὸν Μαξιμῶν ἦγουν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς ἄμφ' αὐτὸν ἐς λόγους ἵεναι ὀρεῖντα μὴ πολλῶν κεχωρίσθαι διαστήματι. διαγαγόντων δὲ ἡμῶν ἐκεῖνην τὴν νύκτα ἐν ᾧπερ κατελύσαμεν χωρίῳ, ὑπορανούσης ἡμέρας ὁ Μαξιμῶς στέλλει με παρὰ τὸν Ὀνηγησίον τὰ δῶρα δώσοντα, ἃ τε αὐτὸς ἐδίδου, ἃ τε βασιλεὺς ἀπεστάλκει, καὶ ὅπως γινώτῃ οἱ βούλεται αὐτῷ καὶ ὅποτε ἐς λόγους ἐλθῆν. παραγεγόμενος δὲ ἅμα τοῖς κομίζουσιν αὐτῷ ὑπηρέταις προσεκαρτέρουν, ἔτι τῶν θυρῶν κεκλεισμένων, ἄχρις ὅτου τις ὑπεξελθὼν τὴν ἡμετέραν μηνύσειεν ἄριξιν.

Διατρίβοντι δὲ μοι καὶ περιπάτους ποιουμένῳ πρὸ τοῦ περιβόλου τῶν οἰκημάτων προσελθὼν τις, ὃν βάρβαρον ἐκ τῆς Σκυθικῆς ᾤκηθην εἶναι στολῆς, Ἑλληνικῇ ἀσπάζεται με φωνῇ, χαῖρε προσειπὼν, ὥστε με θαυμάζω ὅτι γε δὴ ἐλληνίζει Σκύθης ἀνὴρ. ξύγκλυδες γὰρ ὄντες πρὸς τῇ σφετέρᾳ βαρβάρῳ γλώσσῃ ζηλοῦσιν ἢ τὴν Οὐννων ἢ τὴν Γότθων ἢ καὶ τὴν Αὐσονίων, ὅσοις αὐτῶν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐπιμείξια· καὶ οὐ βραδίως τις σφῶν ἐλληνίζει τῇ φωνῇ, πλὴν ὧν ἀπήγαγον αἰχμαλώτων ἀπὸ τῆς Θρακίας καὶ Ἰλλυριδος παράλου. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γνώριμοι τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν ἐτύγχανον ἐκ τῶν διερρωγόντων ἐνδυμάτων καὶ τοῦ αὐχμοῦ τῆς κεφαλῆς ὡς ἐς

compound, through which the road to the palace passed,<sup>55</sup> Onegesius' wife came out to meet him with a crowd of servants, some carrying food and others wine (this is a very great honour amongst the Scythians), welcomed him and asked him to partake of what she had brought out of friendship. In order to please the wife of a close friend, he ate while sitting on his horse, the barbarians who were accompanying him having raised aloft the platter which was of silver. When he had also drunk from the cup of wine which was offered to him, he proceeded to the palace, which was higher than the other structures and built on a rise.

We waited at the compound of Onegesius as he had ordered, for he had returned with Attila's son. His wife and the most important members of his clan received us, and there we dined. Onegesius did not have time to dine with us, since immediately upon his return he had gone to speak with Attila to report to him upon the business for which he had been sent and upon the accident suffered by Attila's son, who had fallen and broken his right arm. After the meal we left Onegesius' compound, moved closer to Attila's palace and camped there, so that when the time came for Maximinus to have an audience with Attila or else to speak with others of his retinue, he should not be far away. We spent the night where we had encamped, and at daybreak Maximinus sent me to Onegesius to give him the gifts, both those which he was giving and those which the Emperor had sent, and to learn where and when he wished to speak with him. I arrived with the servants who were carrying the gifts for him and, since the doors were still shut, I waited until someone should come out and report our arrival.

As I was waiting and walking about before the circuit wall of the palace, someone, whom I took to be a barbarian from his Scythian dress, approached me and greeted me in Greek, saying, "*khaire*" ("Hello"). I was amazed that a Scythian was speaking Greek. Being a mixture of peoples, in addition to their own languages they cultivate Hunnic or Gothic or (in the case of those who have dealings with the Romans) Latin. But none of them can easily speak Greek, except for those whom they have taken prisoner from the sea coasts of Thrace and Illyria;<sup>56</sup> and whoever met them could easily recognise them from their tattered clothes and filthy hair as persons who had fallen into

390 δέ add. de Boor 397 ἐπιτραπέντες . . . καλοῦντος om. X et edd. 399 διαγαγόντων Bekker [διαγόντων codd. 400 ὑπερανούσης M ex quo ὑπερανούσης Dindorf 403 οἱ Dindorf [οἱ codd. ei Bekker

τὴν χεῖρωνα μεταπεσόντες τύχην· οὗτος δὲ τρυφῶντι ἐῴκει Σκύθη  
εὐείμων τε ὦν καὶ ἀποκειράμενος τὴν κεφαλὴν περιτρόχαλα.

Ἀντασπασάμενος δὲ ἀνηρώτων τίς ὦν καὶ πόθεν ἐς τὴν βάρ-  
βαρον παρήλθε γῆν καὶ βίον ἀναιρεῖται Σκυθικόν. ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο ὃ 420  
τι βουλόμενος ταῦτα γινῶναι ἐσπούδακα. ἐγὼ δὲ ἔφην αἰτίαν πολυ-  
πραγμοσύνης εἶναι μοι τὴν Ἑλλήνων φωνήν. τότε δὴ γελάσας ἔλεγε  
Γραυκὸς μὲν εἶναι τὸ γένος, κατ' ἐμπορίαν δὲ εἰς τὸ Βιμνάκιον  
ἐληλυθέναι τὴν πρὸς τῷ Ἰστρῷ ποταμῷ Μυσῶν πόλιν. πλείστον δὲ 425  
ἐν αὐτῇ διατρίψαι χρόνον καὶ γυναῖκα γήμασθαι ζῆλτον. τὴν δὲ  
ἐντεῦθεν εὐπραγίαν ἐκδύσασθαι ὑπὸ τοῖς βαρβάροις τῆς πόλεως  
γενομένης, καὶ διὰ τὸν ὑπάρξαντα πλούτον αὐτῷ Ὀνηγησίῳ ἐν τῇ  
τῶν λαφύρων προκριθῆναι διανομῇ· τοὺς γὰρ ἀλόντας ἀπὸ τῶν  
εὐπόρων μετὰ τὸν Ἀττήλαν ἐκκρίτους εἶχον οἱ τῶν Σκυθῶν λογάδες  
διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ πλείστοις διατίθεσθαι. ἀριστεύσαντα δὲ ἐν ταῖς ὑστερον 430  
πρὸς Ῥωμαίους μάχαις καὶ τὸ τῶν Ἀκατίρων ἔθνος, δόντα τῷ  
βαρβάρῳ δεσπότη κατὰ τὸν παρὰ Σκύθαις νόμον τὰ κατὰ τὸν  
πόλεμον αὐτῷ κτηθέντα, ἐλευθερίας τυχεῖν. γυναῖκα δὲ γήμασθαι  
βάρβαρον, εἶναι τε αὐτῷ παῖδας· καὶ Ὀνηγησίῳ τραπέζης κοινω-  
νοῦντα ἀμείνονα τοῦ προτέρου τὸν παρόντα βίον ἡγεῖσθαι. 435

Τοὺς μὲν γὰρ παρὰ Σκύθαις μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἐν ἀπραγ-  
μοσύνῃ διατελεῖν, ἐκάστου τῶν παρόντων ἀπολαύοντος καὶ οὐδαμῶς  
ἢ ὀλίγα ἐνοχλοῦντος ἢ ἐνοχλουμένου, τοὺς μέντοι παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἐν  
μὲν πολέμῳ βραδίως ἀναλίσκεσθαι εἰς ἐτέρους τὰς τῆς σωτηρίας  
ἐλπίδας ἔχοντας, ὥς πάντων διὰ τοὺς τυράννους μὴ χρωμένων 440  
ὅπλοις· καὶ τοῖς χρωμένοις δὲ σφαλερωτέρα ἢ τῶν στρατηγῶν  
κακία μὴ ὑρισταμένων τὸν πόλεμον. ἐν δὲ τῇ εἰρήνῃ ὀδυνηρότερα  
ὑπάρχειν τὰ συμβαίνοντα τῶν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις κακῶν διὰ τε τὴν  
βαρυτάτην εἰσπραξὴν τῶν δασμῶν καὶ τὰς ἐκ τῶν ποινηρῶν βλάβας,  
τῶν νόμων οὐ κατὰ πάντων κεμένων, ἀλλὰ εἰ μὲν ὁ παραβαίνων τὸν 445  
θεσμὸν τῶν πλουτούντων εἴη, ἔστι τῆς ἀδικίας αὐτὸν μὴ δίδοιαι  
δίκας· εἰ δὲ πένης εἴη, οὐκ ἐπιστάμενος χρῆσθαι πράγμασιν ὑπομένει  
τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου ζημίαν, εἴπερ μὴ πρὸ τῆς κρίσεως ἀπολείποι τὸν  
βίον, μακροῦ ἐπὶ ταῖς δίκαις παρατενωμένου χρόνου καὶ πλείστων  
ἐκδανωμένων χρημάτων· ὅπερ τῶν πάντων ἀναιδέστατον εἴη, ἐπὶ 450  
μισθῷ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου τυγχάνειν. οὐδὲ γὰρ τῷ ἀδικουμένῳ τις  
δικαστήριον παραδώσει, εἰ μὴ τι ἀργύριον τῷ τε δικαστῇ καὶ τοῖς  
ἐκείνῳ διακονουμένοις κατὰδοιτο.

adversity. This one, however, was like a well-cared-for Scythian with  
good clothing and his hair clipped all around.<sup>57</sup>

I returned his greeting and asked who he was and where he came  
from to the land of the barbarians and took up a Scythian way of life.  
In reply he asked why I was so eager to know this. I said that his Greek  
speech was the reason for my curiosity. He laughed and said that he  
was a Greek and for purposes of trade he had gone to Viminacium, the  
city in Moesia on the river Danube. He had lived there for a very long  
time and married a very rich woman. When the city was captured by  
the barbarians,<sup>58</sup> he was deprived of his prosperity and, because of his  
great wealth, was assigned to Onagesius himself in the division of the  
spoils; for after Attila the leading men of the Scythians, because they  
were in command of very many men,<sup>59</sup> chose their captives from  
amongst the well-to-do. Having proven his valour in later battles against  
the Romans and the nation of the Akatiri and having, according to  
Scythian law, given his booty to his master, he had won his freedom.  
He had married a barbarian wife and had children, and, as a sharer at  
the table of Onagesius, he now enjoyed a better life than he had  
previously.

He continued, saying that after a war men amongst the Scythians  
live at ease, each enjoying his own possessions and troubling others or  
being troubled not at all or very little. But amongst the Romans, since  
on account of their tyrants<sup>60</sup> not all men carry weapons, they place  
their hope of safety in others and are thus easily destroyed in war.  
Moreover, those who do use arms are endangered still more by the  
cowardice of their generals, who are unable to sustain a war. In peace  
misfortunes await one even more painful than the evils of war because  
of the imposition of heavy taxes and injuries done by criminals. For  
the laws are not applied to all. If the wrongdoer is rich, the result is  
that he does not pay the penalty for his crime, whereas if he is poor  
and does not know how to handle the matter, he suffers the prescribed  
punishment – if he does not die before judgement is given (since law-  
suits are much protracted and much money is spent on them). And this  
may be the most painful thing, to have to pay for justice. For no one  
will grant a hearing to a wronged man unless he hands over money for  
the judge and his assessors.

421 ἔφη X et edd. 431 Ἀκατίρων Müller [Ἀκατήρων codd. 441 τοῖς  
χρωμένοις Maltese (1977) [τῶν χρωμένων codd. 441-42 ἡ τύχη τῇ τῶν  
στρατηγῶν κακία de Boor 442 μὴδὲ M et Dindorf 446 ἔστι Bekker [ἐπὶ  
codd. 451 τις Niebuhr [εἰς codd. 452 τῷ τε Hoeschel [τότε codd.

Τοιαῦτα καὶ πλείστα ἕτερα προτιθέντος, ὑπολαβὼν ἔρασκον  
 πρῶως αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ ἐξ ἐμοῦ ἀκούειν. καὶ δὴ ἔλεγον ὡς οἱ τῆς Ῥω- 455  
 μαίων πολιτείας εὐρεταὶ σοφοὶ τε καὶ ἀγαθοὶ ἄνδρες, ὥστε τὰ  
 πράγματα τηνᾶλλως μὴ φέρεσθαι, τοὺς μὲν τῶν νόμων εἶναι φύ-  
 λακας, τοὺς δὲ ποιεῖσθαι τῶν ὅπλων ἐπιμέλειαν ἔταξαν καὶ τὰς  
 πολεμικὰς μελέτας ἀσκεῖν, πρὸς μηδὲν ἕτερον ἐπαγομένους ἢ ὥστε  
 εἶναι πρὸς μάχην ἐτοιμοὺς καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν συνήθη γυμνασίαν θαρ- 460  
 ρούντας ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἵεναι, προαναλωθέντος αὐτοῖς διὰ τῆς  
 μελέτης τοῦ φόβου· τοὺς δὲ προσκεμένους τῇ γεωργίᾳ καὶ τῇ ἐπι-  
 μελείᾳ τῆς γῆς ἑαυτοὺς τε καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀγωνιζομένους  
 τρέφειν ἔταξαν [δὲ καὶ τοὺς] τὸ στρατιωτικὸν εἰσπραττομένους  
 σιτηρέσιον· ἄλλους δὲ τῶν ἀδικουμένων προνοεῖν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν τοῦ 465  
 δικαίου προΐστασθαι ὑπὲρ τῶν δι' ἀσθένειαν φύσεως μὴ οἴων τε  
 ὄντων τὰ σφέτερα προΐσχεσθαι δίκαια, τοὺς δὲ δικάζοντας φυλάττειν  
 ἅπῃ ὁ νόμος βούλεται· μὴ ἐστερηθῆσθαι δὲ φροντίδος μηδὲ τῶν παρα-  
 στάντων τοῖς δικασταῖς, ἀλλὰ κάκεῖνων εἶναι τοὺς πρόνοιαν ποιησο-  
 μένους, ὅπως τοῦ τε δικαίου τεύξοιτο ὁ τῆς τῶν δικαστῶν τυχῶν 470  
 κρίσεως καὶ ὁ ἀδικεῖν νομισθεὶς μὴ εἰσπραχθεῖη πλέον ἢ περ ἢ  
 δικαστικῇ βούλεται ψῆφος. εἰ γὰρ μὴ ὑπῆρχον οἱ ταῦτα ἐν φροντίδι  
 ποιούμενοι, ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς αἰτίας ἐτέρας δίκης ἐγίνετο ἂν πρόφασις, ἢ  
 τοῦ νενηκκότος χαλεπώτερον ἐπεξιόντος, ἢ τοῦ τὴν χεῖρονα ἀπ-  
 ενεγκαμένου τῇ ἀδίκῃ ἐπιμένοντος γνώμη. 475

Εἶναι δὲ καὶ τοῦτοις τεταγμένον ἀργύριον παρὰ τῶν τὰς δίκας  
 ἀγωνιζομένων, ὡς παρὰ τῶν γεωργῶν τοῖς ὀπλίταις, ἢ οὐκ ὄσιν  
 τὸν ἐπικουροῦντα τρέφειν καὶ τῆς εὐνοίας ἀμείβεσθαι; ὥσπερ ἀγαθὸν  
 ἵππεϊ μὲν ἢ τοῦ ἵππου κομιδῇ, ἀγαθὸν δὲ βουκόλῳ ἢ τῶν βοῶν καὶ 480  
 θηρατῇ ἢ τῶν κυνῶν ἐπιμέλεια, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὧν πρὸς σφετέραν  
 φυλακὴν τε καὶ ὠφέλειαν ἔχουσιν ἄνθρωποι, ὅποτε τὴν δαπάνην τὴν  
 ἐπὶ τῇ δίκῃ γενομένην ἀλόντες ἐκτίνουσιν, ἀνατιθέντες ἀδικία  
 σφετέρᾳ καὶ οὐχ ἑτέρῳ τὴν βλάβην.

Τὸν δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς δίκαις μακρότερον, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, χρόνον τῆς  
 τοῦ δικαίου προνοίας γίνεσθαι χάρις, ὥστε μὴ σχεδιάζοντας τοὺς 485  
 δικαστὰς τῆς ἀκριβείας διαμαρτεῖν, λογιζομένους ἡμῶν εἶναι ὅψιν  
 πέρας ἐπιτεθῆναι δίκῃ ἢ ἐσπουδακότας μὴ μόνον ἄνθρωπον ἀδικεῖν,  
 ἀλλὰ εἰς <τὸν> τοῦ δικαίου εὐρετὴν θεὸν πλημμελεῖν. κεῖσθαι δὲ  
 τοὺς νόμους κατὰ πάντων, ὥστε αὐτοῖς καὶ βασιλέα πείθεσθαι, καὶ  
 οὐχ, ὃ τῇ αὐτοῦ ἐνεσσι κατηγορία, ὅτι γε δὴ οἱ εὐποροὶ τοὺς πένητας 490

While he was putting these and many other complaints, I said  
 gently in reply that he should also hear my point of view. "Those who  
 founded the Roman polity were," I said, "wise and good men. So that  
 things should not be done haphazardly, they ordained that some should  
 be guardians of the laws and that others should attend to weaponry and  
 undergo military training, with their sole object that they be ready for  
 battle and go out confidently to war as if to some familiar exercise,  
 their fear having been already eradicated by their training. Our founders  
 also ordained that those whose care was farming and the cultivation of  
 the land should support both themselves and those fighting on their  
 behalf by contributing the military grain-tax. Still others they ap-  
 pointed to take thought for those who had suffered wrongs, some to  
 have charge of the cases of those who, through their own natural  
 incapability, were unable to plead for themselves, and others to sit in  
 judgement and uphold the intent of the law. Furthermore, they took  
 thought for those who came before the courts, that there should be  
 persons to ensure that the one who obtained the judgement should  
 receive his award and that the one adjudged guilty should not pay more  
 than the judge decided. If there did not exist persons to take thought  
 for these matters, a reason for a second case would arise out of the  
 cause of the first, because either the victor would proceed too harshly  
 or the one who had obtained the adverse decision would persist in his  
 injustice.<sup>61</sup>

"There is also a set sum of money laid down for these men to be  
 paid by the litigants, just as the farmers pay a set sum to the soldiers.  
 Is it not right to support one who comes to your aid and to reward his  
 good will (in the same way as the feeding of a horse benefits the horse-  
 man and the care of cattle, dogs and other animals benefits herdsmen,  
 hunters and others who keep the animals for their own safety and  
 profit) and to blame one's own illegal act rather than another person  
 whenever the court costs have to be paid even though the case has been  
 lost?"

"The excessive time taken over the cases, if that happens, is the  
 result of a concern for justice, lest the judges deal with them carelessly  
 and err in their decisions. For they think it is better to conclude a case  
 late than by hurrying to wrong a man and offend against God, the  
 founder of justice. The laws apply to all, and even the Emperor obeys  
 them. It is not a fact" — as was part of his charge — "that the rich do

464 δὲ καὶ τοὺς exp. Bekker [ἔταξαν, ἔταξαν δὲ καὶ τὸ σ. εἰσπράττεσθαι  
 Thompson (1947)] 474 τοῦ τὴν χεῖρονα [sc. ψῆφον] de Boor [τοῦ τὴν  
 χείρονος E τῇ τοῦ χείρονος X τοῦ τὸ χείρον Niebuhr] 482 ἀντιτιθέντων  
 Valesius 488 τὸν add. Niebuhr 490 ὁ Bekker [δὲ codd. ὡς Valesius]



ἀκυνδύνως βιάσωντο, εἰ μὴ γε διαλαθῶν τις φύγοι τὴν δίκην. ὅπερ οὐκ ἐπὶ τῶν πλουσίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ πενήτων εὖροι τις ἄν· πλημμελοῦντες γὰρ οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ ἀπορία ἐλέγχων δοῖεν δίκας. καὶ τοῦτο παρὰ πᾶσι καὶ οὐ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις μόνον συμβαῖνόν ἐστιν.

Χάρῳ δὲ ὁμολογεῖν τῇ τύχῃ ἐπὶ τῇ αὐτῷ ὑπαρξάσῃ ἐλευθερίᾳ, καὶ μὴ τῷ ἐπὶ πόλεμον ἐξάγοντι δεσπότῃ, ὥστε αὐτὸν δι' ἀπειρίαν ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀναιρεθῆναι ἢ φεύγοντα ὑπὸ τοῦ κτησαμένου κολάζεσθαι. ἄμενον δὲ καὶ τοῖς οἰκέταις διατελοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι χρωμένοι. πατέρων γὰρ ἢ διδασκάλων ἐς αὐτοὺς ἔργα ἐπιδιδύννται, ἐφ' ᾧ τῶν φαύλων ἀπεχομένους μετιέναι ἄπερ αὐτοῖς καλὰ νενόμισται, <καὶ> σωφρονίζουσι σφᾶς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἁμαρτήμασιν ὥσπερ τοὺς οἰκείους παῖδας· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ αὐτοῖς θάνατον, ὥσπερ Σκύθαις, ἐπάγειν θέμει.

Ἐλευθερίας δὲ τρόποι παρ' αὐτοῖς πλείστοι, ἣν οὐ μόνον περιόντες ἀλλὰ καὶ τελευτῶντες χαρίζονται διατάττοντες κατὰ τῆς περιουσίας ὃν βούλονται τρόπον, καὶ νόμος ἐστὶν ὅπερ ἕκαστος τελευτῶν περὶ τῶν προσηκόντων βουλευέσσοιτο.

Καὶ ὃς δακρύσας ἔφη ὡς οἱ μὲν νόμοι καλοὶ καὶ ἡ πολιτεία Ῥωμαίων ἀγαθή, οἱ δὲ ἄρχοντες οὐχ ὅμοια τοῖς πάλαι φρονούντες αὐτὴν διαλυμαίνονται.

Ταῦτα διαλεγόμενων ἡμῶν, προσελθὼν τις τῶν ἐνδοθεν ἀνοίγει τὰς θύρας τοῦ περιβόλου. ἐγὼ δὲ προσδραμὼν ἐπυθόμην ὅτι πράττων Ὀνηγησίους τυγχάνει· ἀπαγγεῖλαι γὰρ αὐτῷ με βούλεσθαί τι τοῦ παρὰ Ῥωμαίων ἥκοντος πρεσβευτοῦ. ὃς δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτῷ με ἐντεύξεσθαι μικρὸν ἀναμείναντα· μέλλειν γὰρ αὐτὸν ὑπεξίεναι. καὶ δὴ οὐ πολλοῦ διαγενομένου χρόνου, ὡς προϊόντα εἶδον, προσελθὼν ἔλεγον ὡς ὁ Ῥωμαίων αὐτὸν ἀσπάζεται πρεσβευτῆς, καὶ δῶρα ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἦκω φέρων σὺν καὶ τῷ παρὰ βασιλείως πεμφθέντι χρυσίῳ· ἐσπουδακῶτι δὲ ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν οἱ καὶ πότε βούλεται διαλέγεσθαι. ὃς δὲ τό τε χρυσίον τά τε δῶρα ἐκέλευσε τοὺς προσήκοντας δέξασθαι, ἐμὲ δὲ ἀπαγγέλλειν Μαξιμίων ὡς ἤξει αὐτίκα παρ' αὐτόν. ἐμήνουν τοίνυν ἐπαυελθὼν τὸν Ὀνηγησίον παραγίνεσθαι· καὶ εὐθὺς ἤκεν ἐς τὴν σκηνήν.

Προσειπὼν δὲ τὸν Μαξιμίων ἔφασκε χάριν ὁμολογεῖν ὑπὲρ τῶν δώρων αὐτῷ τε καὶ βασιλεῖ καὶ ἀνθρώπῳ ὅτι λέγεω βουλόμενος αὐτὸν μετεπέμψατο. ὁ δὲ ἔφασκεν ἦκεν καιρὸν ὥστε Ὀνηγησίον μεῖζον ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἔξεν κλέος, εἴπερ παρὰ βασιλείᾳ ἐλθὼν διευκρυνῇ τὰ

violence to the poor with impunity, unless one escapes justice through escaping detection; and this is a recourse for the poor as well as for the rich. These offenders would go unpunished because of lack of evidence, something which happens not only amongst the Romans but amongst all peoples.

"For your freedom you should give thanks to fortune rather than to your master. He led you out to war, where, through inexperience, you might have been killed by the enemy or, fleeing the battle, have been punished by your owner. The Romans are wont to treat even their household slaves better. They act as fathers or teachers towards them and punish them, like their own children, if they do wrong, so that they are restrained from improper behaviour and pursue what is thought right for them. Unlike amongst the Scythians, it is forbidden to punish them with death.

"Amongst the Romans there are many ways of giving freedom. Not only the living but also the dead bestow it lavishly, arranging their estates as they wish; and whatever a man has willed for his possessions at his death is legally binding."

My acquaintance wept and said that the laws were fair and the Roman polity was good, but that the authorities were ruining it by not taking the same thought for it as those of old.

While we were discussing these things, one of those inside came out and opened the gates of the wall. I ran forward and asked what Onegesius was doing, saying that I wished to pass him a message from the ambassador of the Romans. He replied that if I waited a little I should meet him, since he was about to go out. Shortly afterwards I saw him coming out and I went forward and said that the ambassador of the Romans sent him greetings and that I had come bearing gifts from him and gold sent by the Emperor. I also asked where and when he was willing to speak with the ambassador, who was eager to confer with him. He ordered his attendants to take the gold and the gifts and told me to report to Maximinus that he would come to him straightaway. I returned to Maximinus and reported that Onegesius was on his way; and he came to the tent immediately.

Onegesius addressed Maximinus, thanking both him and the Emperor for the gifts and asking what he wished to say in sending for him. Maximinus said that the time had come when Onegesius would win greater fame amongst men if he went to the Emperor and, by his

499 ἐπιδεικνύντες Classen 501 καὶ add. Thompson (1947) 514 τοῦ παρὰ Bekker παρὰ τοῦ codd. παρὰ τοῦ παρὰ Bekker παρὰ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων ἥκοντα de Boor 515 με . . . ἀναμείναντα de Boor [μοι . . . ἀναμείναντα codd. μοι . . . ἀναμειλῶντι Hoeschel 519 οἱ Valesius | ᾧ codd. τοῦ Bekker

ἀμφίβολα τῇ σφετέρῃ συνέσει καὶ ὁμόνοιαν Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Οὐννοῖς  
καταστήσεται. γενήσεται γὰρ ἐνθὺνδε οὐ μόνον τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἀμφο-  
τέρους συμφέρον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ σφετέρῳ οἴκῳ ἀγαθὰ παρέξει πολλά, 530  
ἐπιτήδειος ἐς αὐτὸς τε καὶ οἱ αὐτοῦ παῖδες βασιλεῖ τε καὶ τῷ  
ἐκείνου ἐσόμενοι γένει. ὁ δὲ Ὀνηγῆσιος ἔφη· καὶ τί ποιῶν ἔσται  
κεχαρισμένος βασιλεῖ ἢ ὅπως παρ' αὐτοῦ τὰ ἀμφίβολα λυθῇ; ἀπο-  
κρυσσόμενος δὲ ὡς διαβάς μὲν εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων βασιλεῖ τὴν χάριν 535  
καταθήσει, διευκρυνήσεται δὲ τὰ ἀμφίβολα τὰς αἰτίας διερευνῶν καὶ  
ταύτας κατὰ <τὸν> τῆς εἰρήνης λύων θεσμόν, ἔφασκεν ἐκεῖνα ἐρεῖν  
βασιλεῖ τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις αὐτόν, ἥπερ Ἀττήλας βούλεται. ἡ οἴεσθαι  
ἔφη Ῥωμαίους τοσοῦτον ἐκλιπαρήσειν αὐτόν ὥστε καταπροδοῦναι  
δεσπότην καὶ ἀνατροφῆς τῆς παρὰ Σκύθαις καὶ γαμετῶν καὶ παίδων 540  
κατολιγωρῆσαι, μὴ μείζονα δὲ ἡγεῖσθαι τὴν παρὰ Ἀττήλα δουλείαν  
τοῦ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις πλούτου; συνοίσειν δὲ ἐπιμένοντα τῇ οἰκίᾳ τὸν  
[γὰρ] τοῦ δεσπότη καταπραΰνουν θυμόν, ἐφ' οἷς αὐτὸν ὀργίζεσθαι  
κατὰ Ῥωμαίων συμβαίνει, ἢ παρὰ σφᾶς ἐλθόντα αἰτία ὑπάγεσθαι 545  
ἕτερα ἢ περ ἐκείνῳ δοκεῖ διαπραξάμενον. ταῦτα εἰρηκῶς κάμει  
ποιεῖσθαι τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰσηγησάμενος ἔντευξεν περὶ ὧν πυνθάν-  
εσθαι αὐτοῦ βουλόμεθα, (οὐ γὰρ τῷ Μαξιμίνῳ ὡς ἐν Ἀξίᾳ τελοῦντι  
ἡ συνεχὴς πρόσσδος ἦν εὐπρεπὴς) ἀνεχώρει. ἐγὼ δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐς  
τὸν Ἀττήλα περίβολον ἀφικνοῦμαι δῶρα τῇ αὐτοῦ κομιζῶν γαμετῇ, 550  
(Ἡρέκαν δὲ ὄνομα αὐτῇ) ἐξ ἧς αὐτῷ παῖδες ἐγεγόνεισαν τρεῖς, ὧν ὁ  
πρεσβύτερος ἦρχε τῶν Ἀκατίρων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐθνῶν τῶν  
νεομένων τὴν πρὸς τῷ Πόντῳ Σκυθικὴν. ἔνδον δὲ τοῦ περιβάλλου  
πλείστα ἐτύγγανεν οἰκήματα, τὰ μὲν ἐκ σανίδων ἐγγλύφων καὶ  
ἡρμοσμένων εἰς εὐπρέπειαν, τὰ δὲ ἐκ λίθων κεκαθαρμένων καὶ πρὸς  
εὐθύτητα ἐπεξεσμένων, ἐμβεβλημένων δὲ ξύλοις <κύκλους> ἀπο- 555  
τελοῦσιν· οἱ δὲ κύκλοι ἐν τοῦ ἐδάφους ἀρχόμενοι ἐς ὕψος ἀνέβαινον  
μετρίως. ἐνταῦθα τῆς Ἀττήλα ἐνδιατωμένης γαμετῆς, διὰ τῶν  
πρὸς τῇ θύρᾳ βαρβάρων ἔτυχον εἰσόδου καὶ αὐτὴν ἐπὶ στρώματος  
μαλακοῦ κεκλιμένην κατέλαβον, τοῖς ἐκ τῆς ἐρέας πλωτοῖς τοῦ  
ἐδάφους σκεπομένου, ὥστε ἐπ' αὐτῶν βαδίζειν. περιεῖπε δὲ αὐτὴν 560  
θεραπεόντων πλῆθος κύκλῳ· καὶ θεραπεῖν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐδάφους ἀντικρὺ  
αὐτῆς καθήμεναι ὁθῶνας τῶν χρώμασι διεποικίλλον ἐπιβληθησο-  
μένας πρὸς κόσμον ἐσθημάτων βαρβαρικῶν. προσελθὼν τοῖσιν καὶ

532-33 ποιῶν ἔσται κεχαρισμένος de Boor [ποιῶντες καιχαρισμένος codd.  
ποιῶντες κεχαρισμένως Hoeschel 536 τὸν add. Müller 540 κατολιγω-  
ρῆσαι de Boor [κατολιγωρήσεις E κατολιγωρήσει Hoeschel 542 γὰρ exp.  
Müller 545 ἡγησάμενος X et edd. 549 Ἡρέκαν scripsi (cf. n.62) [Κρέκα  
codd. ἐγεγόνεισαν B ἐγεγόνεισαν edd. 550 Ἀκατίρων Müller Ἀκατήρων  
codd. 551 πρὸς τῷ Πόντῳ de Boor [πρὸς τὸ Πόντῳ codd. πρὸς τὸν Πόντον  
edd. 553 λίθων Hoeschel [λόγων codd. λύγων de Boor δοκῶν Cantoclar.  
554 κύκλους add. Bekker

own sagacity, settled the disputes and established harmony between the  
Romans and the Huns. From this not only would advantage come for  
both nations, but also he would derive many benefits for his own  
household, since he and his children would be forever friends of the  
Emperor and his family. Onegesius asked what he was to do to win the  
Emperor's friendship and how the disputes were to be settled. When  
Maximinus replied that if he crossed over to Roman territory, he would  
earn the Emperor's gratitude and he would settle the disputes by  
investigating the causes and removing them in accordance with the  
terms of the peace, Onegesius said that he would simply tell the Em-  
peror and his officials what Attila wished. "Or do the Romans think,"  
he retorted, "that they will bring so much persuasion to bear on me  
that I shall betray my master, turn my back upon my upbringing  
amongst the Scythians, my wives and my children and think that  
slavery to Attila is not preferable to wealth amongst the Romans?" He  
concluded that it would be better for him to remain in his own country  
and to calm his master's rage on those matters over which he was angry  
at the Romans rather than to go to them and incur the charge that he  
had acted other than seemed best to Attila. Having said this and having  
instructed that I should confer with him on questions we wished to ask  
of him (for continual visiting was not proper for Maximinus, a man in  
an official position), he went away.

On the following day I approached Attila's wall bearing gifts for  
Attila's wife, whose name was Hereka<sup>62</sup> and who had borne him three  
sons, the eldest of whom ruled the Akatiri and the other tribes dwelling  
by the Black Sea in Scythia.<sup>63</sup> Inside the wall there was a large cluster  
of buildings, some made of planks carved and fitted together for orna-  
mental effect, others from timbers which had been debarked and  
planed straight. They were set on circular piles made of stones, which  
began from the ground and rose to a moderate height.<sup>64</sup> Here lived  
Attila's wife. I entered through the barbarians at her door and found  
her reclining on a soft couch. The floor was covered with woollen-felt  
rugs for walking upon. A group of servants stood around her in  
attendance, and servant girls sat facing her working coloured em-  
broidery on fine linens to be worn as ornaments over the barbarian  
clothing. I went forward, greeted her, presented the gifts and withdrew.

τὰ δῶρα μετὰ τὸν ἀσπασμὸν δοὺς ὑπεξήηεν καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἕτερα ἐβάδιζον οἰκήματα, ἐν οἷς διατρίβειν τὸν Ἀττήλαν ἐτύγχανεν, ἀπεκδεχόμενος ὅποτε ὑπεξέλθοι Ὀνηγησίους· ἥδη γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτοῦ οἰκημάτων ἐξεληλύθει καὶ ἔνδον ἦν, μεταξὺ δὲ τοῦ παντὸς ἱστάμενος πλήθους (γνώριμός τε γὰρ ὦν τοῖς Ἀττήλα φρουροῖς καὶ τοῖς παρεπομένοις αὐτῷ βαρβάροις ὑπ' οὐδενὸς διεκωλυόμεν) εἶδον πλήθος πορευόμενον καὶ θροῦν καὶ θόρυβον περὶ τὸν τόπον γενόμενον, ὡς τοῦ Ἀττήλα ὑπεξιόντος, προῆει δὲ τοῦ οἰκήματος βαδίζων σοβαρῶς τῆδε κάκει περιβλεπόμενος, ὡς δὲ ὑπεξεληθὼν σὺν τῷ Ὀνηγησίῳ ἔστη πρὸ τοῦ οἰκήματος, πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν ἀμφισβητήσεων πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐχόντων προσήεσαν καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ κρίσιν ἐδέχοντο, εἶτα ἐπανῆει ὡς τὸ οἶκμα καὶ πρέσβεις παρ' αὐτὸν ἦκοντας βαρβάρους ἐδέχετο.

Ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀπεκδεχομένῳ τὸν Ὀνηγησίον Ῥωμύλος καὶ Προμοῦτος καὶ Ῥωμανὸς οἱ ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἐλθόντες παρὰ τὸν Ἀττήλαν πρέσβεις τῶν φαλῶν ἔνεκα τῶν χρυσῶν, συμπαρόντος αὐτοῖς καὶ Ῥουστικίου τοῦ κατὰ Κωνσταντίον, καὶ Κωνσταντιώλου, ἀνδρὸς ἐκ τῆς Παϊόνων χώρας τῆς ὑπὸ Ἀττήλα ταττομένης, ἐς λόγους ἦλθον καὶ ἀνηρώτων, πότερον διηκρεῖσθαι ἢ ἐπιμένειν ἀναγκαζόμενα, καὶ ἐμοῦ φήσαντος, ὡς τούτου χάριν πευσόμενος τοῦ Ὀνηγησίου τοῖς περιβόλοις προσκαρτερῶ, καὶ ἀντερωτήσαντος, <ε> αὐτοῖς δ' Ἀττήλας ἡμερόν τι καὶ πρῶον περὶ τῆς πρεσβείας ἀπεκρίνατο, ἔλεγον μηδαμῶς μετατρέπεσθαι τῆς γνώμης, ἀλλὰ πόλεμον καταγγέλλειν, εἰ μὴ γε αὐτῷ Σιλβανὸς ἢ τὰ ἐκπώματα πεμψείη.

Ἀποθανυμαζόντων δὲ ἡμῶν τῆς ἀπανοίας τὸν βάρβαρον, ὑπολαβὼν δ' Ῥωμύλος, πρεσβευτὴς ἀνὴρ καὶ πολλῶν πραγμάτων ἔμπειρος, ἔλεγε τὴν αὐτοῦ μεγίστην τύχην καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς τύχης δύναμιν ἐξαίρειν αὐτόν, ὥστε μὴ ἀνέχεσθαι δικαίων λόγων, εἰ μὴ πρὸς αὐτοῦ νομίσει ὑπάρχειν αὐτοῦς, οὐπῶ γὰρ <τῷ> τῶν πώποτε τῆς Σκυθικῆς ἢ καὶ ἐτέρας ἀρξάντων γῆς τοσαῦτα ἐν ὀλίγῳ κατεπράχθη, ὥστε καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ Ὀκεανῷ νήσων ἀρχεῖν καὶ πρὸς πάσῃ τῇ Σκυθικῇ καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἔχειν ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν, ἐφιέμενον δὲ πρὸς τοῖς παροῦσι πλεόνων καὶ ἐπὶ μείζον αὔξοντα τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἐς Πέρσας ἐπιέναι βούλεσθαι.

Τῶν δὲ ἐν ἡμῶν τινος πυθομένου, ποίαν ὁδὸν τραπεῖς ἐς Πέρσας ἐλθεῖν δυνήσεται, ἔλεγεν δ' Ῥωμύλος μὴ πολλῶ διαστήματι τὴν Μήδων ἀφρεστάναι τῆς Σκυθικῆς· οὐδὲ γὰρ Οὐννοὺς ἀπειρὸς τῆς ὁδοῦ ταύτης εἶναι, ἀλλὰ πάλαι ἐς αὐτὴν ἐμβεβληκέναι, λιμοῦ τε τὴν χώραν κρατήσαντος, καὶ Ῥωμαίων διὰ τὸν τότε συνιστάμενον

Then I walked to the other group of buildings, where Attila was living, and waited for Onegesius to come out, since he had already left his own dwellings and was within. As I was standing in the midst of the whole throng (for I was known to Attila's guards and followers, and no one hindered me), I saw a group of persons advancing and heard murmuring and shouts around the place, since Attila was coming out. He came out of the house swaggering and casting his eyes around. When he had come out, he stood with Onegesius in front of the building, and many persons who had disputes with one another stepped forward and received his judgement. Then he re-entered the house and received the barbarian envoys who had come to him.

While I was waiting for Onegesius, Romulus, Promotus and Romanus, who had come from Italy as envoys to Attila over the golden bowls, came to speak to me. With them were Rusticius, the subordinate of Constantius,<sup>565</sup> and Constantiolus, a man from the part of Pannonia subject to Attila. They asked whether we had been dismissed or whether we were being forced to remain. I said that I was waiting by the enclosures to learn this from Onegesius. When I, in my turn, asked whether Attila had given them a mild and gentle reply on the matter of their embassy, they said that he had changed his mind not at all and was threatening war unless either Silvanus or the bowls were sent to him.

When we expressed amazement at the unreasonableness of the barbarian, Romulus, an ambassador of long experience, replied that his very great good fortune and the power which it had given him had made him so arrogant that he would not entertain just proposals unless he thought that they were to his advantage. No previous ruler of Scythia or of any other land had ever achieved so much in so short a time. He ruled the islands of the Ocean and, in addition to the whole of Scythia, forced the Romans to pay tribute. He was aiming at more than his present achievements and, in order to increase his empire further, he wanted to attack the Persians.

When one of those amongst us asked what road Attila could take to reach Persia, Romulus replied that the land of the Medes was not a great distance from Scythia, and the Huns were not ignorant of the route. They came upon it long ago when famine was sweeping their land and the Romans did not oppose them on account of the war in

565 ὑπεξέλθοι van Herwerden [ἐπεξέλθοι codd. 582 εἰ add. Bekker  
583 τι Niebuhr [τε codd. 590 τῷ add. de Boor [οὐδὲνι pro οὐπῶ conl.  
Niebuhr 591-92 καταπεπράχθαι Bekker 595 ἀπιέναι X et edd.

πόλεμον μὴ συμβαλλόντων. παρεληλυθέναι δὲ ἐς τὴν Μήδων τὸν τε  
 Βασίχ καὶ Κουρσίχ τοὺς ὕστερον ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐληλυθότας εἰς  
 ὁμαιχιμίαν, ἀνδρας τῶν βασιλείων Σκυθῶν καὶ πολλοῦ πλήθους  
 ἀρχοντας. καὶ τοὺς διαβεβηκότας λέγειν ὡς ἔρημον ἐπελθόντες  
 χώρων καὶ λίμνην τινὰ περαιωθέντες, ἦν ὁ Ῥωμύλος τὴν Μαιῶτιν  
 εἶναι ᾤετο, πεντεκαίδεκα διαγενομένων ἡμερῶν ὄρη τινὰ ὑπερ-  
 βάντες ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν ἐσέβαλον. ληιζομένοις δὲ καὶ τὴν γῆν κατα-  
 τρέχουσι πλῆθος Περσικὸν ἐπελθὼν τὸν σφῶν ὑπερκείμενον ἀέρα  
 πλῆσαι βελῶν, ὥστε σφᾶς δέει τοῦ κατασχόντος κινδύνου ἀναχω-  
 ρῆσαι εἰς τοῦπίσω καὶ τὰ ὄρη ὑπεξελεθεῖν ὀλίγην ἄγοντας λείαν· ἡ  
 γὰρ πλείστη ὑπὸ τῶν Μήδων ἀφῆρητο. εὐλαβουμένους δὲ τὴν τῶν  
 πολεμίων δίωξιν ἐτέραν τραπῆναι ὁδόν, καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς ὑφάλου  
 πέτρας ἀναπεμπομένην φλόγα ἐκεῖθεν πορευθέντας ἡμερῶν ὀλίγων  
 ὁδὸν εἰς τὰ οἰκία ἀφικέσθαι καὶ γινῶναι οὐ πολλῷ διαστήματι τῶν  
 Μήδων ἀφεστάναι τὴν Σκυθικὴν. τὸν οὖν Ἀττήλαν ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἰέναι  
 βουλόμενον οὐ ποιήσας πολλὰ οὔτε μακρὰν ἀνύσειν ὁδόν, ὥστε καὶ  
 Μήδους καὶ Πάρθους καὶ Πέρσας παραστήσεσθαι καὶ ἀναγκάσειν  
 ἐλθεῖν ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν· παρῆναι γὰρ αὐτῷ μάχμον δύναμιν,  
 ἦν οὐδὲν ἔθνος ὑποστήσεται.

Ἡμῶν δὲ κατὰ Περσῶν ἐλθεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπευξαμένων καὶ ἐπ'  
 ἐκείνους τρέψαι τὸν πόλεμον, ὁ Κωνσταντίολος ἔλεγε δεδιέναι  
 μήποτε καὶ Πέρσας ῥαδίως παραστησάμενος ἀντὶ φίλου δεσπότης  
 ἐπανήξει. νῦν μὲν γὰρ τὸ χρυσίον κομίζεσθαι παρ' αὐτῶν τῆς ἀξίας  
 ἕνεκα· εἰ δὲ καὶ Πάρθους καὶ Μήδους καὶ Πέρσας παραστήσοιτο,  
 οὐκ ἐτὶ Ῥωμαίων ἀνέξεσθαι τὴν αὐτοῦ νοσηζομένων ἀρχὴν, ἀλλὰ  
 θεράποντας περιφανῶς ἡγησάμενον χαλεπώτερα ἐπιτάξει καὶ οὐκ  
 ἀνεκτὰ ἐκείνους ἐπιτάγματα. ἦν δ' <ἡ> ἀξία, ἧς ὁ Κωνσταντίολος  
 ἐπεμνήσθη, στρατηγοῦ Ῥωμαίων, ἧς χάριν ὁ Ἀττήλας παρὰ βασι-  
 λέως ἐδέδεκτο τὸ τοῦ φόρου ἐπικαλύπτοντος ὄνομα, ὥστε αὐτῷ  
 σιτηρεσίου προφάσει τοῦ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς χορηγουμένου τὰς συν-  
 τάξεις ἐκπέμπεσθαι. ἔλεγεν οὖν μετὰ Μήδους καὶ Πάρθους καὶ  
 Πέρσας τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα, ὅπερ αὐτὸν βούλονται Ῥωμαῖοι καλεῖν, καὶ  
 τὴν ἀξίαν, ἣ αὐτὸν τετιμηκέναι νομίζουσιν, ἀποσεισάμενον ἀναγ-  
 κάσειν σφᾶς ἀντὶ στρατηγοῦ βασιλέα προσαγορεύειν. ᾗδῃ γὰρ καὶ  
 χαλεπαίνοντα εἰπεῖν ὡς ἐκείνῳ μὲν οἱ αὐτοῦ θεράποντες εἰσι  
 στρατηγοί, αὐτῷ δὲ οἱ τοῖς βασιλεύουσι Ῥωμαίων ὁμότιμοι.

613 ἀναπεμπομένην codd. praeter B [ἀναφλεγόμενην Hoeschel cum B ἀναφε-  
 ρομένην Niebuhr ὀλίγων om. X et edd. 615 αὐτοὺς coni. Niebuhr  
 623 αὐτῷ codd. 627 ἡ add. Dindorf 633-4 ἀναγκάσειν Niebuhr [ἀνα-  
 γκάσας codd. praeter B (ἀναγκάσαι) 636 οἱ Bekker | οὐ codd.

which they were then involved.<sup>66</sup> Basich and Kursich, members of the Scythian royalty and commanders of a large force (who later came to Rome to make an alliance), reached the land of the Medes. Those Huns who have gone over to the Romans<sup>67</sup> say that, having come into a desert land and having crossed a lake (which Romulus thought was Maeotis), after fifteen days they passed over some mountains and entered Media. As they were overrunning and plundering the land, a Persian army confronted them and filled the air above them with missiles, so that they had to retreat from their immediate danger and retire across the mountains. They gained little plunder, since the Medes took most of it from them. As a precaution against enemy pursuit they took a different route and, after a journey of a few days from the flame that issues from the rock beneath the sea,<sup>68</sup> they reached their own land. Thus they know that Scythia is not far from Media and, if Attila wished to go there, he would neither have much toil nor a long journey. And so, since he has a military force which no nation can withstand, he would subdue the Medes, the Parthians, and the Persians and force them to pay tribute.

When we prayed that he would go against the Persians and direct the war against them, Constantiolus said that he feared that when he had easily subdued the Persians, he would return as a master rather than as a friend. At present, gold is brought to him because of his rank. However, if he were to subdue the Parthians, Medes and the Persians, he would not continue to endure a Roman state independent of himself and, holding them to be obviously his servants, would lay upon them very harsh and intolerable injunctions. (The rank which Constantiolus mentioned was that of a Roman general,<sup>69</sup> which the Emperor had granted to Attila, thus concealing the word tribute. As a result, the payments were sent to him disguised as provisions issued to the generals.) Constantiolus said that after the Medes, Parthians and Persians, Attila would reject the title by which the Romans wished to call him and the rank with which they thought they had honoured him and would force them to address him as king instead of general. Already when angry he would say that his own subjects were generals of [Theodosius]<sup>70</sup> and that his own generals were of equal worth to the Emperors of the Romans.

3. (Jordanes *Get.* 34,178-80 and 182)

Ad quem in legatione se missum a Theodosio iuniore Priscus historicus tali voce inter alia refert: ingentia si quidem flumina, id est Tisia Tibisiaque et Dricca transientes venimus in loco illo, ubi dudum Vidigoia Gothorum fortissimus Sarmatum dolo occubuit; indeque non longe ad vicum, in quo rex Attila morabatur, accessimus, vicum inquam ad instar civitatis amplissimae, in quo lignea moenia ex tabulis nitentibus fabricata repperimus, quarum compago ita solidum mentiebatur, ut vix ab intentu possit iunctura tabularum conprehendi. videres triclinia ambitu prolixiore distenta porticusque in omni decore dispositas. area vero curtis ingenti ambitu cingebatur, ut amplitudo ipsa regiam aulam ostenderet. hae sedes erant Attilae regis barbariae tota tenenti; haec captis civitatibus habitacula praeponebat.

Is namque Attila patre genitus Mundzuc, cuius fuere germani Octar et Roas, qui ante Attilam regnum tenuisse narrantur, quamvis non omnino cunctorum quorum ipse . . . vir in concussione gentium natus in mundo, terrarum omnium metus, qui, nescio qua sorte, terrebat cuncta formidabili de se opinione vulgata. erat namque superbus incessu, huc atque illuc circumferens oculos, ut elati potentia ipso quoque motu corporis appareret; bellorum quidem amator, sed ipse manu temperans, consilio validissimus, supplicantium exorabilis, propitius autem in fide semel susceptis; forma brevis, lato pectore, capite grandiore, minutis oculis, rarus barba, canis aspersus, semo nasu, tener colore, originis suae signa restituens.

7 nitentibus [ingentibus XYZ 8 metiebatur O 15 Hunnorum *post* regnum add. B 16 confusionem XYZ 22 autem om. SOB [enim XYZ receptis ASOB acceptis XYZ

## 12

1. (*Exc. de Leg. Rom.* 3)

Ἔσεσθαι δὲ οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν τῆς παρούσης αὐτῷ δυνάμειως αὔξησιν· σημαίνειν καὶ τοῦτο τὸν θεὸν τὸ τοῦ Ἄρεος ἀναφήναντα ξίφος, ὅπερ ὄν ἱερὸν καὶ παρὰ τῶν Σκυθικῶν βασιλέων τιμώμενον, οἷα δὴ τῷ ἐφόρῳ τῶν πολέμων ἀνακείμενον, ἐν τοῖς πάλαι ἀφανισθῆναι χρόνοις, εἴτα διὰ βοῶς εὑρεθῆναι.

2. (Jordanes *Get.* 35,183)

Qui quamvis huius esset naturae, ut semper magna confideret, addebat ei tamen confidentia gladius Martis inventus, sacer apud

2 ei [et BXY

3. (Jordanes *Get.* 34,178-80 and 182)

The historian Priscus says that he was sent on an embassy to him [Attila] by the younger Theodosius. Amongst other things, he reports as follows: When we had crossed some great rivers, namely the Tisia, Tibisia and Dricca,<sup>71</sup> we came to that place where long ago Vidigoia, the bravest of the Goths, was killed through the treachery of the Sarmatians.<sup>72</sup> Not far from this place we reached a village in which Attila was staying, a village actually like a very large city, in which we found wooden walls made of smoothed planks. These were joined together to suggest solidity in such a way that even by looking hard one could scarcely see the joints.<sup>73</sup> You might see dining rooms of great dimensions and colonnades laid out with every form of decoration.<sup>74</sup> The area of the courtyard was enclosed by a circuit wall of high extent so that its size might show that this was a royal palace. This was the seat of Attila, the king who ruled the whole barbarian world; this was the dwelling he preferred to the cities which he had captured.

Attila's father was Mundzuc, whose own brothers were Octar and Ruas, who are said to have held the kingship before Attila, though by no means over all the peoples whom he ruled . . .<sup>75</sup> [Attila] was a man born in the world for the shattering of nations, the terror of all the lands who, through some chance, made all quake as his fearsome reputation spread abroad. His gait was haughty, and he cast his eyes hither and thither, so that the power of his pride was reflected in the movements of his body. Though a lover of war, he was not prone to violence. He was a very wise counsellor, merciful to those who sought it and loyal to those whom he had accepted as friends. He was short, with a broad chest and large head; his eyes were small, his beard sparse and flecked with grey, his nose flat and his complexion dark, which showed the signs of his origin.

## 12

1. (*Exc. de Leg. Rom.* 3)

[Constantiolus said that] in a short time there would be an increase in his [Attila's] present power. God had indicated this by revealing the sword of Ares, which is a sacred object honoured by the Scythian kings, since it was dedicated to the guardian of wars. In ancient times it had disappeared and then it was found through the agency of an ox.<sup>76</sup>

2. (Jordanes *Get.* 35,183)

Although he [Attila] was by nature always self-assured, his confidence was increased by the finding of the sword of Mars, which is held

Scytharum reges semper habitus, quem Priscus istoricus tali refert occasione detectum. cum pastor, inquiens, quidam gregis unam bo-  
 culam conspiceret claudicantem nec causam tanti vulneris inveniret,  
 sollicitus vestigia cruoris insequitur tandemque venit ad gladium,  
 quem depascens herbas incauta calcaverat, effossumque protinus ad  
 Attilam defert. quo ille munere gratulatus, ut erat magnanimis,  
 arbitratur se mundi totius principem constitutum et per Martis  
 gladium potestatem sibi concessam esse bellorum.

7 incaute LSOB

## 13

## 1. (Exc. de Leg. Rom. 3)

Καὶ ἐκάστου λέγειν τι περὶ τῶν καθεστῶτων βουλομένου,  
 'Ονηγησίῳ ὑπεξελθόντος, παρ' αὐτὸν ἦλθομεν καὶ ἐπειρώμεθα περὶ  
 τῶν ἐσπουδασμένων μανθάνειν. ὁ δὲ τισι πρότερον βαρβάροις δια-  
 λεχθεὶς πυθέσθαι με παρὰ Μαξιμίνου ἐπέτρεπε, τίνα Ῥωμαῖοι ἄνδρα  
 τῶν ὑπατικῶν παρὰ τὸν Ἀττίλαν πρεσβευόμενον στέλλουσιν. ὡς δὲ  
 παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν ἔφραζον ἅπερ εἰρητό μοι, καὶ ὃ τι δεῖ  
 λέγειν ὧν χάριν ὁ βάρβαρος ἡμῶν ἐπύθετο ἅμα τῷ Μαξιμίνῳ  
 βουλευσάμενος ἐπανήλθον ὡς τὸν Ὀνηγησίῳ, λέγων ὡς ἐθέλουσι  
 μὲν Ῥωμαῖοι αὐτὸν παρὰ σφᾶς ἐλθόντα τῶν ἀμφιβόλων ἕνεκα δια-  
 λέγεσθαι, εἰ δὲ τούτου διαμάρτοιεν, ἐκπέμψω βασιλέα ὃν βούλεται  
 πρεσβευσόμενον. καὶ εὐθὺς μετιέναι με τὸν Μαξιμῖνον παρεκελεύ-  
 σατο, καὶ ἦγοντα αὐτὸν ἤγε παρὰ τὸν Ἀττίλαν. καὶ μικρὸν ὕστερον  
 ὑπεξελθὼν ὁ Μαξιμῖνος ἔλεγεν ἐθέλει τὸν βάρβαρον Νόμον ἢ Ἀνα-  
 τόλιον ἢ Σενάτορα πρεσβεύεσθαι· μὴ γὰρ ἂν ἄλλον παρὰ τοὺς εἰρη-  
 μένους δέξεσθαι. καὶ ὡς αὐτοῦ ἀποκρυναμένου μὴ χρῆναι ἐπὶ τὴν  
 πρεσβείαν τοὺς ἄνδρας καλοῦντα ὑπόπτους καθιστᾶν βασιλεῖ, εἰρη-  
 κέναι τὸν Ἀττίλαν, εἰ μὴ ἔλωτο ποιεῖν ὃ βούλεται, ὅπλοις τὰ ἀμφί-  
 βολα διακριθῆσεσθαι.

Ἐπανελθόντων δὲ ἡμῶν εἰς τὴν σκηνήν, Τατοῦλος ὁ τοῦ  
 Ὀρέστου πατὴρ ἦκε λέγων ὡς ἀμφοτέρους ὑμᾶς Ἀττίλας ἐπὶ τὸ  
 συμπόσιον παρακαλεῖ· γενήσεσθαι δὲ αὐτὸ περὶ θ' τῆς ἡμέρας. ὡς  
 δὲ τὸν καιρὸν ἐφυλάξαμεν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον κληθέντες παρεγενό-  
 μεθα ἡμεῖς τε καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐσπερίων Ῥωμαίων πρέσβεις, ἔστημεν  
 ἐπὶ τοῦ οὐδοῦ ἀντὶ Ἀττίλα. καὶ κύλικα οἱ οἰνοχόοι κατὰ τὸ ἐπι-  
 χώριον ἐπέδωκαν ἕθος, ὡς καὶ ἡμᾶς πρὸ τῆς ἕδρας ἐπεύξασθαι· οὐ  
 δὴ γενομένου, τῆς κύλικος ἀπογευσάμενοι ἐπὶ τοὺς θρόνους ἦλθομεν,

9 αὐτὸν Niebuhr [τὸν codd. 15 δεξέσθαι Niebuhr [δεξάσθαι codd. 21 ὦραν  
 post ἡμέρας con. de Boor 24 κύλικα Hoeschel [ἐπόλικα codd. de Boor  
 suspicatur versum archetypi intercidisse inter ἐπὶ- et -λικά

sacred amongst the Scythian kings. The historian Priscus says it was  
 found under the following circumstances. When a herdsman noticed  
 one of his heifers limping and could find no reason for such a wound,  
 he was troubled and followed the trail of blood. At length he came to a  
 sword which the animal had carelessly trodden on while grazing. He dug  
 it up and took it straight to Attila. He was pleased by this gift and,  
 since he was a high-spirited man, he concluded that he had been ap-  
 pointed ruler of the whole world and that through the sword of Mars he  
 had been granted invincibility in war.

## 13

## 1. (Exc. de Leg. Rom. 3)

As each of us was wanting to say something about the present  
 situation, Onegesius came out and we went over to him and attempted  
 to obtain information upon our own business. When he had first spoken  
 to some barbarians, he sent me to Maximinus to ask which man of  
 consular rank the Romans were sending as ambassador to Attila. When I  
 came to the tent, I reported what had been said to me and discussed  
 with Maximinus what I should reply to the question which the bar-  
 barbarian had asked of us. I returned to Onegesius and said that the  
 Romans wished him to go to them to discuss the disputes, but if this  
 were denied them, the Emperor would send whomever he desired. He  
 immediately told me to bring Maximinus, and when he arrived, took  
 him to Attila. Shortly afterwards Maximinus came out and said that the  
 barbarian wanted Nomus, Anatolius or Senator as ambassador and that  
 he would receive no other than those named. When Maximinus had  
 replied that he ought not render these men suspect to the Emperor by  
 naming them for an embassy, Attila said that if the Romans were  
 unwilling to follow his wishes, the disputes would be settled by arms.

When we returned to our tent, Tatulus, the father of Orestes,  
 came to us and announced, "Attila invites you both to his banquet. It  
 will begin at about the ninth hour of the day." We waited for the time,  
 and those of us who had been invited and the envoys of the western  
 Romans presented ourselves. We stood at the threshold facing Attila,  
 and, as was the custom of the land, the wine waiters gave us a cup<sup>77</sup> so  
 that we might make a prayer before taking our seats. When we had

οὐ ἔδει καθεσθέντας δειπνεῖν.

Πρὸς δὲ τοῖς τοίχοις τοῦ οἰκήματος πάντες ὑπῆρχον οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐξ ἑκατέρας πλευρᾶς. ἐν μεσωτάτῳ δὲ ἦστο ἐπὶ κλῆνης ὁ Ἀττίλας, 30 ἑτέρας ἐξόπισθεν κλῆνης ὑπαρχούσης αὐτῷ, μεθ' ἣν βαθμοὶ τινες ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀνήγον εὐνὴν καλυπτομένην ὀνόταις καὶ ποικίλοις παρα- πετάσμασι κόσμου χάρι, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν γαμούντων "Ελληνες τε καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι κατασκευάζουσιν. καὶ πρώτην μὲν ἐνόμιζον τῶν δειπ- νούντων τάξιν τὴν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Ἀττίλα, δευτέραν δὲ τὴν ἐνώνυμον, 35 ἐν ἣ ἐτυγχάνομεν ὄντες, προκαθεσθέντος ἡμῶν Βερίχου παρὰ Σκύθαις εὖ γεγονότος ἀνδρός· ὁ γὰρ Ὀνηγήσιος ἐπὶ δώρου ἦστο ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως κλῆνης. ἀντικρὺ δὲ τοῦ Ὀνηγησίου ἐπὶ δώρου ἑκαθέζοντο δύο τῶν Ἀττίλα παίδων· ὁ γὰρ πρεσβύτερος ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ἦστο κλῆνης, οὐκ ἐγγύς, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἄκρου, αἰδοῖ τοῦ πατρὸς βλέπων ἐς γῆν.

Πάντων δὲ ἐν κόσμῳ καθεστῶτων, παρελθὼν οἰνοχόος τῷ Ἀττίλᾳ οἴνου κισσύβιον ἐπιδίδωσιν· δεξιόμενος δὲ τὸν τῇ τάξει 40 πρῶτον ἡσπάζετο. ὁ δὲ τῷ ἀσπασμῷ τιμηθεὶς διανίστατο· καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἰξῆσαι θέμις ἦν, πρὶν ἢ τῷ οἰνοχῶ ἀπογευσάμενος ἢ καὶ ἐκπιῶν ἀπέδωκε τὸ κισσύβιον. καθεσθέντα δὲ αὐτὸν τῷ <αὐτῷ> 45 τρόπῳ οἱ παρόντες ἐτίμων δεχόμενοι τὰς κύλικας καὶ μετὰ τὸν ἀσπασμὸν ἀπογευσόμενοι. ἐκάστῳ δὲ εἰς οἰνοχόος παρήν, ὃν ἔδει κατὰ στοῖχον εἰσιέναι, τοῦ Ἀττίλα οἰνοχόου ὑπεξιόντος. τιμηθέντος δὲ καὶ τοῦ δευτέρου καὶ τῶν ἐξῆς, καὶ ἡμᾶς τοῖς ἴσοις ὁ Ἀττίλας ἐδεξιώσατο κατὰ τὴν τῶν θάκων τάξιν. ὥς δὲ ἄσπασμῳ πάντων 50 τιμηθέντων, ὑπεξήεσαν μὲν οἱ οἰνοχόοι, τράπεζαι δὲ μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Ἀττίλα παρετίθεντο κατὰ τρεῖς καὶ τέτταρας ἀνδρας ἢ καὶ πλείους· ὃθεν ἕκαστος οἶός τε ἦν τῶν τῇ μαγίδι ἐπιτιθεμένων μεταλαβεῖν μὴ ὑπεξιῶν τῆς τῶν θρόνων τάξεως, καὶ πρῶτος εἰσῆι ὁ τοῦ Ἀττίλα ὑπηρέτης κρεῶν πλήρη πύνακα φέρων, καὶ οἱ πᾶσι διακονούμενοι μετ' 55 αὐτὸν οἶτον καὶ ὄψα ταῖς τραπέζαις ἐπέθεσαν. ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις βαρβάροις καὶ ἡμῶν πολυτελεῇ δαίτῃ κατεσκεύαστο κύκλοις ἐπι- κείμενα ἀργυροῖς, τῷ δὲ Ἀττίλᾳ ἐπὶ τοῦ ξύλινου πύνακος ἦν οὐδὲν πλέον κρεῶν. μέτριον δὲ ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄσπασιν ἐδείκνυ. 60 τοῖς γὰρ τῆς εὐκαρίας ἀνδράσι κύλικες χρυσαῖ τε καὶ ἀργυραῖ ἐπε- δίδοντο, τὸ δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐκπῶμα ξύλινον ἦν. λιτὴ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ ἐσθῆς ἐτύγχανεν οὐσα μηδὲν τῶν ἄλλων πλὴν τοῦ καθαρὰ εἶναι διαφυλάτ- τουσα· καὶ οὕτε τὸ παρηωρημένον αὐτῷ ξίφος οὐτε οἱ τῶν βαρ- 65 βαρικῶν ὑποδημάτων δεσμοὶ οὐτε τοῦ ἵππου ὁ χαλινός, ὥσπερ τῶν ἄλλων Σκυθῶν, χρυσῷ ἢ λίθοις ἢ τι τῶν τιμίων ἐκοσμεῖτο.

done this and had tasted from the cup, we went to the seats where we were to sit for dinner.

All the seats were arranged around the walls of the building on both sides. In the very middle of the room Attila sat upon a couch. Behind him was another couch, and behind that steps led up to Attila's bed, which was screened by fine linens and multicoloured ornamental hangings like those which the Greeks and Romans prepare for weddings. The position of those dining on the right of Attila was considered the most honourable, that on the left, where we were, less so. Ahead of us sat Berichus, a Scythian noble, for Onegesius sat on a chair to the right of Attila. Opposite Onegesius two of Attila's sons sat on a chair; the eldest one sat upon Attila's couch, not close to him but right at the end, gazing at the ground out of respect for his father.<sup>78</sup>

When all were seated in order, a wine waiter came up to Attila and offered him a wooden cup of wine. He took the cup and greeted the first in the order. The one who was honoured with the greeting stood up, and it was the custom that he not sit down until he had either tasted the wine or drunk it all and had returned the wooden cup to the waiter. When he had sat down, all present honoured him in the same manner, taking our cups and tasting them after the greeting. Each guest had a wine waiter in attendance, who had to step forward in line after Attila's waiter retired. When the second had been honoured and the rest in order, Attila greeted us with the same ceremony according to the order of the seats.<sup>79</sup> When all had been honoured with this greeting, the wine waiters withdrew and, beginning from Attila,<sup>80</sup> tables were set up for three or four or more persons, from which each could partake of what was placed on the platter without leaving the line of chairs. Attila's servant entered first bearing a plate full of meat, and after him those who were serving us placed bread and cooked foods on the tables. While for the other barbarians and for us there were lavishly prepared dishes served on silver platters, for Attila there was only meat on a wooden plate. He showed himself temperate in other ways also. For golden and silver goblets were handed to the men at the feast, whereas his cup was of wood. His clothing was plain and differed not at all from that of the rest, except that it was clean. Neither the sword that hung at his side nor the fastenings of his barbarian boots nor his horse's bridle was adorned, like those of the other Scythians, with gold or precious stones or anything else of value.

Τῶν δὲ ὄψων τῶν ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις πύναξιν ἐπιτεθέντων ἀνα-  
 λωθέντων, πάντες διανέστημεν, καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἐπὶ τὸν δίσκον  
 ἀναστὰς ἦλθεν, πρὶν ἢ κατὰ τὴν προτέραν τάξιν ἕκαστος τὴν ἐπι-  
 διδομένην αὐτῷ οἴνου πλήρη ἐξέπιε κύλικα τὸν Ἀττίλαν σῶν εἶναι  
 ἐπευχόμενος. καὶ τοῦτον τιμηθέντος αὐτοῦ τὸν τρόπον ἐκαθέσθημεν, 70  
 καὶ δεῦτερος ἐκάστη τραπέζῃ ἐπετίθετο πύναξ ἕτερα ἔχων ἐδώδιμα.  
 ὥς δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ οἱ πάντες μετέλαβον, καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ἐξαναστάντες  
 τρόπῳ αὐτῶν ἐκπιόντες ἐκαθέσθημεν, ἐπιγενομένης ἐσπέρας δᾶδες  
 ἀντήρησαν, δύο δὲ ἀντικρὺ τοῦ Ἀττίλα παρελθόντες βάρβαροι  
 ᾄσματα πεποιημένα ἔλεγον νίκας αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς κατὰ πόλεμον 75  
 ᾄδοντες ἀρετάς. ἐς οὓς οἱ τῆς εὐωχίας ἀπέβλεπον, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἤδοντο  
 τοῖς ποιήμασιν, οἱ δὲ τῶν πολέμων ἀναμνησκόμενοι διηγείροντο  
 τοῖς φρονήμασιν, ἄλλοι δὲ ἐχώρουν ἐς δάκρυα, ὧν ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου  
 ἡσθάνει τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἡσυχάζειν ὁ θυμὸς ἠναγκάζετο.

Μετὰ δὲ τὰ ᾄσματα Σκύθης τις παρελθὼν φρενοβλαβῆς 80  
 ἀλλόκοτα καὶ παράσημα καὶ οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς φθεγγόμενος ἐς γέλωτα  
 πάντας παρεσκεύασε παρελθεῖν. μεθ' ὃν ὑπεισήληθε Ζέρκων ὁ  
 Μαυρούσιος.

## 2. (Suda Z 29)

Ζέρκων, Σκύθης οὕτω καλούμενος, Μαυρούσιος τὸ γένος. διὰ  
 δὲ κακορρίαν σώματος καὶ τὸ γέλωτα ἐκ τῆς τραυλότητος τῆς  
 φωνῆς καὶ ὕψεως παρέχευ (βραχύς γάρ τις ἦν, κυρτός, διάστροφος  
 τοῖς ποσὶ, τὴν ῥῖνα τοῖς μυκτῆροι παραφαίνων διὰ σιμότητος ὑπερ-  
 βολῆν). Ἀσπαρι τῷ Ἀρδαβουρίῳ ἐδεδώρητο, καθ' ὃν ἐν Λιβύῃ 5  
 διέτριβε χρόνον. ἦλθον δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐς τὴν Θρακῶν ἐμβαλόντων  
 καὶ παρὰ τοὺς βασιλείους ἤχθη Σκύθας. καὶ Ἀττίλας μὲν οὐδὲ τὴν  
 αὐτοῦ ἠνεγκεν ὄψιν· ὁ δὲ Βλήδας ἦσθη τε λίαν αὐτῷ φθεγγόμενῳ οὐ  
 μόνον γέλωτος ἄξια, εἰ μὴ γε καὶ βαδίζοντι καὶ περιττῶς κωοῦντι τὸ  
 σῶμα. συνῆν δὲ αὐτῷ εὐωχομένῳ καὶ ἐκοτραπεύοντι, πεποιημένην 10  
 πρὸς τὸ γελούτερον ἀναλαμβάνων ἐν ταῖς ἐξόδοις πανοπλίαν. διὸ δὴ  
 περισπούδαστον αὐτὸν ὁ Βλήδας ποιούμενος μετὰ αἰχμαλώτων ἀπο-  
 δράντα Ῥωμαίων, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων κατωλιγώρησεν, αὐτὸν δὲ μετὰ  
 πάσης φροντίδος ἀναζητεῖσθαι προσέταξεν. καὶ ἄλόντα καὶ παρ'  
 αὐτὸν ἀχθέντα ἐν δεσμοῖς ἰδὼν ἐγέλασεν. καὶ καθυφαίνει τῆς ὀργῆς 15  
 ἐπυνθάνετο τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς φυγῆς, καὶ ὅτου χάριν νομίζει τὰ Ῥω-  
 μαίων τῶν παρὰ σφίσιν ἀμείνονα. ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο, ἁμάρτημα μὲν  
 τὴν φυγὴν εἶναι, ἔχευ δὲ τοῦ ἁμαρτήματος λόγον, τὸ μὴ γαμετῆν  
 αὐτῷ δεδόσθαι. τῷ δὲ γέλῳτι μᾶλλον ὁ Βλήδας ὑπαχθεὶς δίδωσιν  
 αὐτῷ γυναῖκα τῶν μὲν εὖ γεγονότων καὶ τῇ βασιλίδι διακονησα- 20  
 μένων, ἀτόπου δὲ τῶς πράξεως ἔνεκα οὐκέτι παρ' ἐκείνην φοιτῶσαν.

When we had finished the food on the first platters, we all stood  
 up, and no one resumed his seat until, in the order as before, we had  
 each drained the cup full of wine which was given to us and prayed for  
 Attila's health. When he had been honoured in this way we resumed our  
 seats, and a second platter, containing different dishes, was placed on  
 each table. When all had partaken of this, again we stood up in the same  
 manner, drank a cup of wine and sat down. Since it was now evening,  
 pine torches were lit. Two barbarians came and stood before Attila and  
 chanted songs which they had composed, telling of his victories and his  
 deeds of courage in war. The guests fixed their eyes on the singers:  
 some took pleasure in the verses, others recalling the wars became  
 excited, while others, whose bodies were enfeebled by age and whose  
 spirits were compelled to rest, were reduced to tears.

After the songs a Scythian whose mind was deranged came for-  
 ward and, by uttering outlandish, unintelligible and altogether crazy  
 words, caused all to burst into laughter. After him Zercon the Moor  
 entered.

## 2. (Suda Z 29)

Zercon: a Scythian so-called,<sup>81</sup> but a Moor by origin. Because of  
 his physical deformity and the laughter which his stammering and his  
 general appearance caused (for he was rather short, hunchbacked, with  
 distorted feet and a nose that, because of its excessive flatness, was  
 indicated only by the nostrils) he was presented to Aspar, the son of  
 Ardabur, when he was in Libya. When the barbarians attacked Thrace,  
 he was captured and taken to the Scythian kings. Attila could not stand  
 the sight of him, but Bleda was most pleased by him, not only when he  
 was saying amusing things but even when he was not, because of the  
 strange movements of his body as he walked. He accompanied Bleda  
 both at feasts and on campaigns, and on these expeditions he wore a  
 suit of armour made for amusing effect. Bleda thought so highly of him  
 that when he ran off with some Roman prisoners, he ignored the rest  
 but ordered him to be sought for with all diligence. When Zercon was  
 recaptured and brought back in chains, Bleda, at the sight of him, burst  
 into laughter, abated his anger and asked the reason for his flight and  
 why he thought life amongst the Romans was better than that amongst  
 themselves. He answered that his flight had been a crime, but he had a  
 reason for the crime, that he had not been given a wife. Bleda laughed  
 even more and gave him a wife from one of the well-born attendants  
 upon the queen, who was no longer in her service because of some



καὶ οὕτω διετέλει ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον τῷ Βλήδᾳ συνών. μετὰ δὲ τὴν αὐτοῦ τελευτὴν Ἀττίλας Ἀετίῳ τῷ στρατηγῷ τῶν Ἑσπερίων Ῥωμαίων δῶρον τὸν Ζέρκωνα δίδωσιν, ὃς αὐτὸν παρὰ τὸν Ἀσπαρα ἀπέπεμψεν.

25

### 3. (Exc. de Leg. Rom. 3)

Ὁ γὰρ Ἐδέκων αὐτὸν παρὰ τὸν Ἀττίλαν ἐλθεῖν παρέπεισεν ὥς τῇ ἐκείνου σπουδῇ τὴν γαμετὴν ἀποληψόμενον, ἣν κατὰ τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων εἰλήτρει χῶραν τῷ Βλήδᾳ περισπούδαστος ὢν, ἀπολε-  
λοῖπει δὲ αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ παρὰ τοῦ Ἀττίλα δῶρον Ἀετίῳ  
πεμφθεῖς. ἀλλὰ τῆς μὲν τοιαύτης διήμαρτεν ἐλπίδος, τοῦ Ἀττίλα  
χαλεπήναντος, ὅτι γε δὴ ἐς τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐπανήλθεν· τότε δὲ διὰ τὸν τῆς  
εὐχίας καιρὸν παρελθὼν τῷ τε εἶδει καὶ τοῖς ἐσθήμασι καὶ τῇ  
φωνῇ καὶ τοῖς συγκεχυμένως παρ' αὐτοῦ προφερομένοις ῥήμασι (τῇ  
γὰρ Αὐσονίων τὴν τῶν Οὐννων καὶ τὴν τῶν Γότθων παραμεινὺς  
γλῶτταν) πάντας διέχεε καὶ ἐς ἄσβεστον ὀρμῆσαι γέλωτα παρε-  
σκεύασε πλὴν Ἀττίλα· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἔμενεν ἀστεμῆς καὶ τὸ εἶδος  
ἀμετάτρεπτος καὶ οὐδὲν οὔτε λέγων οὔτε ποιῶν γέλωτος ἐχόμενον  
ἐφαίνετο, πλὴν ὅτι τὸν νεώτατον τῶν παίδων (Ἡρῆας δὲ ὄνομα  
τούτῳ) εἰσιόντα καὶ παρεστῶτα εἶλκε τῆς παρεΐας γαληναῖς ἀπο-  
βλέπων ὁμμασι πρὸς αὐτόν. ἐμοῦ δὲ θαυμάζοντος, ὅπως τῶν μὲν  
ἄλλων παίδων ὀλιγωροίη, πρὸς δὲ ἐκείνον ἔχοι τὸν νοῦν, ὁ παρα-  
καθήμενος βάρβαρος συνιείς τῆς Αὐσονίων φωνῆς καὶ τῶν παρ'  
αὐτοῦ μοι ῥηθησομένων μηδὲν ἐκλέγειν προειπὼν ἔφρασκε τοὺς  
μάντις τῷ Ἀττίλᾳ προφηγορευκεῖναι τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ πεσεῖσθαι γένος,  
ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀναστήσεσθαι τούτου. ὥς δὲ ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ  
εἰλκον τὴν νύκτα, ὑπεξήλθομεν ἐπὶ πολὺ μὴ βουληθέντες τῷ πότῳ  
προσκαρτερεῖν.

5

10

15

20

9 παρεμεινὺν Papabasilios (1896) [παραμεινυσι αὐτ παραμεινὺς ἦν de Boor  
11 αὐτὸς [οὗτος Dindorf 16 ἔχοι Niebuhr [ἔχει codd.

### 14

#### (Exc. de Leg. Rom. 3)

Ἡμέρας δὲ γενομένης ἐπὶ τὸν Ὀνηγήσιον ἦλθομεν χρῆναι  
ἡμᾶς διαφεθῆναι λέγοντες καὶ μὴ τὴν ἄλλως τρίβειν τὸν χρόνον. καὶ  
ὃς ἔφη ἐθέλει καὶ τὸν Ἀττίλαν ἀποπέμψει ἡμᾶς. καὶ μικρὸν δια-  
λιπὼν ἅμα τοῖς λογάσῳ ἐβουλεύετο περὶ τῶν Ἀττίλα δεδογμένων  
καὶ τὰ βασιλεῖ ἀποδοθησόμενα συνέταττε γράμματα, ὑπογραφέντων  
αὐτῷ παρόντων καὶ Ῥουστικίου, ἀνδρὸς ὀρμυμένου μὲν ἐκ τῆς ἄνω  
Μυσίας, ἀλόντος δὲ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ διὰ λόγων ἀρετὴν τῷ βαρ-  
βάρῳ ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν γραμμάτων διαπονουμένου συντάξει.

5

misdeemeanour. Thus he passed all his time with Bleda. After his death Attila gave Zercon as a gift to Aetius, the general of the western Romans, who sent him back to Aspar.

### 3. (Exc. de Leg. Rom. 3)

Edeco had persuaded him [Zercon] to come to Attila in order to recover his wife, whom he had been given in the country of the barbarians as a result of his great favour with Bleda, but whom he had left behind in Scythia when Attila had sent him as a gift to Aetius. But he was disappointed in his hopes, since Attila was angry that he had returned to his country. Now, during the banquet he came forward and by his appearance, his clothing, his voice and the words which he spoke all jumbled together (for he mixed Latin, Hunnic and Gothic) he put all in a good humour and caused all to burst into uncontrollable laughter,<sup>82</sup> except Attila. He remained unmoved with no change of expression and neither said nor did anything that hinted at laughter, except when his youngest son, whose name was Ernach,<sup>83</sup> came up and stood by him. Then he drew him closer by the cheek and gazed at him with gentle eyes. When I expressed amazement that he paid attention to this son while ignoring the others, the barbarian who sat next to me and who knew Latin, warning me to repeat nothing of what he would tell me, said that the prophets had foretold to Attila that his race would fall, but would be restored by this boy. Since they were spending the night over the banquet, we departed, not wishing to continue drinking for a long time.

### 14

#### (Exc. de Leg. Rom. 3)

When day came we went to Onegesius and said that we ought to be dismissed without any pointless delay. He said that Attila was willing to send us away. After a short time he deliberated with the leading men upon Attila's views and had the letters drawn up to be delivered to the Emperor. Present at this transaction were his own secretaries and Rusticius, a man from Upper Moesia who had been captured in war and who, because of his literary skills, was employed by the barbarian in drawing up letters.

ὧς δὲ ἐκ τῆς συνόδου διανέστη, ἐδεήθημεν αὐτοῦ περὶ λύσεως  
τῆς Σύλλου γαμετῆς καὶ τῶν ἐκείνης παιδῶν ἐν τῇ Ῥατιαρίας  
ἀνδραποδισθέντων ἀλώσει. καὶ πρὸς μὲν τὴν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀπηγό-  
ρευσε λύσω, ἐπὶ πολλοῖς δὲ σφᾶς ἐβούλετο χρήμασιν ἀπεμπολᾶν.  
ἡμῶν δὲ ἐλεεῖν αὐτοὺς τῆς τύχης ἱκετευσάντων τὴν προτέραν εὐ-  
δαιμονίαν λογιζόμενον, διέβη τε πρὸς τὸν Ἀττίλαν, καὶ τὴν μὲν  
γυναῖκα ἐπὶ πεντακοσίοις διαφῆκε χρυσοῖς, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας δῶρον  
ἔπεμπε βασιλεῖ.

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Ἡρέκαν ἡ τοῦ Ἀττίλα γαμετὴ παρὰ Ἀδάμει  
τῶν αὐτῆς πραγμάτων τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν ἔχοντι δειπνεῖν ἡμᾶς παρε-  
κάλει. καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν ἐλθόντες ἅμα τισὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἔθνους λογάδων  
φιλαρροσύνης ἐτύχομεν· ἐδεξιόυτο γὰρ ἡμᾶς μειλυχίους τε λόγοις καὶ  
τῇ τῶν ἐδωδύμων παρασκευῇ. καὶ ἕκαστος τῶν παρόντων Σκυθικῇ  
φιλοτιμίᾳ κύλικα ἡμῖν πλήρη διανιστάμενος ἐδίδου καὶ τὸν ἐκπύοντα  
περιβαλὼν καὶ φιλήσας ταύτην ἐδέχετο. μετὰ δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον ἐπὶ τὴν  
σκηπὴν ἐλθόντες ἐς ὕπνον ἐτράπημεν.

Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπὶ συμπόσιον αὐθις ἡμᾶς Ἀττίλας ἐκάλει, καὶ  
τῷ προτέρῳ τρόπῳ παρὰ τε αὐτὸν εἰσῆλθομεν καὶ ἐς τὴν εὐωχίαν  
ἐτράπημεν. συνέβαινε δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης ἅμα αὐτῷ μὴ τὸν πρεσβύ-  
τερον τῶν παιδῶν ἦσθαι, ἀλλὰ γὰρ Ὀηβάρσιον θεῖον αὐτῷ τυγχά-  
νοντα πρὸς πατρός. παρὰ πᾶν δὲ τὸ συμπόσιον λόγοις φιλαρρονού-  
μενος φράζεω ἡμᾶς βασιλεῖ παρεκελεύετο τῷ Κωνσταντίῳ, ὃς αὐτῷ  
παρὰ Ἀετίου ἀπέσταλτο ὑπογραφέως χάριν, δίδόναι ἦν αὐτῷ γυναῖκα  
καὶ ὑπέσχετο. παρὰ γὰρ τὸν βασιλέα Θεοδόσιον ἅμα τοῖς σταλεῖσι  
παρὰ τοῦ Ἀττίλα πρέσβεσιν ἀφικόμενος ὁ Κωνσταντῖος τὴν εἰρήνην  
Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Σκύθαις ἔφησεν ἐπὶ μακρὸν φυλάττεσθαι χρόνον  
παρασκευάσειν, ἂν αὐτῷ γυναῖκα εὐπορον δοίη. καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο  
ἐπένευσε βασιλεὺς καὶ Σατορνίλου περιουσίᾳ καὶ γένει κοσμουμένου  
θυγατέρα εἰρήκει δώσειν. τὸν δὲ Σατορνίλον ἀνηρῆκει Ἀθηναῖς ἡ  
καὶ Εὐδοκία· ἀμφοτέροις γὰρ ἐκαλεῖτο τοῖς ὀνόμασιν. ἐς ἔργον δὲ τὴν  
αὐτοῦ οὐ συνεχώρησεν ἀχθῆναι ὑπόσχεσιν Ζήνωνος ὑπατοῦς ἀνὴρ καὶ  
πολλὴν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἔχων Ἰσαύρων δύναμιν, μεθ' ἧς καὶ τὴν Κων-  
σταντίνου κατὰ τὸν τοῦ πολέμου καιρὸν φυλάττεω ἐπετέτραπτο. τότε  
δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἑξ' στρατιωτικῶν ἀρχῶν ταγμάτων ὑπεξάγει τοῦ  
φρουρίου τὴν κόρην καὶ Ρούφῳ τῷ ἐνὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων κατεγγυᾷ.  
ταύτης δὲ ἀφηρημένης, ὁ Κωνσταντῖος ἐδεῖτο τοῦ βαρβάρου ἐνυβρι-  
σμένον αὐτὸν μὴ περιορᾶσθαι, ἀλλὰ ἢ τὴν ἀραιρεθεῖσαν ἢ καὶ ἄλλην  
αὐτῷ δίδωσθαι γαμετὴν τοσαύτην φερνὴν εἰσοίσουσιν. παρὰ τὸν  
τοῦ δείπνου τῶν καιρὸν ὁ βάρβαρος λέγειν τῷ βασιλεύοντι τὸν

When he came out of the meeting, we asked him to free the wife  
of Syllus and her children, who had been taken prisoner at the capture  
of Ratiaria. He did not object to their freedom, but wished to sell them  
for a high price. When we begged him to think of their previous  
happiness and have pity for their current misfortune, he went to Attila  
and dismissed the wife for five hundred *solidi* and sent the children to  
the Emperor as a gift.

Meanwhile Hereka,<sup>84</sup> Attila's wife, invited us to dine at the house  
of Adamis, the manager of her affairs. We went there together with  
some of the leading men of the nation and were generously received.  
He welcomed us with gracious words and an array of foods. With  
Scythian hospitality each of those present stood up, handed us a  
cup full of wine, after we had drunk, embraced and kissed us, and  
took back the cup. After the dinner we returned to our tent and  
turned to sleep.

On the next day Attila again invited us to a banquet, and in the  
same manner as before we presented ourselves and took part in the  
feast. On this occasion it was not the eldest of his sons who was seated  
next to him on the couch, but Oebarsius, his paternal uncle. Through-  
out the banquet Attila addressed friendly words to us and he bade us  
tell the Emperor to give to Constantius, who had been sent to him as  
secretary from Aetius, the wife whom he had also<sup>85</sup> promised to him.  
When Constantius had come to the Emperor in the company of the  
envoys sent from Attila, he said that if Theodosius gave him a wealthy  
wife, he would ensure that the peace between the Romans and the  
Scythians would be preserved for a long time. The Emperor agreed to  
this proposal and said that he would give him the daughter of Satur-  
nilus, a man of considerable wealth and family connections, who had  
been destroyed by Athenais (or Eudocia — she was called by both  
names).<sup>86</sup> But the fulfilment of this promise was prevented by Zeno,<sup>87</sup>  
a man of consular rank who commanded a large force of Isaurians with  
which he had been assigned the guarding of Constantinople during the  
war. Then, being master of the soldiers in the East, he carried off the  
girl from the fortress<sup>88</sup> and betrothed her to Rufus, one of his associ-  
ates.<sup>89</sup> When the girl was taken away from him, Constantius asked the  
barbarian not to overlook the insult to him, but that either the girl  
who had been taken away or another with a comparable dowry be  
given to him as his wife. During the banquet, therefore, the barbarian

17 Ἡρέκαν BE | Ἡρέκα MP Κρέκα Niebuhr et Müller (qui ἡ Ρέκαν in textu habet) 20 γὰρ E [δὲ X 32 καὶ exp. Dindorf

Μαξιμῖνον ἐκέλευε μὴ χρῆναι τῆς ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὸν Κωνσταντῖον ἐλπίδος διαμαρτεῖν· οὔτε γὰρ βασιλέως τὸ ψεύδεσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ ὁ Ἀττίλας ἐνετέλλετο, ὑποσχομένου Κωνσταντίου χρήματα δώσειν, εἰ τῶν 50  
ζαπλοῦτων αὐτῷ παρὰ Ῥωμαίους κατεγγυηθεῖη γυνή.

Τοῦ δὲ συμποσίου ὑπέξελθόντες μετὰ τὴν νύκτα ἡμερῶν διαγενομένων τριῶν διηρείδθημεν δώροις τοῖς προσήκουσι τιμηθέντες. ἔπεμπε δὲ ὁ Ἀττίλας καὶ Βέριχον τὸν ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ προκαθ- 55  
εσθέντα ἄνδρα τῶν λογάδων καὶ πολλῶν ἐν τῇ Σκυδικῇ κωμῶν ἄρχοντα παρὰ βασιλέα πρεσβευσόμενον, ἄλλως τε καὶ αὐτόν, οἷα δὴ πρέσβω, <δῶρα> παρὰ Ῥωμαίων δέξασθαι.

Ποιουμένων δὲ ἡμῶν τὴν πορείαν καὶ πρὸς κώμη κατα- λυσάντων τῷ, ἥλω Σκύθης ἀνὴρ κατασκοπῆς ἕνεκα ἐκ τῆς Ῥω- 60  
μαίων ἐς τὴν βάρβαρον διαβεβηκώς χώραν· καὶ αὐτὸν Ἀττίλας ἀνασκολοπισθῆναι παρεκελεύσατο. τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ δι' ἐτέρων κωμῶν πορευομένων ἡμῶν, ἄνδρες β' τῶν παρὰ Σκύθαις δουλευόντων ἦγοντο ὀπίσω τῷ χεῖρε δεδεμένῳ ὡς τοὺς κατὰ πόλεμον ἀνελόντες δεσπότης· καὶ ἐπὶ ξύλων β' κεραίας ἐχόντων ἀμφοῖν τὰς κεφαλὰς 65  
ἐμβαλόντες ἀνεσταύρωσαν.

Ἐρ' ὅσον δὲ τὴν Σκυδικὴν διεξήγεμεν, ὁ Βέριχος ἐκωώνει τε ἡμῖν τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ ἡσυχός τις καὶ ἐπιτήδειος ἐνομίζετο. ὡς δὲ τὸν Ἰστρον ἐπεραιώθημεν, ἐν ἐχθροῦ ἡμῶν ἐγένετο μοῖρα διὰ τῶας ἐώλους προκράσεις ἐκ τῶν θεραπόντων συνενεχθείσας. καὶ πρό- 70  
τερον μὲν τὸν ἵππον ἀρείλετο, ὥς τὸν Μαξιμῖνον δωρησάμενος ἦν. ὁ γὰρ Ἀττίλας πάντας τοὺς ἀμρ' αὐτὸν λογάδας παρεκελεύσατο δώροις τὸν Μαξιμῖνον φιλοαρρονήσασθαι, καὶ ἕκαστος ἐπετόμφει ἵππον αὐτῷ, μεθ' ὧν καὶ ὁ Βέριχος. ὀλίγους δὲ λαβὼν τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπέπεμπε τὸ σῶκρον δηλῶσαι ἐκ τῆς μετριότητος ἐσπουδακώς. 75  
τοῦτον οὖν ἀρείλετο τὸν ἵππον καὶ οὔτε συνοδοιπορεῖν οὔτε συνεσι- ᾶσθαι ἠνέσχετο· ὥστε ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ βαρβάρων χώρᾳ γενόμενον σύμ- βουλον ἐς τοῦτο προελθεῖν.

Καὶ ἐντεῦθεν διὰ τῆς Φιλίππου ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀδριανούπολιν τὴν πορείαν ἐποιησάμεθα. ἐν ἣ διαναπαυσάμενοι ἐς λόγους ἤλθομεν τῷ 80  
Βερίχῳ καὶ αὐτὸν τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς σιωπῆς κατεμεμψάμεθα, ὅτι γε δὴ ὀργίζεται οὐκ ἀδικοῦσιν οὐδέν. θεραπεύσαντες οὖν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπὶ ἐστίασιν καλέσαντες ἐξωρμήσαμεν. καὶ τῷ Βιγίλᾳ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἀπα- τήσαντες ἐπὶ τὴν Σκυδικὴν ἐπαναξευγνύντι καὶ τὰ παρὰ Ἀττίλα

commanded Maximinus to tell the Emperor that Constantius should not be disappointed in his hopes of him, for it was not the mark of a king to lie. Attila gave these orders since Constantius had promised to give him money if a woman from one of the very rich Roman families were betrothed to him.

After nightfall we left the banquet and three days later we were dismissed, having been honoured with appropriate gifts. Attila also sent along on an embassy to the Emperor Berichus, one of the leading men and the ruler of many villages in Scythia, who had sat before us at the banquet. There were various reasons, but the particular purpose was that he should receive <gifts> from the Romans.<sup>90</sup>

When we were on our journey and had halted near to a certain village, a Scythian, who had crossed from Roman to barbarian territory in order to spy, was captured. Attila ordered him impaled. On the following day, while we were travelling through other villages, two men who were in slavery amongst the Scythians were brought in, their hands tied behind them, because they had killed their masters in battle. They gibbeted them by affixing their heads to two lengths of wood with v-shaped clefts at the top.<sup>91</sup>

While we were journeying through Scythia, Berichus rode with us, and we thought him gentle and friendly. But when we had crossed the Danube, as a result of some old issues which had arisen out of the servants, he adopted the attitude of an enemy towards us. First, he took back the horse which he had given as a gift to Maximinus. (For Attila had ordered each of his leading men to show friendship to Maximinus with gifts, and each of them, including Berichus, had sent him a horse. Maximinus had kept a few of these, but had sent back the rest, since he was eager to show his restraint by his temperate behaviour.) Berichus, then, took back this horse and refused to ride or to eat with us. And so, the pact which existed towards us in the land of the barbarians now came to this.

From here we made our journey through Philippopolis to Adrianople. Here we halted and approached Berichus, complaining to him of his silence towards us and saying that he was angry at men who did him no wrong. When we had tried to win him over and had invited him to dinner, we set out. On the road we met Vigilas, who was returning to Scythia. We told him what reply Attila had made to our embassy and

49 βασιλέως scripsi [βασιλεῖ codd., βασιλικὸν βασιλέα ψεύδεσθαι (sc. χρῆναι) Gordon (1960 p.203 n.60) πρέπειν post ψεύδεσθαι add. Niebuhr 57 δῶρα scripsi [de Boor corruptelam indicat δῶρα παρὰ Ῥ. δέξασθαι βουλόμενος Müller 70 ὥ Niebuhr |ὡς codd. 76-77 γενόμενον σύμβολον de Boor [γενο- μένου συμβόλου edd.

ἡμῶν τῆς ἐπὶ τῇ πρεσβείᾳ ἀποκρίσεως εἰρημένα ἀφῆγησάμενοι τῆς  
ἐπανόδου εἰχόμεθα. ὥς δὲ ἐς τὴν Κωνσταντίνου παρεγενόμεθα, 85  
μεταβελῆσθαι μὲν ὥόμεθα τὸν Βέριχον τῆς ὀργῆς· ὃς δὲ τῆς  
ἀγρίας οὐκ ἐπελέληστο φύσεως, ἀλλ' ἐς διαφοράς ἐχώρει καὶ ἐν  
κατηγορίᾳ ἐποιεῖτο τὸν Μαξιμῖον, ὥς ἔφησεν εἰς τὴν Σκυθικὴν  
διαβὰς τὸν Ἀρεθῶνδον καὶ τὸν Ἀσπαρα ἄνδρας στρατηγούς μηδε- 90  
μίαν παρὰ βασιλεῖ ἔχειν μοῖραν, καὶ ὥς ἐν ὀλιγωρίᾳ τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς  
ἐποιήσατο τὴν βαρβαρικὴν ἐλέγχας κουρότητα.

## Liber IV

## 15

## 1. (Exc. de Leg. Rom. 3)

Ἀναξεύξαντα δὲ τὸν Βιγίλαν εἰς τὴν Σκυθικὴν καὶ ἐν οἷς τὸν  
Ἀττίλαν τόποις διατρίβειν συνέβησεν ἀρκομένον περιστάντες εἶχον  
οἱ πρὸς τοῦτο παρεσκευασμένοι βάρβαροι καὶ τὰ χρήματα, ἅπερ τῷ  
Ἐδέκωνι ἐκόμιζεν, ἀφείλοντο. ὥς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν παρὰ τὸν Ἀττίλαν 5  
ῥῆγον, καὶ ἀνηρωτᾷτο, ὅτου χάριω τοσοῦτον φέροι χρυσίον, ἔφη οικείας  
τε καὶ τῶν παρεπομένων προνοίας ἕνεκα, ὥστε μὴ ἐνδεία τροφῶν ἢ  
ἵππων σπάνει ἢ καὶ τῶν φορτηγῶν ὑποζυγίων ὑπὸ τῆς μακρᾶς ἐκ-  
δαπηθέντων ὁδοῦ διαμαρτεῖν τῆς περὶ τῆς πρεσβείας σπουδῆς·  
παρεσκευάσθαι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐς αἰχμαλώτων ὦνῃν, πολλῶν κατὰ 10  
τὴν Ῥωμαίων δεηθέντων αὐτοῦ ταῦς σφοῖσι προσήκοντας λύσασθαι.  
καὶ ὁ Ἀττίλας· ἀλλ' οὔτι, ἔφη, σὺ ποιητὴν θηρίον, τὸν Βιγίλαν  
λέγων, τὴν δίκην σοφιστόμενος λήσεις, οὐδὲ ἔσται σοι πρόφρασις ἰκανὴ  
εἰς τὸ τὴν κόλασιν διαφυγεῖν, μείζονος μὲν τῆς σῆς δαπάνης παρα-  
σκευῆς σοι χρημάτων ὑπαρχούσης, καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ σοῦ ἵππων καὶ ὑπο- 15  
ζυγίων ὠνηθησομένων, καὶ τῆς τῶν αἰχμαλώτων λύσεως, ἣν σὺν  
Μαξιμῖνῳ παρ' ἐμὲ ἀρκομένῳ ποιεῖν ἀπηγόρευσα.

Ταῦτα εἰπὼν τὸν υἱὸν (ἦν δὲ καὶ τῷ Βιγίλᾳ τότε πρῶτον εἰς  
τὴν βαρβάρων ἡκολουθηκῶς χώραν) ξίφει καταβληθῆναι παρεκε-  
λεύσατο, εἰ μὴ φθάσας εἴποι, ὅτῳ τὰ χρήματα καὶ δι' ἣν αἰτίαν 20  
κομίζει. ὁ δὲ ὡς ἐθεάσατο τὸν παῖδα ἐπὶ θάνατον στείχοντα, ἐς  
δάκρυά τε καὶ ὀλοφυρμούς ἐτράπη καὶ ἀνεβόα τὴν δίκην ἐπ' αὐτὸν  
φέρειν τὸ ξίφος, οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸν νέον τὸν ἀδικούντα οὐδέν. καὶ μηδὲν  
μελλήσας τά τε αὐτῷ καὶ Ἐδέκωνι καὶ τῷ εὐνούχῳ καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ  
μελετηθέντα ἔλεγεν, συνεχῶς δὲ εἰς ἱκεσίας τρεπόμενος, ὥστε αὐτὸν 25  
μὲν ἀναιρεθῆναι, διαρεθῆναι δὲ τὸν παῖδα. γνοὺς δὲ ὁ Ἀττίλας ἀπὸ  
τῶν Ἐδέκωνι εἰρημένων μηδὲν διεψεῦσθαι τὸν Βιγίλαν ἐν δεσμοῖς  
εἶναι προσέταττεν, οὐ πρότερον λύσειν ἀπειλήσας, πρὶν ἢ τὸν παῖδα

then continued our return journey. When we reached Constantinople,  
we thought Berichus had put off his anger, but he had not shed his  
savage nature. He came into dispute with us and accused Maximinus of  
saying, when he crossed into Scythia, that the generals Areobindus and  
Aspar carried no weight with the Emperor and of pouring contempt  
upon their achievements by arguing that they were unreliable bar-  
barians.<sup>92</sup>

## Book IV

## 15

## 1. (Exc. de Leg. Rom. 3)

When Vigilas had returned to Scythia and reached the district  
where Attila was staying, barbarians who had been readied for this  
purpose surrounded and detained him and took away the money which  
he was bringing for Edeco. When they brought him before Attila and  
he was asked for what reason he was carrying so much gold, he replied  
that it was for the purposes of himself and those with him, so that they  
would not fail to achieve the object of the embassy through lack of  
supplies or inadequacy of the horses and baggage animals which had  
been exhausted by the long journey. Moreover, money had been  
supplied to him to purchase captives, since many in Roman territory  
had begged him to ransom their relatives. Then Attila, calling Vigilas  
a "worthless beast", said, "You will escape justice no longer with your  
tricks. Your excuses will not be enough for you to avoid punishment.  
Your supply of money is more than you need to buy provisions for  
yourself, and horses, and baggage animals, and to ransom the captives,  
which I forbade you to do when you came to me with Maximinus."

Saying this he ordered that Vigilas' son, who on that occasion  
had accompanied his father to the land of the barbarians for the first  
time, be struck down with a sword unless Vigilas first told why and  
for what purpose he was bringing the money. When Vigilas saw his  
son facing death, he burst into tears and lamentations and called upon  
justice to use the sword on him, not upon an innocent youth. Without  
hesitation he described what had been planned by himself, Edeco, the  
eunuch and the Emperor, all the time begging that he be put to death  
and his son be sent away. When Attila knew from what Edeco had told  
him that Vigilas was not lying, he ordered him to be put in chains and  
promised that he would not free him until he sent his son back and

ἐκπέμψας ἑτέρας αὐτῷ ν' χρυσίου λίτρας ὑπὲρ τῶν σφετέρων κομίσοι λύτρων. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐδέδετο, ὁ δὲ ἐς τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐπανήει. ἔπεμπε δὲ καὶ Ὀρέστην καὶ Ἥσσαν ὁ Ἀττίλας ἐς τὴν Κωνσταντίνου. 30

2. (Exc. de Leg. Gent. 6)

Ὅτι φωραθέντα τὸν Βιγίλαν ἐπιβουλευόμενον τῷ Ἀττίλῃ, καὶ τοῦ χρυσίου τὰς ἑκατὸν λίτρας τὰς παρὰ τοῦ Χρυσάφριου τοῦ εὐνούχου σταλείσας ἀφελόμενος, παρενθὺ ἐπεμπεν Ὀρέστην καὶ Ἥσσαν ὁ Ἀττίλας ἐς τὴν Κωνσταντίνου ἐντειλάμενος τὸν μὲν Ὀρέστην τὸ βαλλάντιον, ἐν ᾧ περ ἐμβεβλήκει Βιγίλας τὸ χρυσίον Ἐδέκωνι 5 δοθησόμενον, τῷ σφετέρῳ περιθέντα τραχήλῳ ἔλθειν τε παρὰ βασιλέα καὶ αὐτῷ ἐπιδείξαντα καὶ τῷ εὐνούχῳ ἀνερωτᾶν, εἴ γε αὐτὸ ἐπιγνώσκοιεν, τὸν δὲ Ἥσσαν λέγειν ἀπὸ στόματος εὐ μὲν γεγονότος εἶναι πατρὸς τὸν Θεοδοσίον παῖδα, εὐ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν φύντα καὶ τὸν πατέρα Μουνδίονχον διαδεξάμενον διαφυλάττει τὴν εὐγένειαν· ταύτης 10 δε τὸν Θεοδοσίον ἐκπεπτωκότα δουλεῦεν αὐτῷ τὴν τοῦ φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν ὑφιστάμενον. οὐ δίκαιον οὖν ποιεῖ τῷ βελτίονι καὶ ὃν αὐτῷ ἡ τύχη δεσπότιν ἀνέδειξεν ὥς πονηρὸς οἰκῆτης λαθροδικῶς ἐπιτιθέμενος. οὐ λύσειν οὖν τὴν αἰτίαν ἔφη τῶν ἐς αὐτὸν ἡμαρτημένων, εἰ μὴ γε τὸν εὐνούχον ἐκπέμψαι πρὸς κόλασιν. 15

Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ἐς τὴν Κωνσταντίνου παρεγένοντο· σινηρέχθη δὲ τὸν Χρυσάφριον ἐξαιτεῖσθαι καὶ παρὰ Ζήνωνος. Μαξιμίνου γὰρ εἰρηκέναι τὸν Ἀττίλαν ἀπαγγελλαντος χρῆναι βασιλέα πληροῦν τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν καὶ τῷ Κωνσταντίνῳ τὴν γυναῖκα διδόναι, τὴν αὐδαμῶς παρὰ τὴν ἐκείνου βουλὴν ἑτέρῳ κατεγγυηθῆναι οἷον τε ἦν 20 (ἢ γὰρ ἂν ὁ τολμήσας ἐκδεδῶκει δίκας, ἢ τοιαῦτα τὰ βασιλέως ἐστίν, ὥστε μὴδὲ τῶν σφετέρων κρατεῖν οἰκετῶν, καθ' ὧν συμμαχίαν, εἴ γε βούλοιτο, ἔτοιμον εἶναι παρασχεῖν), ἐδήχθη τε ὁ Θεοδοσίος τὸν θυμὸν καὶ δημοσίαν τὴν τῆς κόρης οὐσίαν ποιεῖ.

3 ἀφελόμενος Classen [ἀφελόμενου codd. 5 τὸ post χρυσίου add. Dindorf]

3. (Exc. de Leg. Rom. 4)

Ὅτι ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων Ἀττίλα τε καὶ Ζήνωνος αἰτούμενος ὁ Χρυσάφριος ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ καθεστήκει. πάντων δὲ αὐτῷ εὐνοίαν τε καὶ σπουδὴν συνεισφέροντων, ἔδοκει παρὰ τὸν Ἀττίλαν πρεσβεύεσθαι Ἀνατόλιον καὶ Νόμον, τὸν μὲν Ἀνατόλιον τῶν ἀμφὶ βασιλέα ἄρχοντα 5 τελῶν καὶ τὰς συνθήκας τῆς ἐκείνου εἰρήνης προθέμενον, τὸν δὲ Νόμον τὴν τοῦ μαγίστρου ἀρχὴν ἄρξαντα καὶ ἐν τοῖς πατρικίοις σὺν ἐκείνῳ καταλεγόμενον, οἱ δὲ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἀναβεβήκασι πάσας. συνεπέμπετο δὲ Ἀνατολίῳ Νόμος οὐ διὰ μέγεθος τῆς τύχης μόνον, ἀλλὰ

6 ἀρχὴν EMP [τιμὴν B (ἀρχὴν in mg.) et edd.]

brought another fifty pounds of gold to pay for his own ransom. Vigilas was bound, and the son returned to Roman territory, and Attila also sent Orestes and Esas to Constantinople.

2. (Exc. de Leg. Gent. 6)

When Attila had seized Vigilas, who was discovered plotting against him, and the hundred pounds of gold which had been sent by Chrysaphius the eunuch,<sup>93</sup> he immediately sent Orestes and Esas to Constantinople. He ordered Orestes to go before the Emperor wearing around his neck the bag in which Vigilas had placed the gold to be given to Edeco. He was to show him and the eunuch the bag and to ask if they recognised it. Esas was then to say directly that Theodosius was the son of a nobly-born father, and Attila, too, was of noble descent, having succeeded his father, Mundiuch.<sup>94</sup> But whereas he had preserved his noble lineage, Theodosius had fallen from his and was Attila's slave, bound to the payment of tribute. Therefore, in attacking him covertly like a worthless slave, he was acting unjustly towards his better, whom fortune had made his master. As a result, Attila declared, he would not absolve Theodosius from blame for the crime against himself unless he handed over the eunuch for punishment.

These men, then, came to Constantinople for this purpose; and it also happened that Zeno was seeking Chrysaphius. For Maximinus had reported Attila's declaration that the Emperor ought to fulfil his promise and give Constantius his wife, who could not have been betrothed to another without the Emperor's consent: either the man who had dared to do this would have already paid the penalty, or the Emperor's affairs were in such a state that he could not control his own servants, against whom, should he wish it, Attila was ready to make an alliance. Mortified by this, Theodosius confiscated the girl's property.<sup>95</sup>

3. (Exc. de Leg. Rom. 4)

Being sought by both Attila and Zeno, Chrysaphius was in dire straits. Since all unanimously gave him their goodwill and support,<sup>96</sup> it was decided that Anatolius and Nomus should go as ambassadors to Attila. Anatolius, who had fixed the terms of peace with Attila, was master of the soldiers in the presence, and Nomus had been master of the offices and was, like Anatolius, one of the patricians (who are senior to all other ranks).<sup>97</sup> Nomus was sent with Anatolius not only because of his high rank, but also because he was friendly towards

ὥς καὶ τῷ Χρυσάφει εὖνους ὦν καὶ φιλοτιμία τοῦ βαρβάρου περι-  
 εσόμενος· ὅτι γὰρ μάλιστα προσῆν αὐτῷ τὸ μὴ φείδεσθαι χρημάτων 10  
 τὸ παρὸν διαθεῖναι ἐσπουδακότε. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἐστέλλοντο τὸν Ἀττή-  
 λαν ἀπάγοντες τῆς ὀργῆς καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐπὶ ταῖς συντάξεσι δια-  
 φυλάττειν πείσοντας, λέγοντες δὲ καὶ ὥς τῷ Κωνσταντίῳ κατεγγυη-  
 θήσεται γυνὴ οὐ μείων τῆς Σατορνίλου γένει τε καὶ περιουσίᾳ·  
 ἐκείνην γὰρ μὴ βεβουλῆσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐτέρῳ κατὰ νόμον γήμασθαι· οὐ 15  
 γὰρ θέμις παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις ἄκουσαν γυναῖκα κατεγγυᾶσθαι ἀνδρί.  
 ἔπεμπε δὲ καὶ ὁ εὐνοῦχος τῷ βαρβάρῳ χρυσίον ὥστε αὐτὸν μελιχ-  
 θέντα ἀπαχθῆναι τοῦ θυμοῦ.

4. (*Exc. de Leg. Rom. 5*)

Ὅτι οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀνατόλιον καὶ Νόμον τὸν Ἰστρον περαιω-  
 θέντες ἄχρως τοῦ Δρέγκωνος λεγομένου ποταμοῦ ἐς τὴν Σκυθικὴν  
 διέβησαν. αἰδοῖ γὰρ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὁ Ἀττήλας ὥστε μὴ τῷ τῆς ὁδοῦ  
 ἐπιτρίβεσθαι διαστήματι ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χωρίῳ τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς 5  
 ἐποιήσατο ἔντευξιν. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν υπερηφάνως διαλεχθεὶς ὑπήχθη  
 τῷ πλήθει τῶν δώρων, καὶ λόγοις προσηνέσι μαλαχθεὶς φυλάττειν  
 τὴν εἰρήνην ἐπὶ ταῖς αὐταῖς ἐπώμυντο συνθήκαις, ἀναχωρεῖν δὲ καὶ  
 τῆς τῷ Ἰστρῳ ὀριζομένης Ῥωμαίων γῆς καὶ τοῦ πράγματα ἔτι  
 παρέχεω περὶ φυγάδων βασιλεῖ, εἰ μὴ γε Ῥωμαῖοι αὐτὸς ἐτέρους 10  
 καταφεύγοντας παρ' αὐτοῦ δέξωτο. ἡφίει δὲ καὶ Βεγίλαν τὰς ν' τοῦ  
 χρυσοῦ λίτρας δεξάμενος· ταύτας γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐκεκομῖκει ὁ παῖς σὺν  
 τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἐς τὴν Σκυθικὴν διαβάς· καὶ αἰχμαλώτους ἀνευ  
 λύτρων ἀφῆκε πλείστους Ἀνατολίῳ καὶ Νόμῳ χαριζόμενος. δωρη-  
 σάμενος δὲ καὶ ἵππους αὐτοῖς καὶ θηρίων δοράς, αἷς οἱ βασιλῆες κοσ-  
 μοῦνται Σκύθαι, ἀπέπεμπε συμπέμψας καὶ τὸν Κωνσταντίον ὥστε 15  
 αὐτῷ βασιλεῖα ἐς ἔργον ἀγαγεῖν τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν. ὥς δὲ ἐπανῆλθον οἱ  
 πρέσβεις καὶ ἅπαντα τὰ τε παρ' αὐτῶν τὰ τε παρὰ τοῦ βαρβάρου  
 διεξῆλθον, κατεγγυᾶται τῷ Κωνσταντίῳ γυνὴ γαμετὴ Ἀρματίου  
 γενομένη παιδὸς Πλίνθου τοῦ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις στρατηγησάντος καὶ  
 τὴν ὑπατον ἀρχὴν ἄρξαντος. συνεβεβήκει δὲ τὸν Ἀρμάτον ἐς τὴν 20  
 Λιβύκην διαβάντα ἐπὶ τῇ πρὸς Αὐσοριανοὺς μάχῃ εὐημερῆσαι μὲν ἐν  
 τῷ πρὸς ἐκείνους πολέμῳ, νοσήσαντα δὲ τελευτήσῃαι τὸν βίον.  
 οὐ δὴ τὴν γαμετὴν καὶ γένει καὶ περιουσίᾳ διαπρέπουσαν ἔπεισεν ὁ  
 βασιλεὺς τῷ Κωνσταντίῳ γήμασθαι. οὕτω καὶ τῶν πρὸς Ἀττήλαν  
 λυθέντων διαφορῶν, ὁ Θεόδοσιος ἐδεδίει μήποτε καὶ Ζήνων τυ- 25  
 ραννίδι ἐπιθῆσεται.

(Cf. *Suda* A 2107)

Chrysaphius and would prevail over the barbarian with his generosity,  
 for when he was keen to settle a matter he was unsparing with his  
 money. These men were sent to turn Attila from his anger and persuade  
 him to keep the peace on the terms agreed, and to tell him that a wife  
 would be betrothed to Constantius not at all inferior to the daughter  
 of Saturnilus in background or wealth. Saturnilus' daughter had been  
 unwilling and had been married to another according to the law, since  
 amongst the Romans it was not right to betroth a woman to a man  
 against her will. The eunuch, too, sent gold to the barbarian to mollify  
 him and turn him from his anger.

4. (*Exc. de Leg. Rom. 5*)

Anatolius and Nomus and their party crossed the Danube and  
 travelled into Scythia as far as the river called the Drecon. Out of  
 regard for these men Attila came to meet them at that place in order  
 that they not be worn out by the length of the journey. At first Attila  
 negotiated arrogantly, but he was overwhelmed by the number of their  
 gifts and mollified by their words of appeasement. He swore that he  
 would keep the peace on the same terms, that he would withdraw from  
 the Roman territory bordering the Danube and that he would cease to  
 press the matter of the fugitives with the Emperor providing the Ro-  
 mans did not again receive other fugitives who fled from him. He also  
 freed Vigilas, having received the fifty pounds of gold which his son,  
 who had crossed to Scythia with the ambassadors, had brought. Further-  
 more, he freed a large number of prisoners without ransom, gratifying  
 Anatolius and Nomus. Having given them gifts of horses and skins of  
 wild animals, with which the Scythian kings adorn themselves, he dis-  
 missed them and sent along with them Constantius in order that the  
 Emperor might fulfil his promise to him. When the ambassadors had  
 returned and had reported everything discussed by themselves and by  
 the barbarian, to Constantius a woman was betrothed who had been the  
 wife of Armatus, the son of Plinthus who had been a Roman general  
 and had held the consulship.<sup>98</sup> Armatus had been serving in Libya  
 during the fighting with the Ausorians<sup>99</sup> and had distinguished himself  
 in that war, but had fallen ill and died. The Emperor persuaded his  
 wife, who was distinguished by both birth and wealth, to marry Con-  
 stantius. When he had settled the differences with Attila in this manner,  
 Theodosius feared that Zeno would at some time attempt usurpation.  
 (Cf. *Suda* A 2107)

5. (John of Antioch *Fr.* 198 = *Exc. de Ins.* 83)

"Οτι ἐπὶ Θεοδοσίου τοῦ νέου Χρυσάφιος διώκει τὰ πάντα, τὰ πάντων ἀρπάζων καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων μισούμενος. τότε μὲν οὖν Ἀττίλας πρόφρασω τὴν Κωνσταντίου προβαλλόμενος αἴτησιν, ἣν αὐτὸν περὶ τοῦ γάμου τῆς Σατορνίλου θυγατρὸς ἤτει, ἐπανίσταται τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ καὶ τὸν εὐνοῦχον Χρυσάφιον ἐκδοθῆναι οἱ παρεκελεύετο, ὡς φωραθέντα τῆς κατ' αὐτοῦ ἐπιβουλῆς. ἐντεῦθεν πάλιν Ἀνατόλιος καὶ Νόμος πρὸς τὸν Ἀττίλαν παραγίνονται, καὶ πείθουσιν αὐτὸν δώροις ἀποσχέσθαι τῆς κατὰ τοῦ εὐνοῦχου ὀργῆς.

## 16

(John of Antioch *Fr.* 199,1 = *Exc. de Ins.* 84)

"Οτι Θεοδόσιος ὁ νέος πρὸς τὸν Ζήνωναν ἐχαλέπαυεν. ἐδεδίει γὰρ μήποτε καὶ τυραννίδι ἐπίδηται, ἀκωδύνου αὐτῷ γενομένης τῆς ἀρπαγῆς. ὅπερ ἔτι μάλιστα ἐξετάραττεν αὐτόν. καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀμαρτήμασι ῥαδίως νέμων συγγνώμην, χαλεπὸς τε καὶ ἀμετάτρεπτος ἦν οὐ μόνον κατὰ τῶν τυραννίδων μελετησάντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν βασιλείας ἀξίων νομισθέντων, καὶ σφας ἐκποδῶν ποιεῖν διὰ παντὸς ἐχώρει τρόπον. καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἐιρημένους προσώποις καὶ Βαύδωνα καὶ Δανίηλον ὡς τυραννίδι ἐπιθεμένους ἐξέβαλεν. ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς τοῦντων προαιρέσεως καὶ τὸν Ζήνωναν ἀμύνασθαι ἐσπουδακῶς τῆς προτέρας εἶχετο βουλῆς, ὥστε διαβῆναι μὲν τὸν Μαξιμῖον εἰς τὴν Ἰσαυρόπολιν καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖ χωρία προκαταλαβεῖν, στείλαι δὲ διὰ θαλάσσης ἐπὶ τὴν ἔω δύναμιν τὴν τὸν Ζήνωναν παραστησομένην· καὶ τῶν αὐτῷ δεδογμένων οὐκ ἀρίστατο· μείζονος δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκταράξαντος φόβου, τὴν παρασκευὴν ἀνεβάλετο.

2 γενομένης scripsi [γενέσθαι codd. γενέσθαι μελλούσης Müller 7 Βαύδωνα Müller [Βάνδωνα codd.]

## 17

(John of Antioch *Fr.* 199,2 = *Exc. de Ins.* 84)

Ἦκε γάρ τις ἀγγέλλων τὸν Ἀττίλαν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπιθέσθαι βασιλείῳ, Ὀνωρίας τῆς Βαλεντιανίου ἀδελφῆς ἐς ἐπικουρίαν ἐπικαλεσαμένης αὐτόν. ἡ γὰρ Ὀνωρία τῶν βασιλικῶν καὶ αὐτῇ ἐχομένη σκήπτρων Εὐγενίῳ τῷ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν αὐτῆς ἔχοντι πραγμάτων ἥλω ἐς λαυραῖον ἐρχομένη λέχος, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀμαρτήματι ἀνιέρθη μὲν ἐκεῖνος, ἡ δὲ τῶν βασιλείων ἐλαθεῖσα Ἐρκουλάνῳ κατεγγυᾶται, ἀνδρὶ ὑπατικῷ καὶ τρόπων εὖ ἔχοντι, ὡς μήτε πρὸς βασιλείαν μήτε πρὸς νεωτερισμὸν ὑποστοπεῖσθαι. ἐν

5. (John of Antioch *Fr.* 198 = *Exc. de Ins.* 83)

During the reign of Theodosius Chrysaphius controlled everything, seizing the possessions of all and being hated by all. Then Attila, using as his excuse the demand which Constantius had made of him concerning the daughter of Saturnilus, began again to be hostile to the Roman state and demanded that the eunuch Chrysaphius be handed over to him on the ground that he had been discovered in a plot against him.<sup>100</sup> Thereupon Anatolius and Nomus again came to him and by gifts persuaded him to lay aside his anger against the eunuch.

## 16

(John of Antioch *Fr.* 199,1 = *Exc. de Ins.* 84)

The younger Theodosius was angry with Zeno. For he feared that on some occasion he would attempt usurpation, when the attack brought no danger to himself. This disturbed Theodosius very greatly. Although he readily gave forgiveness to all other misdemeanours, he was harsh and unappeasable not only towards those who attempted usurpation but even to those who were held worthy to be Emperor, and he moved by every means to eliminate them. In addition to the persons mentioned he banished Baudo and Daniel on the ground that they were aiming at usurpation. For the same reason in his eagerness to forestall Zeno he kept to his earlier plan. Therefore, Maximinus crossed to Isauropolis and seized the districts there beforehand, and Theodosius also sent a force to the East to subdue Zeno. He did not abandon his designs, but he postponed his preparations when a greater fear distracted him.<sup>101</sup>

## 17

(John of Antioch *Fr.* 199,2 = *Exc. de Ins.* 84)

For a messenger arrived [at Constantinople] with the news that Attila was preparing hostilities against the rulers of Rome, since Honoria, Valentinian's sister, had summoned him to her assistance. Honoria, who herself had the symbols of royal authority, was caught in a clandestine affair with a certain Eugenius, who was in charge of her affairs. He was executed for the crime, and she was deprived of her royal authority and betrothed to Herculanus, a man of consular rank and of such good character that he was suspected of designs neither on kingship nor on revolution. She brought the business to an

συμφορᾷ δὲ καὶ ἀνία δευτῇ τὸ πρᾶγμα ποιουμένη παρὰ τὸν Ἀττίλαν  
 Ἱάκωνθον εὐνοῦχον ἐκπέμπει τινά, ὥστε ἐπὶ χρήμασι αὐτῇ τιμω- 10  
 ρήσαι τῷ γάμῳ· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις καὶ δακτύλιον ἔπεμψε πιστουμένη τὸν  
 βάρβαρον. καὶ ὁ μὲν παρεσκεύαζεν ἑαυτὸν χωρεῖν κατὰ τῆς τῶν  
 ἐσπερίων βασιλείας, ἐβουλεύετο δὲ ὅπως τὸν Ἀέτιον προκαταλάβοι·  
 μὴ γὰρ ἄλλως τεύξεσθαι τῆς ἐλπίδος, εἰ μὴ γε ἐκεῖνον ποιήσοιτο 15  
 ἐκποδῶν.

Ταῦτα τοῦν Θεοδόσιος μεμαθηκώς ἐπιστέλλει τῷ Βαλεν-  
 τινῷ τὴν Ὀνωρίαν ἐκπέμπεω τῷ Ἀττίλᾳ. καὶ ὁ μὲν συλλαβὼν τὸν  
 Ἱάκωνθον ἅπαντα διηρεῖν καὶ μετὰ πολλοὺς τοῦ σώματος  
 αἰκιμοὺς τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀπομηθῆναι ἐκέλευσεν. Ὀνωρίαν δὲ τὴν  
 ἀδελφὴν Βαλεντινιανὸς τῇ μητρὶ δῶρον ἔδωκε πολλὰ αἰτησαμένη 20  
 αὐτήν. οὕτως μὲν οὖν Ὀνωρία τότε τῆς . . . ἀπελύετο.  
 (Cf. *Suda* O 404; *Jordanes Get.* 42,223-24 = *Fr.* 22,1; *Rom.* 328;  
*Theophanes Chron. a.m.* 5943 = *Fr.* 21,3)

13 ἐβουλεύετο Müller [ἐβούλετο codd. 21 lac. indicavit Cramer

## Liber V

### 18

(Evagrius HE 2,1)

Μαρκιανὸς τοῦν, ὡς ἄλλοις τε πολλοῖς καὶ μὴν καὶ Πρίσκῳ  
 ἰστόρηται τῷ ῥήτορι, ἦν μὲν Θραξ γένος, ἀνδρὸς στρατιωτικοῦ παῖς·  
 ὅς γε τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς βιοτῆς μεταλαχῆν ἐπειγόμενος πρὸς τὴν  
 Φιλιππούπολιν τὰς ὁρμὰς ἔσχεν, ἔνθα καὶ στρατιωτικοῖς ἐδύνατο 5  
 ἐπὶ γῆς ἐρριμμένον· ὧ παρεστώς, ἦν γὰρ τὰ τε ἄλλα πανάριστος καὶ  
 ἐς τὰ μάλιστα φιλανθρωπότατος, ὥκτειρε τὸ γεγονός, καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ  
 τὴν πορείαν ἐπέιχε τῶν εἰκότων μεταδοῦναι βουλόμενος. ἐπειδὴ δέ  
 τινας τοῦτο τεθέανται, ταῖς ἐν τῇ Φιλιππουπόλει προσήγγελλον  
 ἀρχαῖς· αἱ τὸν Μαρκιανὸν παραλαβοῦσαι τὰ περὶ τῆς μαιφονίας 10  
 ἀνηρώτων. καὶ δὴ τῶν στοχασμῶν καὶ τῶν εἰκότων πλέον τῆς  
 ἀληθείας καὶ τῆς γλώσσης ἐσχηκότες, τὸν φόνον τε τᾶνδρὸς ἀνανο-  
 μένου καὶ μαιφόνου γε ποιῶς μέλλοντος ἀποτίσιν, θεία τις ἐξαπῆς  
 ῥοπή τὸν μαιφόνον παραδίδωσιν· ὅς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποθήμενος ποιῶν  
 τοῦ δράματος τὴν κεφαλὴν τῷ Μαρκιανῷ χαρίζεται. οὕτω παρα- 15  
 δόξως σωθεὶς ἐν τῇ τῶν αὐτόθι στρατιωτικῶν τελῶν ἀρικνεῖται,  
 ἐν αὐτῷ παραγγέλλει βουλόμενος. οἱ τὸν ἄνδρα θαυμάσαντες  
 μέγαν τε ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἀξιολογώτατον εἰκότως τεκμηράμενοι ἥδιστα

2 τὸ ante γένος add. V 7 ἐπὶ πολὺ [μικρόν τι Nicephorus 9 προήγγελλον B

unfortunate and disastrous state by sending the eunuch Hyacinthus to  
 Attila offering him money to avenge her marriage. In addition to this  
 she also sent her ring as her pledge to the barbarian. He was preparing  
 himself to go against the western Empire and was planning how he  
 might first capture Aetius, since he thought that he would not achieve  
 his object unless he eliminated him.

When Theodosius learned this, he sent to Valentinian to hand  
 Honoria over to Attila. But Valentinian arrested Hyacinthus and  
 carried out a thorough investigation of the matter. After inflicting  
 many tortures upon him, he ordered him decapitated. He gave Honoria,  
 his sister, as a gift to her mother, after the latter had made many re-  
 quests for her. In this manner at the time Honoria escaped . . .<sup>102</sup>  
 (Cf. *Suda* O 404; *Jordanes Get.* 42,223-24 = *Fr.* 22,1; *Rom.* 328;  
*Theophanes Chron. a.m.* 5943 = *Fr.* 21,3)

## Book V

### 18

(Evagrius HE 2,1)

Marcian, as many writers, and especially the rhetor Priscus, report,  
 was a Thracian and the son of a military man. He was eager to follow  
 the same career and was making his way to Philippopolis, where he  
 could enrol in the forces. On his way he saw a corpse which had been  
 recently slain and thrown onto the ground. Since he was an altogether  
 good man and especially kindly, when he came to the body, he grieved  
 at what had happened and, wishing to give it the proper rites, made  
 a considerable<sup>103</sup> break in his journey to do so. Some persons saw this  
 and reported it to the authorities in Philippopolis. They arrested  
 Marcian and were interrogating him about the murder. Inference from  
 the rites that he had performed carried more weight than his true  
 account, and, despite his denials of the murder, he was about to pay  
 the penalty for the killing when suddenly divine intervention revealed  
 the murderer. He was executed as punishment for his action and so  
 saved Marcian's neck. Having been thus unexpectedly saved, Marcian  
 approached one of the regiments there, wishing to be enrolled in it.  
 They were impressed by the man and, judging that he would probably  
 be a strong and most estimable soldier, gladly accepted him and enrolled



προσδέχονται, καὶ σφίσι αὐτοῖς ἐγκαταλέγουσι, οὐτι ἔσχατον, ὥς ὁ  
στρατιωτικὸς ἐθέλει νόμος, ἐς δέ τωα βαθμὸν ἄρτι τετελευτηκότος 20  
ἀνδρός (Αὐγουστος ὄνομα τούτω), Μαρκιανὸν τὸν καὶ Αὐγουστον ἐς  
τὴν παραγγελίαν ἐγγράψαντες, ὥς φθάσαι τοῦνομα τὴν προσηγο-  
ρίαν τῶν ἡμετέρων βασιλέων, τὸ καλεῖσθαι Αὐγουστοι μετὰ τῆς  
ἀλουργίδος περιβαλλομένων· ὥσπερ οὐκ ἀνασχομένου τοῦ ὀνόματος 25  
ἐπ' αὐτῷ χωρὶς τῆς ἀξίας μῆναι, μηδ' αὖ πάλιν τῆς ἀξίας ἕτερον  
ὄνομα ζητησάσης εἰς σεμνολόγημα, ὥστε κύριον καὶ προσηγορικὸν  
τὸ αὐτὸ καθεστάναι, διὰ μιᾶς κλήσεως τῆς τε ἀξιώσεως τῆς τε  
προσηγορίας σηματομένων. (Cf. Nicephorus Callistus HE 15,1)

21 τὸν καὶ [ὡς Bidez

## [19]

[(Suda A 3803)

Ἀρδαβούριος, υἱὸς Ἀσπαρος, γενναῖος τὸν θυμὸν καὶ τοὺς τὴν  
Θράκην πολλάκις καταδραμόντας βαρβάρους εὐρώστως ἀποκρουσά-  
μενος. τούτω οὖν γέρα ἀριστείων ὁ βασιλεὺς Μαρκιανὸς παρέσχετο  
τὴν ἑω στρατοπεδάρχίαν, καταλαβὼν δὲ ἐν εἰρήνῃ ταύτην ὁ στρα-  
τηγὸς πρὸς ἄνεσιν ἐτράπη καὶ βρασιώνῃν θηλυδριῶν. ἔχαιρε γὰρ 5  
μίμοις καὶ θαυματοποιῶν καὶ πᾶσι σκηνοῦν ἀνθρώποις, καὶ τοῖς  
τοιούτοις διημερεύων ἀισχροῖς ἡλόγει πάνπαν τῶν πρὸς εὐκλειαν  
τειώντων. Μαρκιανοῦ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως χρηστοῦ μὲν γεγονότος,  
θᾶπτον δὲ ἐκβεβιωκότος, αὐτοκελεύστῳ γνώμῃ Ἀσπαρ Λέοντα διά-  
δοχον αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι παρεσκεύασεν.] 10

6 σκηνῶν V

## 20

1. (Exc. de Leg. Gent. 7)

Ὅτι ὥς ἡγγέλθη τῷ Ἀττίλᾳ τὸν Μαρκιανὸν ἐς τὰ κατὰ τὴν  
ἑω Ῥωμαϊκὰ παρεληλυθέναι βασιλεία μετὰ τὴν Θεοδοσίου τελευτήν,  
ἡγγέλθη δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ τῆς Ὀνωρίας περὶ γεγενημένα, πρὸς μὲν  
τὸν κρατοῦντα τῶν ἐσπερίων Ῥωμαίων ἔστειλλε τοὺς διαλεξιμένους 5  
μηδὲν Ὀνωρίαν πλημμελεῖσθαι, ἣν ἑαυτῷ πρὸς γάμον κατενεγύησε·  
τιμωρήσῃ γὰρ αὐτῇ, εἰ μὴ καὶ τὰ τῆς βασιλείας ἀπολάβῃ σκῆπτρα.  
ἔπειπε δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐξῶν Ῥωμαίους τῶν ταχθέντων φόρων  
ἐνεκα, ἀπράκτων δὲ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν αὐτοῦ ἐπανεληθόντων  
πρέσβειων· οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῆς ἐσπέρας ἀπεκρίναντο Ὀνωρίαν αὐτῷ ἐς  
γάμον ἐλθεῖν μήτε δύνασθαι ἐκδομένην ἀνδρί· σκῆπτρον δὲ αὐτῇ 10  
μὴ ἀρεῖσθαι· οὐ γὰρ θηλειῶν, ἀλλὰ ἀρρένων ἡ τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς

him not at the bottom of the scale, as military regulations require,  
but in the place of a soldier recently dead, whose name was Augustus.  
They entered Marcian also as Augustus on the roll, and thus his name  
anticipated the title of our Emperors, who are hailed as Augustus while  
they are being clothed in the purple. For it is not acceptable that the  
Emperor bear the title without the rank, nor again does the rank  
require any other title to confer dignity upon it. As a result, the power  
and the title are conferred together, and the rank and the title are  
comprehended by this one word.<sup>104</sup>  
(Cf. Nicephorus Callistus HE 15,1)

## [19]

[(Suda A 3803)

Ardabur, the son of Aspar, a man of noble spirit who stoutly  
beat off the barbarians who frequently overran Thrace. As a reward  
for his prowess the Emperor Marcian made him general of the East.  
Since he received this office in time of peace, the general turned to  
self-indulgence and effeminate leisure. He amused himself with mimes  
and conjurors and stage spectacles, and, spending his days in such  
shameful pursuits, he took no thought at all for things that would  
bring him glory. Marcian, having proven himself a good Emperor,  
quickly passed away, and Aspar on his own initiative made Leo his  
successor.]<sup>105</sup>

## 20

1. (Exc. de Leg. Gent. 7)

When it was announced to Attila that Marcian had become  
Roman Emperor of the East after the death of Theodosius, what had  
happened in the case of Honoria was also reported to him. To the ruler  
of the western Romans he sent envoys to declare that Honoria, whom  
he had engaged to himself, should not be wronged at all and that, if  
she did not receive the sceptre of sovereignty, he would avenge her.  
He also sent to the eastern Romans over the appointed tribute. From  
both his envoys returned without achieving anything. The western  
Romans replied that Honoria could not come to him in marriage since  
she had been given to another and that she had no right to the sceptre  
since the rule of the Roman state belonged not to females but to males.

βασιλείας ἀρχή. οἱ δὲ τῆς ἔω ἔφασαν οὐχ ὑποστήσεσθαι τὴν τοῦ  
 φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν, ἣν ὁ Θεοδόσιος ἔταξεν· καὶ ἡσυχάζοντι μὲν δῶρα  
 δώσων, πόλεμον δὲ ἀπειλοῦντι ὅπλα καὶ ἄνδρας ἐπάξων τῆς αὐτοῦ μὴ  
 λειπομένους δυνάμεως. ἐμερίζετο οὖν τὴν γνώμην καὶ διηπόρει 15  
 ποίοις πρότερον ἐπιθήσεται, καὶ ἔχων αὐτῷ ἐδόκει καλῶς τέως ἐπὶ  
 τὸν μείζονα τρέπεσθαι πόλεμον καὶ ἐς τὴν ἐσπέραν στρατεύεσθαι,  
 τῆς μάχης αὐτῷ μὴ μόνον πρὸς Ἰταλιώτας, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς Γότθους  
 καὶ Φράγγους ἐσομένης, πρὸς μὲν Ἰταλιώτας ὥστε τὴν Ὀνωρίαν  
 μετὰ τῶν χρημάτων λαβεῖν, πρὸς δὲ Γότθους χάρῳ Γεζεριχῶ 20  
 κατατιθέμενον.

15 τῇ γνώμῃ de Boor

2. (Jordanes *Get.* 36,184)

Huius ergo mentem ad vastationem orbis paratam comperiens  
 Gyzericus, rex Vandalorum, quem paulo ante memoravimus, multis  
 muneribus ad Vesegotharum bella precipitat, metuens, ne Theo-  
 dorus Vesegotharum rex filiae suae ulcisceretur iniuriam, quae 5  
 Hunerico Gyzerici filio iuncta prius quidem tanto coniugio laeta-  
 retur, sed postea, ut erat ille et in sua pignora truculentus, ob sus-  
 picionem tantummodo veneni ab ea parati, naribus abscisam  
 truncatamque auribus, spoliens decore naturali, patri suo ad Gallias  
 remiserat, ut turpe funus miseranda semper offerret et crudelitas, 10  
 qua etiam moverentur externi, vindictam patris efficacius impetraret.

1 urbis XYZ 10 imperaret B

3. (Exc. de Leg. Gent. 8)

“Ὅτι τῷ Ἀττίλῃ ἦν τοῦ πρὸς Φράγγους πολέμου πρόφασις ἡ  
 τοῦ σφῶν βασιλείως τελευτὴ καὶ ἡ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν ἐκείνου παίδων  
 διαφορά, τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου μὲν Ἀττίλῃ, τοῦ δὲ νεωτέρου Ἀέτιον ἐπὶ  
 συμμαχία ἐπάγεσθαι ἐγνωκότος· ὃν κατὰ τὴν Ῥώμην εἶδομεν πρεσ-  
 βυρόμενον μήπω ἰούλου ἀρχόμενον, ξανθὸν τὴν κόμην τοῖς αὐτοῦ 5  
 περικεχυμένην διὰ μέγεθος ὤμοις. θειὸν δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀέτιος ποιη-  
 σάμενος παῖδα καὶ πλεῖστα δῶρα δοῦς ἅμα τῷ βασιλεύοντι ἐπὶ φιλίᾳ  
 τε καὶ ὁμαιχμίᾳ ἀπέπεμψεν. τούτων ἕνεκα ὁ Ἀττίλῃς τὴν ἐκστρα-  
 τεῖαν ποιούμενος αὐτῶν ἁμῶν αὐτὸν ἄνδρα ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν 10  
 ἐπέμπευ ὥστε τὴν Ὀνωρίαν ἐκδιδόναι· εἶναι γὰρ αὐτῷ ἡρμοσμένην  
 πρὸς γάμον, τεκμήριον ποιούμενος τὸν παρ’ αὐτῆς πεμφθέντα  
 δακτύλιον, ὃν καὶ ἐπιδειχθῆσόμενον ἐστάλλκει· παραχωρεῖν δὲ αὐτῷ  
 τὸν Βαλεντιανὸν καὶ τοῦ ἡμίσεως τῆς βασιλείας μέρος, ὥς καὶ τῆς

4-5 πρεσβυρόμενοι Niebuhr 6 περικεχυμένον Bekker

The eastern Romans said that they would not consent to pay the  
 tribute agreed by Theodosius and that if he kept the peace they would  
 give him gifts, but if he threatened war they would bring against him  
 men and weaponry equal to his own forces. Attila was undecided and  
 at a loss as to whom he should attack first, but it seemed best for him  
 first to undertake the greater war and march against the West. For there  
 he would be fighting against not only the Italians, but also the Goths  
 and the Franks – against the Italians to secure Honoria and her wealth  
 and against the Goths in order to please Gaiseric.

2. (Jordanes *Get.* 36,184)

When Gaiseric, the king of the Vandals whom I have mentioned  
 shortly before, learned that Attila’s mind was set upon laying waste the  
 world, with many gifts he urged him on to war against the Visigoths,  
 since he feared lest Theodorid, the king of the Visigoths, would avenge  
 the injury to his daughter. She had been married to Huneric, Gaiseric’s  
 son, and was at first happy in such a marriage. But because he was  
 hostile towards his family, on the mere suspicion of preparing poison  
 for him he had her ears and nose cut off and sent her back to her father  
 in Gaul, her natural beauty ruined. Thus the wretched woman con-  
 tinually offered a terrible sight, and the act of cruelty, which moved  
 even strangers, strongly urged her father to avenge her.<sup>106</sup>

3. (Exc. de Leg. Gent. 8)

Attila’s excuse for war against the Franks was the death of their  
 king and dissension between his sons over the sovereignty.<sup>107</sup> The elder  
 decided to bring in Attila as his ally, the younger Aetius. The latter we  
 saw when he was on an embassy to Rome. His first beard had not yet  
 begun to grow, and his yellow hair was so long that it poured over  
 his shoulders. Aetius had made him his adopted son and, along with  
 the Emperor, had given him many gifts and sent him away as a friend  
 and an ally.<sup>108</sup>

Attila, who was making his expedition for these reasons, again  
 sent men of his court to Italy that Honoria might be handed over. He  
 claimed that she had been betrothed to him and as proof sent the  
 ring which she had despatched to him in order that it might be shown.  
 He said also that Valentinian should resign to him half of his empire,

Ὀνωρίας διαδεξαμένης μὲν παρὰ πατρός τὴν ἀρχήν, ταύτης δὲ τῇ  
τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἀφαιρεθεῖσαν πλεονεξία. ὥς δὲ οἱ ἐσπέριοι Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς  
προτέρας ἐχόμενοι γνώμης πρὸς οὐδὲν τῶν αὐτῷ δεδομένων  
ὑπήκουον, εἶχετο μᾶλλον τῆς τοῦ πολέμου παρασκευῆς πᾶν τὸ τῶν  
μαχίμων ἀγείρων πλήθος.

## 21

1. (*Chron. Pasch.* pp.587f.)

Ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας Θεοδοσίου καὶ Οὐαλεντιανοῦ Αὐγούστων  
ἐπεστράτευσεν κατὰ Ῥώμης καὶ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Ἀττίλας ὁ ἐκ  
τοῦ γένους τῶν Γηπέδων Οὐννων, ἔχων πλήθος μυριάδων πολλῶν.  
καὶ ἐδήλωσεν διὰ Γότθου ἐνὸς πρεσβευτοῦ Οὐαλεντιανῷ βασιλεῖ  
Ῥώμης, Ἐκέλευσέ σοι δι' ἐμοῦ ὁ δεσπότης μου καὶ δεσπότης σου  
Ἀττίλας ἵνα εὐτρεπίσῃς αὐτῷ παλάτιον. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Θεοδοσίῳ  
βασιλεῖ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει ἐδήλωσεν δι' ἐνὸς Γότθου  
πρεσβευτοῦ. καὶ ἀκηκοὺς Ἀέτιος ὁ πρῶτος συγκλητικὸς Ῥώμης τὴν  
ὑπερβάλλουσιν τόλμαν τῆς ἀπονενομημένης ἀποκρίσεως Ἀττίλα,  
ἀπῆλθε πρὸς Ἀλλάριχον εἰς τὰς Γαλλίας, ὅντα ἐχθρὸν Ῥώμης διὰ  
Ὀνώριον, καὶ προετρέψατο αὐτὸν ἅμα αὐτῷ κατὰ Ἀττίλα, ἐπειδὴ  
ἀπώλεσεν πόλεις πολλὰς τῆς Ῥώμης. καὶ ἐξαίρῃς ἐπιρρίψαντες  
αὐτῷ, ὥς ἔστω ἡπληκτεμένος πλησίον τοῦ Δανουβίου ποταμοῦ,  
ἔκοψαν αὐτοῦ χιλιάδας πολλὰς· εἰς δὲ τὴν συμβολὴν ὁ Ἀλλάριχος  
πληγὴν λαβὼν ἀπὸ σαγίττας τελευτᾷ. ὥσαυτως δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἀττίλας  
τελευτᾷ καταρορᾷ αἵματος διὰ τῶν ῥινῶν ἐνεχθεὶς νυκτὸς μετὰ  
Οὐννας παλλακίδος αὐτοῦ καθεύδων, ἥτις κόρη καὶ ὑπενόηθη ὅτι  
αὐτὴ ἀνεῖλεν αὐτόν· περὶ οὗ πολέμου συνεγράψατο ὁ σοφώτατος  
Πρίσκοις ὁ Θράξ.

(Cf. Malalas *Chron.* pp.358f.)

6 παλάτιον P παλάτην V

[2. (Theophanes *Chron. a.m.* 5943)

Ὁ δὲ Ἀττίλας ἐπανίσταται τοῖς βασιλεῦσι . . . <τῷ βασιλεῖ>  
Ῥώμης Οὐαλεντιανῷ, διότι οὐκ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ εἰς γυναῖκα τὴν  
οἰκίαν ἀδελφῆν Ὀνωρίαν· καὶ ἐλθὼν μέχρι πόλεως Αὐρηλίας,  
συμπλακεῖς Ἀετίῳ, τῷ στρατηγῷ Ῥωμαίων καὶ ἡττηθεὶς, πλείσ-  
τους ἀποβαλὼν τῆς δυνάμεως παρὰ Λίγυν ποταμὸν ὑπέστρεψε  
κατησχυμμένος.]

1 τῷ βασιλεῖ addidi 3 οἰκίαν b [ιδίαν xyz 4 καὶ ante συμπλακεῖς habent  
xyz

since Honoria had received the sovereignty of it from her father and  
had been deprived of it by her brother's greed. When the Romans  
maintained their earlier position and rejected all of his proposals,  
Attila pressed on more eagerly with his preparations for war and  
mustered all of his fighting force.

## 21

1. (*Chron. Pasch.* pp.587f.)

During the reigns of the Emperors Theodosius and Valentinian,  
Attila, of the race of the Gepid Huns, marched against Rome and  
Constantinople, having an army of many tens of thousands. Through  
a Gothic envoy he declared to the Emperor Valentinian, "Through me  
Attila, my lord and yours, has ordered you to make ready the palace for  
him". Likewise, through a Gothic envoy he sent the same message to  
the Emperor Theodosius at Constantinople. When Aetius, the leader of  
the Roman senate, heard the overbearing insolence of the reply<sup>109</sup> which  
Attila had made, he went off to Gaul to Alaric,<sup>110</sup> who was an enemy of  
Rome on account of Honorius, and made him his ally against Attila,  
since the latter had destroyed many cities of the Roman Empire. They  
suddenly fell upon him while he was encamped near to the river Danube  
and slaughtered many thousands of his men. In the fighting Alaric was  
struck by an arrow and killed. Similarly, Attila too was carried off by a  
haemorrhage from the nose as he was sleeping with his Hunnic con-  
cubine, as a result of which the girl was suspected of his murder. The  
most wise Priscus the Thracian wrote about this war.<sup>111</sup>  
(Cf. Malalas *Chron.* pp.358f.)

[2. (Theophanes *Chron. a.m.* 5943)

Attila attacked the Emperors . . . Valentinian, <the Emperor>  
of Rome, because he had not given him his sister Honoria in marriage.  
He advanced as far as the city of Orleans where he met Aetius, the  
general of the Romans. Having been defeated with the loss of a large  
part of his force by the river Ligus, he beat a dishonourable retreat.]

1. (Jordanes *Get.* 42,219-24)

Attila vero nacta occasione de secessu Vesegotharum, et, quod saepe optaverat, cernens hostium solutione per partes, mox iam securus ad oppressionem Romanorum movit procinctum, primaque adgressione Aquileiensem obsidet civitatem, quae est metropolis Venetiarum, in mucrone vel lingua Atriatici posita sinus, cuius ab oriente murus Natissa amnis fluens a monte Piccis elambit. ibique cum diu multumque obsidens nihil paenitus praevaleret, fortissimis intrinsecus Romanorum militibus resistentibus, exercitu iam murmurante et discedere cupiente, Attila deambulans circa muros, dum, utrum solveret castra an adhuc remoraretur, deliberat, animadvertit candidas aves, id est ciconias, qui in fastigia domorum nidificant, de civitate foetos suos trahere atque contra morem per rura forinsecus conportare. et ut erat sagacissimus inquisitor, pressensit et ad suos: "respicite", inquit, "aves futurarum rerum providas perituram relinquere civitatem casurasque arces periculo imminente deserere. non hoc vacuum, non hoc credatur incertum; rebus presciis consuetudinem mutat ventura formido." quid plura? animos suorum rursus ad oppugnandam Aquileiam inflammat. qui machinis constructis omniaque genera tormentorum adhibita, nec mora et invadunt civitatem, spoliando, dividunt vastantque crudeliter, ita ut vix eius vestigia ut appareat reliquerunt. exhinc iam audaciores et necdum Romanorum sanguine satiiati per reliquas Venetum civitates Hunni bacchantur. Mediolanum quoque Liguria metropolim et quondam regiam urbem pari tenore devastant nec non et Ticinum aequali sorte deiciunt vicinaque loca saevientes allidunt demoluntque pene totam Italiam.

Cumque ad Romam animus fuisset eius adtentus accedere, sui eum, ut Priscus historicus refert, removerunt, non urbi, cui inimici erant, consulentes, sed Alarici quondam Vesegotharum regis obicientes exemplo, veriti regis sui fortunam, quia ille post fractam Romam non diu supervixerit, sed protinus rebus humanis excessit. igitur dum eius animus ancipiti negotio inter ire et non ire fluctuaret secumque deliberans tardaret, placida ei legatio a Roma advenit. nam Leo papa per se ad eum accedens in agro Venetum Ambuleio,

1 recessu SOB discessu XYZ    2 dissolutionem XYZ    4 urbem A    10 moraretur SOB<sup>b</sup>  
 11 qui HPVLSO [quae ABXY    12 aedificantur SO  
 13 ut erat (hoc sicut erat B    13-14 persensit SB    19 tormentorum [arma-  
 21 et hinc SXYZ    24 timore O    30 quia [quod XYZ  
 33 pervenit XYZ

1. (Jordanes *Get.* 42,219-24)

But Attila seized his opportunity upon the withdrawal of the Visigoths and, observing what he had often hoped for, that his enemies were divided, he thereupon confidently moved his army to attack the Romans. At the beginning of his attack he besieged the city of Aquileia, the metropolis of Venetia, which lies on a point or a tongue of the Adriatic Gulf. To the East its walls are washed by the river Natissa, which flows from Mount Piccis. Although he pressed the siege there long and hard, he made no progress at all, since from within the bravest of the Roman soldiers opposed him. The army was already muttering and wishing to leave when Attila, as he was walking around the walls deliberating whether he should break camp or remain longer, noticed some white birds which make their nests on rooftops (that is to say, storks) taking their young away from the city and, contrary to their custom, conveying them out into the country. Since he was very skilled at interpreting events, he drew his conclusions and said to his men, "Look at the birds, which can foresee the future, leaving the city because it will perish and deserting their strongholds which will fall to the danger threatening them. Do not think that this is without meaning or certainty, for they foresee events and change their behaviour out of fear of what is to come." What more did he have to say? He aroused their spirits to renew their attack on Aquileia; they built machines and brought up all kinds of artillery and quickly entered the city, which they despoiled, smashed asunder and devastated so savagely that they left hardly a trace of it to be seen. Then, growing bolder and still not sated in their thirst for Roman blood, the Huns raged through the other cities of Venetia. Milan, the metropolis of Liguria and once an imperial city, they destroyed in the same manner and condemned Ticinum to a similar fate. Then in their rampage they devastated the neighbouring districts and wrecked almost the whole of Italy.

Although Attila's mind was set upon going to Rome, his followers, as the historian Priscus tells us, deterred him, not out of consideration for the city, to which they were hostile, but confronting him with the example of Alaric, who was once the king of the Visigoths. For they feared for the fortune of their king because after the sack of Rome Alaric did not long survive but straightaway died. Therefore, while his mind was in doubt and vacillating between going and not going and he was proceeding slowly as he deliberated, a peace mission came to him from Rome. For Pope Leo in person came to him in the district of Ambuleium in Venetia, at the place where a busy ford crosses the river

ubi Mincius amnis commeantium frequentatione transiit. qui mox deposuit exercitatu furore et rediens, quo venerat, iter ultra Danubium promissa pace discessit, illud pre omnibus denuntians atque interminando decernens, graviora se in Italia inlaturum, nisi ad se Honoriam Valentiniani principis germanam, filiam Placidiae Augustae, cum portione sibi regali opum debita mitterent. ferebatur enim, quia haec Honoria, dum propter aulae decus ad castitatem teneretur nutu fratris inclusa, clam eunucho misso Attilam invitasse, ut contra fratris potentiam eius patrociniis uteretur: prorsus indignum facinus, ut licentiam libidinis malo publico conpararet.

42 motu O clam [clandestino O<sup>2</sup>BXY

## 2. (Procopius Wars 3,4,29-35)

Ἀετίου γοῦν τελευτήσαντος Ἀττίλας, οὐδενός οἱ ἀντιπάλου ὄντος, Εὐρώπην τε ξύμπασαν πόνῳ οὐδενὶ ἐληίζετο καὶ βασιλείαν ἐκατέραν ἐπακούουσιν ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν ἔσχε. δασμοὶ γὰρ αὐτῷ πρὸς τῶν βασιλέων ἐπέμποντο ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος. τότε τῷ Ἀττίλᾳ πόλιν Ἀκυλῆϊαν πολιορκοῦντι μεγάλην τε καὶ ἀτεχνῶς πολυάνθρωπον, παραλίαν μὲν, ἐκτός δὲ κόλπου τοῦ Ἰονίου οὔσαν, τοιόνδε φασὶν εὐτύχημα ξυνεγενέσθαι. λέγουσι γὰρ αὐτόν, ἐπεὶ οὕτως οὔτε βία οὔτε τῷ ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ οἷός τε ἦν τὸ χωρίον ἐλεῖν, πρὸς τε τὴν προσεδρεῖαν ἀπειπεῖν, ἥδη ἐπὶ μακρότατον γεγενημένην, καὶ ἅπαν κελεῦσαι τὸ στράτευμα τὰ ἐς τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἐν παρασκευῇ αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ποικίλασθαι, ὅπως δὴ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐνθὲνδε ἅπαντες ἐξανιστῶνται ἅμα ἡλίῳ ἀνίσχοντι. ἡμέρᾳ δὲ τῇ ἐπιγενομένη ἀμφὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολὰς λύσαντας μὲν τὴν προσεδρεῖαν τοὺς βαρβάρους τῆς ἀφόδου ἔχουσιν ἤδη, ἓνα δὲ πελαργὸν ἐπὶ πύργῳ τῶν τοῦ πόλεως περιβόλου καλιάν τε ἔχοντα καὶ νεοττοὺς τρέφοντα ἐνθὲνδε ἐκ τοῦ αἰωνιδίου ξὺν τοῖς τέκνοις ἐξαναστῆναι. καὶ τὸν μὲν πατέρα πελαργὸν ἵπτασθαι, τοὺς δὲ πελαργιδεῖς, ἅτε οὐκ ἐκπετησίμους παντάπασιν ὄντας, τὰ μὲν αὐτῷ μετέχουσιν τῆς πτήσεως, τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ νώτου τοῦ πατρὸς φέρεσθαι, οὕτως τε ἀποπτάντας τῆς πόλεως ἐκαστάτω γενέσθαι. ὁ δὲ Ἀττίλαν κατιδόντα (ἦν γὰρ δεινότητος ξυνεῖναι τε καὶ ξυμβαλεῖν ἅπαντα) κελεῦσαι τὸν στρατὸν αὐθις ἐν χώρῳ τῷ αὐτῷ μένειν, ἐπειπόντα οὐκ ἂν ποτε εἰκὴ ἐνθὲνδε ἀποπτάντα ξὺν τοῖς νεοττοῖς τὸν ὄρνιν οἴχεσθαι, εἰ μὴ τι ἐμμετεῖτο φλαῦρον οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν τῷ χωρίῳ ξυμβήσεσθαι. οὕτως μὲν τὸ τῶν βαρβάρων στρατόπεδον αὐθις ἐς τὴν πολιορκίαν καταστῆναι φασί, τοῦ δὲ περιβόλου μοῖραν τινα οὐ πολλῶν ὕστερον ἐκείνην, ἢ τὴν τοῦ ὄρνιθος

13 ἀφόδου V 15 τρέφοντα [φέροντα V 20 ξυνεῖναι [ξυνιδεῖν V

Mincius.<sup>112</sup> Attila soon abandoned his usual fury and, with a promise of peace, retreated beyond the Danube by the way by which he had come. But before all he declared, emphasising it with threats, that he would cause even heavier damage to Italy unless they sent to him Honoria, the sister of the Emperor Valentinian and the daughter of Placidia Augusta, together with that part of the royal wealth which was her due. For it was said that this Honoria, while she was confined at the behest of her brother and compelled to remain chaste in keeping with the dignity of the court, secretly sent an eunuch and summoned Attila, in order that she might make use of his protection against the power of her brother — a shameful act, indeed, to obtain freedom for one's lust at the cost of harm to the state.

## 2. (Procopius Wars 3,4,29-35)

After the death of Aetius,<sup>113</sup> Attila, since no one stood in his way, ravaged the whole of Europe without difficulty, compelled both parts of the Empire to obey his commands and forced them to pay tribute. For payments were sent to him every year by the Emperors. At that time they say that while Attila was besieging Aquileia, a large and very populous city on the coast beyond the Ionic gulf, the following stroke of good fortune befell him. They say that since neither by force nor by any other means was he able to take the place, he had abandoned the siege, which had already lasted for a very long time, and had ordered the whole of his army immediately to prepare everything for the retreat, so that at sunrise on the following day they might all quit the place. On the following day about sunrise, when the barbarians had raised the siege and were already departing, a single male stork, which had its nest on one of the towers of the city's circuit wall and was raising its young there, suddenly left the place together with its fledgelings. The father stork was flying, and the young storks, which were not fully fledged, sometimes flew with him and at others were carried on his back; and thus they flew very far away from the city. When Attila saw this (for he was very skilled at understanding and interpreting everything), he ordered his army to remain still in the same place, saying that the bird would never have gone flying off from there with its young and with no particular destination, unless it was foretelling that some disaster would strike the place within a very short time. Thus, they say, the barbarian army again settled down to the siege, and shortly afterwards the very part of the circuit wall which held

τούτου καλιάν εἶχεν, ἀπ' οὐδεμιᾶς αἰτίας ἐξαπναίως καταπεσεῖν καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ταύτῃ ἐσιτητὰ ἐς τὴν πόλιν γενέσθαι, οὕτω τε τὴν Ἀκυληίαν κατὰ κράτος ἀλῶναι. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τῇ Ἀκυληίᾳ ταύτῃ πη ἔσχευεν.

30

## [3. (Suda M 405)

Μεδιολάνων . . . πολυάνθρωπος πόλις, ἣν καταλαβὼν Ἀττίλας ἡνδραποδίσαστο. ὥς δὲ εἶδεν ἐν γραφῇ τοὺς μὲν Ῥωμαίων βασιλεῖς ἐπὶ χρυσῶν θρόνων καθημένους, Σκύθας δὲ ἀνηρημένους καὶ πρὸ τῶν σφῶν ποδῶν κειμένους, ζητήσας ζωγράφον ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν μὲν γράφειν ἐπὶ θάκου, τοὺς δὲ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεῖς κωρύκους φέρεω ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων καὶ χρυσὸν πρὸ τῶν αὐτοῦ χέειν ποδῶν. (Cf. K 2123)]

5

4 σφῶν ποδῶν A [ποδῶν αὐτῶν GVM]

## 23

## 1. (Exc. de Leg. Gent. 9)

Ὅτι ὁ Ἀττίλας μετὰ τὸ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀνδραποδίσασθαι ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα ἀναξεύξας τοῖς κρατοῦσι τῶν ἐσῶν Ῥωμαίων πόλεμον καὶ ἀνδραποδισμόν τῆς χώρας κατήγγελλεν, ὥς μὴ ἐκπεμφθέντος τοῦ παρὰ Θεοδοσίου τεταγμένου φόρου.

## [2. (Jordanes Get. 43,225)

Reversus itaque Attila in sedes suas et quasi otii penitens graviterque ferens a bello cessare, ad Orientis principem Marcianum legatos dirigit, provinciarum testans vastationem, quod sibi promissum a Theodosio quondam imperatore minime persolveretur, et inhumanior solito suis hostibus appareret.]

5

1 itaque [namque A suas [proprias X propria Y 4 minime [munus A persolveretur [solveretur A

## 3. (Exc. de Leg. Rom. 6)

Ὅτι τοῦ Ἀττίλα <τὸν> παρὰ Θεοδοσίου τεταγμένον φόρον ζητοῦντος ἢ πόλεμον ἀπειλοῦντος, τῶν Ῥωμαίων στέλλειν παρ' αὐτὸν πρέσβεις ἀποκρυαμένων, Ἀπολλώνιος ἐπέμπετο, οὐπὲρ ὁ ἀδελφὸς τὴν Σατορνίλου γεγαμήκει θυγατέρα, ἣν ὁ Θεοδόσιος ἐβούλετο Κωνσταντίῳ κατεγγυᾶν, Ζήνων δὲ Ῥούφῳ ἐδεδώκει πρὸς γάμον· τότε δὲ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἐγεγόνει. τοῦ Ζήνωνος οὖν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος γεγονώς καὶ τὴν στρατηγίδα λαχὼν ἀρχὴν παρὰ τὸν Ἀττίλαν ἐπέμπετο πρεσβευσόμενος, καὶ τὸν μὲν Ἰστρον ἐπεραιούτο, οὐκ ἔτυχε δὲ τῆς πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον προσόδου. ἐν ὁργῇ

5

1 τὸν add. Bekker 9 προσόδου Hoeschel [πρόδου codd.]

that bird's nest suddenly collapsed for no reason. At that point the enemy gained access to the city, and so Aquileia was taken by storm. This is what befell Aquileia.

## [3. (Suda M 405)

Milan, a very populous city which Attila captured and enslaved. When he saw in a painting the Roman Emperors sitting upon golden thrones and Scythians lying dead before their feet, he sought out a painter and ordered him to paint Attila upon a throne and the Roman Emperors heaving sacks upon their shoulders and pouring out gold before his feet. (Cf. K 2123)]

## 23

## 1. (Exc. de Leg. Gent. 9)

After enslaving Italy Attila returned to his own territories and threatened the rulers of the eastern Romans with war and the enslavement of their land because the tribute agreed by Theodosius had not been sent.

## [2. (Jordanes Get. 43,225)

Attila returned, therefore, to his own lands and, as if he regretted the peace and were angry that he was not at war, sent envoys to Marcian, the Emperor of the East, threatening to devastate his provinces because what the previous Emperor, Theodosius, had promised had not been sent and in order that he might appear still more cruel to his enemies.]

## 3. (Exc. de Leg. Rom. 6)

When Attila demanded the tribute agreed by Theodosius and threatened war, the Romans replied that they were sending envoys to him, and they sent Apollonius. His brother had married Saturnilus' daughter, whom Theodosius had wished to betroth to Constantius, but whom Zeno had given in marriage to Rufus; then he had died.<sup>114</sup> Therefore, Apollonius, one of Zeno's associates who held the rank of general, was sent to Attila as ambassador. He crossed the Danube but was not given admittance to the barbarian. For Attila was angry that

γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ποιούμενος τὸ μὴ κεκομίσθαι τοὺς φόρους, οὓς ἔλεγεν 10  
 αὐτῷ παρὰ τῶν βελτιόνων καὶ βασιλικωτέρων τετάχθαι, οὐδὲ τὸν  
 πρεσβευσάμενον ἐδέχετο τοῦ πέμπαντος κατολιγωρῶν. ὁ δὲ Ἀπολ-  
 λώνιος ἀνδρὸς ἔργον κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν φαίνεται διαπραξά-  
 μενος. τοῦ γὰρ Ἀττήλα μὴ προσιεμένου τὴν αὐτοῦ πρεσβεΐαν μὴδὲ ἐς 15  
 λόγους αὐτῷ ἐλθεῖν βουλομένου, παρακελευομένου δὲ πέμπειν ἅπερ  
 αὐτῷ ἐκ βασιλέως δῶρα ἐκόμψεν, καὶ θάνατον ἀπειλοῦντος, εἰ μὴ  
 δοίη, ἔφησεν· οὐκ αἰτεῖν προσήκε Σκύθαις ἅπερ αὐτοῖς ἔξεστω ἢ  
 δῶρα ἢ σκύλα λαβεῖν, παραδηλῶν δῶρα μὲν αὐτοῖς δοθήσεσθαι, εἰ 20  
 αὐτὸν προσδέξωτο πρεσβευόμενον, σκύλα δέ, εἰ ἀνελόντες ἀφέ-  
 λωτο. οὕτω μὲν οὖν ἄπρακτος ἐπανήει.

## 24

1. (Jordanes *Get.* 49,254-55; [256-58])

Qui, ut Priscus historicus refert, exitus sui tempore puellam  
 Ildico nomine decoram valde sibi in matrimonio post innumerabiles  
 uxores, ut mos erat gentis illius, socians eiusque in nuptiis hilaritate  
 nimia resolutus, vino somnoque gravatus resupinus iaceret, re- 5  
 dundans sanguis, qui ei solite de naribus effluebat, dum consuetis  
 meatibus impeditur, itinere ferali faucibus illapsus extinxit. ita  
 glorioso per bella regi temulentia pudendos exitos dedit. sequenti  
 vero luce cum magna pars diei fuisset exempta, ministri regii triste  
 aliquid suspicantes post clamores maximos fores effringunt in-  
 veniuntque Attilae sine ullo vulnere necem sanguinis effusione 10  
 peractam puellamque demisso vultu sub velamine lacrimantem. tunc,  
 ut gentis illius mos est, crinium parte truncata informes facies cavis  
 turpavere vulneribus, ut proeliorum eximius non femineis lamen-  
 tationibus et lacrimis, sed sanguine lugeretur virile, de quo id accessit  
 mirabile, ut Marciano principi Orientis de tam feroci hoste sollicito 15  
 in somnis divinitas adiciens arcum Attilae in eadem nocte fractum  
 ostenderet, quasi quod gens ipsa eo telo multum praesumat. hoc  
 Priscus historicus vera se dicit adtestatione probare. nam in tantum  
 magnis imperiis Attila terribilis habitus est, ut eius mortem in locum  
 muneris superna regnantibus indicarent. 20

[Cuius manes quibus a sua gente honoratae sunt, pauca de  
 multis dicere non omittamus. in mediis si quidem campis et intra  
 tenturia sirica cadavere conlocato spectaculum admirandum et  
 sollemniter exhibetur. nam de tota gente Hunnorum lectissimi

1 exitii HPA extinctionis OB 5 affluebat HB 6 elapsus HPVLA 8 regni  
 O 13 turbavere HVLA 21 modis post quibus habet B 24 sollemne  
 B<sup>b</sup>XYZ electissimi B

the tribute, which he said was agreed with him by better and more kingly  
 men, had not been brought, and he would not receive the ambassador  
 since he scorned the one who had sent him. On that occasion Apollonius  
 performed what was clearly the act of a brave man. For when Attila  
 would not receive his embassy and refused to speak with him, but  
 ordered him to send whatever gifts he had brought from the Emperor,  
 threatening to kill him if he did not hand them over, Apollonius replied,  
 "It is not right for the Scythians to demand what they can take either  
 as gifts or as spoils". He meant that they would be given as gifts to them  
 if they received him as ambassador and would be spoils if they killed  
 him and took them away. Thus he left having accomplished nothing.

## 24

1. (Jordanes *Get.* 49,254-55; [256-58])

At the time of his death, as the historian Priscus relates, [Attila],  
 after countless other wives, took in marriage according to the custom of  
 his race a very beautiful girl named Ildico. At his wedding he gave him-  
 self up to excessive celebration and he lay down on his back sodden with  
 wine and sleep. He suffered a haemorrhage, and the blood, which would  
 ordinarily have drained through his nose, was unable to pass through the  
 usual passages and flowed in its deadly course down his throat, killing  
 him. Thus drunkenness brought a shameful end to a king who had won  
 glory in war. On the morrow, when most of the day had passed, the  
 king's attendants, suspecting something was amiss, first shouted loudly  
 and then broke open the doors. They found Attila unwounded but dead  
 from a haemorrhage and the girl weeping with downcast face beneath  
 her veil. Then, after the custom of their race, they cut off part of their  
 hair and disfigured their already hideous faces with deep wounds to  
 mourn the famous warrior not with womanly tears and wailings, but  
 with the blood of men. In connection with his death the following mar-  
 vel occurred. Marcian, the Emperor of the East, was troubled over such  
 a fierce enemy, and in his sleep a divine figure stood by him and showed  
 him the bow of Attila broken that very night — for the Huns place much  
 store by that weapon. This story the historian Priscus says he accepts  
 upon reliable evidence.<sup>115</sup> For so terrible was Attila held to be to great  
 empires, that the powers above revealed his death to their rulers as  
 a boon.

[We shall not omit to describe a few of the many ways in which  
 his spirit was honoured by his race. In the middle of a plain his body was  
 laid out in a silken tent, and a remarkable spectacle was solemnly per-  
 formed. For in the place where he had been laid out the best horsemen

equites in eo loco, quo erat positus, in modum circensium cursibus  
ambientes, facta eius cantu funereo tali ordine referebant.

"Praecipuus Hunnorum rex Attila, patre genitus Mundzuc,  
fortissimarum gentium dominus, qui inaudita ante se potentia solus  
Scythica et Germanica regna possedit nec non utraque Romani urbis  
imperia captis civitatibus terruit et, ne praedae reliqua subderentur,  
placatus praecibus annuum vectigal accepit: cumque haec omnia  
proventu felicitatis egerit, non vulnere hostium, non fraude suorum,  
sed gente incolume inter gaudia laetus sine sensu doloris occubuit.  
quis ergo hunc exitum putet, quem nullus aestimat vindicandum?"

Postquam talibus lamentis est defletus, stravam super tumulum  
eius quam appellant ipsi ingenti commensatione concelebrant, et  
contraria invicem sibi copulantes luctu funereo mixto gaudio  
explicabant, noctuque secreto cadaver terra reconditum coopercula  
primum auro, secundum argento, tertium ferri rigore communiunt,  
significantes tali argumento potentissimo regi omnia convenisse:  
ferrum, quod gentes edomuit, aurum et argentum, quod ornatum rei  
publicae utriusque acceperit. addunt arma hostium caedibus ad-  
quisita, faleras vario gemmarum fulgore praetiosas et diversi generis  
insignia, quibus colitur aulicum decus. et, ut tantis divitiis humana  
curiositas arceretur, operi deputatos detestabili mercede trucidarunt,  
emersitque momentanea mos sepelientibus cum sepulto.]

34 dicat exitum OB 36 celebrant B 38 explicabant OBXY [celebrabant  
AHPVL 44 aulicum [aliquod OB

## 2. (Theophanes *Chron. a.m.* 5946)

Ὁ δὲ Ἀττίλας εὐτρεπίζετο πολεμῆσαι Μαρκιανῷ μὴ ἀνεχο-  
μένῳ τὸν φόρον αὐτῷ παρασχέσθαι τὸν ὑπὸ Θεοδοσίου ταχθέντα.  
μεταξὺ δὲ κόρης εὐπρεποῦς τῆς ἑρασθείς καὶ τὸν πρὸς αὐτὴν γάμον  
ἐπιτελῶν ὀνῳθείς τε σφόδρα καὶ ὑπνῷ βαρθηθείς, αἵματος ἀθρόου  
διὰ ῥινῶν τε καὶ τοῦ στόματος ἐνεχθέντος, τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον. τὴν δὲ  
τοσαύτην αὐτοῦ δυναστείαν οἱ παῖδες τούτου διαδεξάμενοι καὶ στασι-  
άσαντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαφθείρονται.

(Cf. Malalas *Chron.* 14 p.359; *Chron. Pasch.* p.558 = *Fr.* 21,1)

3 αὐτὴν [αὐτῇ f αὐτῆς m 4 ἀθρόου c 5 ῥινός y

[25]

[(Jordanes *Get.* 50,259-63)

Talibus peractis, ut solent animi iuvenum ambitu potentiae  
concitari, inter successores Attilae de regno orta contentio est, et

2 contio HPV

of the whole Hunnic race rode around in a circle, as if at the circus  
games, and recited his deeds in a funeral chant as follows.

"Chief king of the Huns, Attila, son of Mundzuc, lord of the  
bravest peoples, who possessed alone the sovereignty of Scythia and  
Germany with power unheard of before him and who terrorised both  
empires of the city of Rome by capturing their cities and, placated by  
their prayers, accepted a yearly tribute lest he plunder the rest. When  
he had achieved all these things through his good fortune, he died not  
by an enemy's wound or through treachery of his followers, but pain-  
lessly while his people was safe and happy amidst his pleasures. Who,  
then, shall call this a death, which no one thinks needs be avenged?"

When they had bewailed him with such lamentations, over his  
tomb they celebrated with great revelry what they call a *strava* and  
abandoned themselves to a mixture of joy and funereal grief, displaying  
both extremes of emotion. They committed his body to the earth in  
the secrecy of night and bound his coffins, the first with gold, the  
second with silver and the third with the strength of iron, demon-  
strating by this means that all three metals were appropriate for the  
most powerful king of all: iron because he had subdued nations, gold  
and silver because he had taken the valuables of both Empires. They  
added the arms of enemies won in combat, trappings gleaming with  
various precious stones and ornaments of various types, the marks of  
royal glory. Moreover, in order that such great riches be kept safe from  
human curiosity, those to whom the task was delegated they rewarded  
abominably by killing them. Thus, sudden death engulfed both the one  
who was buried and those who buried him.]<sup>116</sup>

## 2. (Theophanes *Chron. a.m.* 5946)

Attila prepared to make war upon Marcian, who refused to pay  
the tribute which Theodosius had agreed. Meanwhile he fell in love with  
a beautiful girl. In the midst of his marriage celebrations, when he was  
drunk and heavy with sleep, a haemorrhage through his nostrils and  
mouth killed him. His sons inherited his great empire, came to war with  
one another and were destroyed.<sup>117</sup>

(Cf. Malalas *Chron.* 14 p.359; *Chron. Pasch.* p.558 = *Fr.* 21,1)

[25]

[(Jordanes *Get.* 50,259-63)

When these [funeral rites] had been completed, Attila's successors  
began to fight over his kingdom (for the minds of the young are usually



dum inconsulti imperare cupiunt cuncti, omnes simul imperium  
 perdiderunt. sic frequenter regna gravat copia quam inopia suc-  
 cessorum. nam filii Attilae, quorum per licentiam libidinis pene  
 5 populus fuit, gentes sibi dividi aequa sorte poscebant, ut ad instar  
 familiae bellicosi reges cum populis mitterentur in sortem. quod ut  
 Gepidarum rex conperit Ardarichus, indignatus de tot gentibus velut  
 vilissimorum manciorum condicione tractari, contra filios Attilae  
 10 primus insurgit inlatumque serviendi pudore secuta felicitate de-  
 tersit, nec solum suam gentem, sed et ceteras qui pariter prae-  
 mebantur sua discessione absolvit, quia facile omnes adpetunt, quod  
 pro cunctorum utilitate temptatur. in mutuum igitur armantur  
 exitium bellumque committitur in Pannonia iuxta flumen, cui  
 nomen est Nedao. illic concursus factus est gentium variarum, quas  
 15 Attila in sua tenuerat ditione. dividuntur regna cum populis,  
 fiuntque ex uno corpore membra diversa, nec quae unius passioni  
 conpaterentur, sed quae exciso capite in invicem insanirent; quae  
 numquam contra se pares invenerant, nisi ipsi mutuis se vulneribus  
 sauciantes se ipsos discerperent fortissimae nationes. nam ibi ad-  
 20 mirandum reor fuisse spectaculum, ubi cernere erat contis pugnan-  
 tem Gothum, ense furem Gepida, in vulnere suo Rugum tela  
 frangentem, Suavum pede, Hunnum sagitta praesumere, Alanum  
 gravi, Herulum levi armatura aciem strui. post multos ergo gravesque  
 conflictos favit Gepidis inopinata victoria. nam xxx fere milia tam  
 25 Hunnorum quam aliarum gentium, quae Hunnis ferebant auxilium,  
 Ardarici gladius conspiratioque peremit. in quo proelio filius Attilae  
 maior natu nomine Ellac occiditur, quem tantum parens super  
 ceteros amasse perhibebatur, ut eum cunctis diversisque liberis suis  
 in regno preferret; sed non fuit vota patris fortuna consentiens. nam  
 30 post multas hostium cedes sic viriliter eum constat peremptum, ut  
 tam gloriosum superstis pater optasset interitum. reliqui vero ger-  
 mani eius eo occiso fugantur iuxta litus Pontici maris, ubi prius  
 Gothos sedisse descripsimus.

Cesserunt itaque Hunni, quibus cedere putabatur universitas. 35  
 adeo discidium perniciores res est, ut divisi corruerent, qui adunatis  
 viribus terribant. haec causa Ardarici regis Gepidarum felix affuit  
 diversis nationibus, qui Hunnorum regimini inviti famulabantur,  
 eorumque diu maestissimos animos ad hilaritatem libertatis votivam

4 plus ante copia B 6 etiam pro aequa XYZ 7 quod ut [quod dum B  
 (quodum O) 12 quia [quam OB quod [quae A 17 compassioni A  
 22 suo Rugum [suorum cuncta B 24 instrui O (instruere B) 28 parens  
 [pater OB 29 liberis [filiis OB

fired with ambition for power), and while they all were mindlessly  
 eager to rule, they together destroyed his empire.<sup>118</sup> For the sons of  
 Attila, who because of his lust themselves amounted almost to a people,  
 sought to divide the tribes equally amongst themselves and to allot war-  
 like kings and peoples like household servants. When Ardaric, the king  
 of the Gepids, learned this, he became enraged that so many peoples  
 were being treated like the lowest of slaves and began the revolt against  
 the sons of Attila. Success attended him, and he erased the stain of  
 servitude that was upon him. Moreover, through his revolt he freed not  
 only his own people but also the others who were equally oppressed;  
 for all readily strive for what is undertaken for the common good. They  
 took up arms against the destruction that faced them all and met in  
 battle in Pannonia near to the river named Nedao. There the various  
 peoples over whom Attila held sway clashed. The kingdoms and the  
 peoples were split asunder, and a united body became various limbs  
 which did not act together under one impulse but raged independently  
 now that the head was removed. Whenever the bravest of nations found  
 their equals ranged against them they wounded each other and tore  
 themselves to pieces. There, I think, a remarkable spectacle took place,  
 where the Goth fought with his pike, the Gepid raged with his sword,  
 the Rugian broke the weapons in his own wound, the Suavian was on  
 foot, the Hun fought with his arrows, the Alan formed his heavy-armed  
 battle line, the Herul his light-armed one. After much heavy fighting,  
 victory unexpectedly went to the Gepids. For the sword and the  
 alliance of Ardaric destroyed almost thirty thousand of the Huns and  
 those who were assisting them. In this battle was killed Attila's eldest  
 son, Ellac, whom his father is said to have loved so much more than the  
 rest that he preferred him to all his various children in his kingdom. But  
 fortune did not consent to the father's wish. It is known that after  
 killing many of the enemy, he died fighting so bravely that, had his  
 father been alive, he would have wished for an end so glorious. When he  
 was killed the rest of his brothers fled near to the coast of the Black  
 Sea, where, as we have said, the Goths earlier had their homes.

Thus ended the Huns, before whom it was thought the whole  
 world would fall. So ruinous a thing is dissension, that those who terri-  
 fied the world when united in their strength, perished when divided.  
 The cause of Ardaric, the king of the Gepids, was fortunate for those  
 who chafed at their subjection to the rule of the Huns, and it raised  
 their spirits, long most downcast, to the joyous hope of freedom.

erexit; venientesque multi per legatos suos ad solum Romanum et a  
principe tunc Marciano gratissime suscepti distributas sedes, quas  
incolerent, acceperunt.] 40

## 26

(Exc. de Leg. Gent. 10)

Ὅτι Ἀρδαβούριος ὁ τοῦ Ἀσπαροῦ Σαρακηνοῖς ἐπολέμει κατὰ  
τὴν Δαμασκόν· καὶ ἐκεῖσε παραγενομένου Μαξιμίνου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ  
καὶ Πρίσκου τοῦ συγγραφέως, εὗρον αὐτὸν τοῖς Σαρακηνοῶν πρέσβεισι  
περὶ εἰρήνης διαλεγόμενον.

## 27

1. (Exc. de Leg. Gent. 11)

Ὅτι Βλέμμυες καὶ Νουβάδες ἡττηθέντες ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων πρέσ-  
βεις παρὰ τὸν Μαξιμῖνον ἔπεμπον ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ἐθνῶν εἰρήνης  
πέρι, βουλόμενοι σπένδεσθαι, καὶ ταύτην διατηρήσῃ ἐφασαν, ἐφ'  
ὅσον ὁ Μαξιμῖνος τῇ Θηβαίων ἐγκαταμένοι χώρᾳ. τοῦ δὲ μὴ προσ-  
δεξαμένου ἐπὶ χρόνῳ σπένδεσθαι τοσοῦτῳ, ἔλεγον ἄχρι τῆς αὐτοῦ 5  
ζωῆς μὴ κησῇσιν ὅπλα. ὡς δὲ οὐδὲ τοὺς δευτέρους τῆς πρεσβείας  
προσῆλτο λόγους, ἑκατοντούταις ἔθεντο σπονδὰς· ἐν αἷς ἐδόκει  
Ῥωμαῖον μὲν αἰχμαλώτων ἄνευ λύτρων ἀφείσθαι, εἴτε κατὰ ἐκείνην  
εἴτε κατὰ ἑτέραν ἐφοδὸν ἦλω, τὰ δὲ τότε ἀπαχθέντα ἀποδοθῆναι  
βοσκήματα, καὶ τῶν δαπανηθέντων κατατίθεσθαι τὴν ἀποτίμησιν, 10  
ὁμήρου δὲ τοὺς εὐ γεγονότας παρὰ σφίσι διδοσθαι πίστεων ἕνεκα  
τῶν σπονδῶν. εἶναν δὲ αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὸν παλαιὸν νόμον ἀκώλυτον τὴν  
εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἰσιδος διάβασιν, τοῦ ποταμίου οὐκάρους Αἰγυπτίῳ  
ἐχόντων τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, ἐν ᾧ τὸ ἄγαλμα τῆς θεοῦ ἐντιθέμενον  
διαπορθμεύεται. ἐν ῥητῇ γὰρ οἱ βάρβαροι χρόνῳ ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν δια- 15  
κομίζοντες τὸ ξόανον πάλιν αὐτῷ χρηστηριασάμενοι ἐς τὴν νῆσον  
ἀποσώζουσιν.

Ἐμπεδωθῆναι τοῦτον ἐν τῷ <ἐν> Φιλαις ἱερῷ τὰς συνθήκας  
ἐδόκει τῷ Μαξιμῖνῳ ἐπιτήδειον ὄν. ἐπέμποντο μετεξέτεροι· παρε-  
γίνοντο δὲ καὶ τῶν Βλεμμύων καὶ Νουβάδων οἱ τὰς σπονδὰς ἐν τῇ 20  
νῆσῳ τιθέμενοι. ἐγγραφέντων δὲ τῶν συνδοξάντων καὶ τῶν ὁμή-  
ρων παραδοθέντων· ἦσαν δὲ τῶν τε τυραννησάντων καὶ ὑπὸ  
τυράννων γεγονότων παῖδες, ὅπερ οὐδεπώποτε ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ  
ἐγένετο· οὐποτε γὰρ Νουβάδων καὶ Βλεμμύων παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις

3 διατηρήσῃ scripsi [διατηρῆσαι codd. 4 τῇ . . . χώρᾳ Dindorf [τῇ . . .  
χώρᾳ A 8-9 Ῥωμαῖον μὲν αἰχμαλώτων . . . ἦλω de Boor [Ῥωμαίων μὲν  
αἰχμαλώτων . . . ἦλω A Ῥωμαίων μὲν αἰχμαλώτους . . . ἦλωσαν Niebuhr  
11 τοὺς [τριακοσίους Niebuhr πίστεων Classen [ὥστε ὧν A πίστεως Din-  
dorf 18 ἐν add. Valesius

Many approached the Roman Empire through legates and were very  
gladly admitted by Marcian, who was then Emperor, and they received  
homelands which were given them to dwell in.]<sup>119</sup>

## 26

(Exc. de Leg. Gent. 10)

Ardabur, the son of Aspar, was fighting the Saracens around  
Damascus. When the general Maximinus and the historian Priscus  
arrived there, they found him in peace negotiations with the envoys  
of the Saracens.

## 27

1. (Exc. de Leg. Gent. 11)

The Blemmyes and the Nubades were defeated by the Romans  
and sent envoys from both their races to Maximinus to discuss peace.  
They wished to make a treaty and said that they would keep it as long  
as Maximinus remained in the area of Thebes. When he refused to  
accept a treaty for this length of time, they said that they would not  
take up arms during his lifetime. When he rejected this second proposal  
by the embassy, they suggested a hundred-year treaty. They agreed  
that the Roman prisoners, whether they had been taken in the present  
attack or another one, should be released without ransom; that the  
cattle which had been driven off should be returned; that compensation  
should be paid for those which had been eaten; and that they should  
hand over nobly-born hostages as security for the treaty. In accordance  
with the ancient custom they were to have the right to cross un-  
hindered to the temple of Isis, while the Egyptians had the care of the  
river boat in which the statue of the goddess was placed and ferried  
across the river. At a fixed time the barbarians take the statue across  
to their own land and, when they have taken oracles from it, return it  
safely to the island.<sup>120</sup>

It seemed to Maximinus that the treaty should be ratified in the  
temple at Philae. Certain men were sent there, and those of the Blem-  
myes and Nubades who had negotiated the treaty arrived. When the  
terms agreed had been written down and the hostages handed over  
(these were children of the rulers and of the sons of the rulers, a thing  
which had never happened before in this war, for children of the  
Nubades and Blemmyes had never been hostages amongst the Romans),

ώμηρευσαν παῖδες. συνηνέχθη δὲ τὸν Μαξιμῖνον ἀνωμάλως δια- 25  
τεθῆναι τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἀποθανεῖν. τὴν δὲ τοῦ Μαξιμῖνου τελευτὴν  
μαθόντες οἱ βάρβαροι τοὺς τε ὁμήρους ἀφείλοντο βιασάμενοι καὶ τὴν  
χώραν κατέδραμον.

[2. (Jordanes Rom. 333)

... Novades Blemmesque Ethiopia prolapsos per Florum  
Alexandrinae urbis procuratorem sedavit et pepulit a finibus Ro-  
manorum ...]

## 28

1. (Evagrius HE 2,5)

Ἐπὶ τούτοις Διώσκορος μὲν τὴν τῶν Γαγγρηνῶν τῶν Παφλα-  
γόνων οἰκίαν κατακρίνεται, Προτέριος δὲ τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ψήρῳ κοινῇ  
τῆς συνόδου τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων κληροῦται. δὲ ἐπειδὴ τὸν οἰκεῖον  
κατεῖλθαι θρόνον, μέγιστος καὶ ἀνύποιστος τάραχος τῷ δήμῳ  
ἀνέστη πρὸς διαφόρους κυμανομένῳ γνῶμας. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Διώσκορον 5  
ἐπεξήτουν, οἳ περ εἰκὸς ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις γίνεσθαι, οἱ δὲ Προτερίου  
μάλα γεννικῶς ἀντείχοντο, ὥς καὶ πολλὰ καὶ ἀνήκεστα προελθεῖν.  
ἱστορεῖ δ' οὖν Πρίσκος ὁ ῥήτωρ φθῆναι τὴν καὶ <ἐς> τὴν Ἀλεξ-  
άνδρου <ἐκ> τῆς Θηβαίων ἐπαρχίας ἰδεῖν τε τὸν δῆμον ὁμόσε κατὰ  
τῶν ἀρχόντων χωροῦντα, τῆς τε στρατιωτικῆς δυνάμεως τὴν 10  
στάσιν διακωλύειν βουλομένης, λίθων βολαῖς αὐτοὺς χρῆσασθαι,  
τρέψασθαι τε τούτους καὶ ἀνὰ τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ πάλαι Σαράπιδος ἀνα-  
δραμόντας ἐκπολιωρῆσαι, καὶ πυρὶ ζῶντας παραδοῦναι. ταῦτα τε τὸν  
βασιλέα μαθὼντα δισχιλίους νεολέκτους ἐκπέμψαι, καὶ οὕτω πνεύ-  
ματος ἐπιτυχόντας οὐριοδρομῆσαι ὥς ἀνὰ τὴν ἕκτην τῶν ἡμερῶν τῇ 15  
μεγάλῃ τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων προσοχεῖν πόλει. κἀντεῦθεν τῶν στρατι-  
ωτῶν παρονοούντων ἕς τε τὰς γαμετὰς καὶ θυγατέρας τῶν Ἀλεξ-  
ανδρέων, τῶν προτέρων πολλῶ δεινότερα προελθεῖν. ὕστερόν τε  
δεηθῆναι τὸν δῆμον τοῦ Φλώρου, τῶν στρατιωτικῶν ταγμάτων  
ἡγουμένου ὁμοῦ τε καὶ τὴν πολιτικὴν διέποντος ἀρχῆν, ἀνὰ τὴν ἵπο- 20  
δρομίαν ἀλισθέντα, ὥστε καταπράξασθαι αὐτοῖς τὴν τοῦ σιτηρεσίου  
χορηγίαν, ἥνπερ παρ' αὐτῶν ἀφῆρητο, τὰ τε βαλανεῖα καὶ τὴν θέαν  
καὶ ὅσα διὰ τὴν γενομένην παρ' αὐτῶν ἀταξίαν ἀπεκόπησαν. καὶ  
οὕτω τὸν Φλώρον, εἰσηγήσει τῇ αὐτοῦ, φανέντα τῷ δήμῳ ὑπο-  
σχέσθαι ταῦτα, καὶ τὴν στάσιν πρὸς βραχὺ διαλῦσαι. 25  
(Cf. Nicephorus Callistus HE 15,8)

5 διανέστη zn 8 δ' οὖν codd. [γούν Muller 8-9 ἐς et ἐκ add. Valesius  
23 παρ' exp. Müller 25 ταῦτα [ταύτῳ Bv τε αὐτῷ Müller

Maximinus' health failed, and he died. When the barbarians learned  
of the death of Maximinus, they recovered the hostages by force and  
overran the land.

[2. (Jordanes Rom. 333)

... and through Florus, the procurator of Alexandria, [Marcian]  
subdued the Novades and Blemmyes, who had invaded from Ethiopia,  
and drove them out of Roman territory ...] <sup>121</sup>

## 28

1. (Evagrius HE 2,5)

Moreover, Dioscorus was exiled to the city of Gangra in Paphla-  
gonia, and Proterius was appointed bishop by the unanimous vote of  
the synod of Alexandria. When he took over his throne, the populace,  
who seethed with different opinions, broke out into a very great and  
uncontrollable disorder. Some, as was natural under the circumstances,  
supported Dioscorus, while others opposed them most vigorously on  
behalf of Proterius. As a result much damage was done.<sup>122</sup> Priscus the  
rhetor writes that at the time he had already arrived at Alexandria  
from the province of Thebes and he observed the populace gathering  
to attack the authorities. When a force of soldiers tried to stop the riot,  
the rioters threw rocks, put the troops to flight and, when they took  
refuge in the former temple of Isis, laid siege to them and burned them  
alive. When the Emperor learned of this, he sent two thousand newly-  
enrolled troops, and the wind happened to be so favourable that they  
arrived at the great city of Alexandria on the sixth day.<sup>123</sup> Then, as  
the soldiers maltreated<sup>124</sup> the wives and daughters of the Alexandrians,  
things far worse than before happened. Later the populace assembled  
in the Hippodrome and asked Florus,<sup>125</sup> who was both commander of  
the troops and head of the civil administration, to restore the grain  
ration, which he had taken from them, and the baths, shows and  
everything else which they had stopped because of the disorders which  
the populace had caused. Florus, therefore, at his<sup>126</sup> advice went before  
the populace and promised to do these things, and the rioting quickly  
ceased.

(Cf. Nicephorus Callistus HE 15,8)

## [2. (Nicephorus Callistus HE 15,8)]

Σέραπις δ' ἐστὶν ὁ Ζεὺς, ἢ ὁ Νεῖλος, ἢ Ἄπις τις ἀνὴρ ἐν Μέρμηδι πόλει, ὃς λιμοῦ γενομένου ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων Ἀλεξανδρεῦσιν ἐπήρκεσεν· ὧς τελευτήσωντι νεῶν καὶ στήλην ἰδρύσαντο, ὅπου δὴ καὶ βουὸς ἐπίσημά τινα ἔχων διετρέφετο, εἰς σύμβολον, ὡς εἰκάσαι, τῆς γεωργίας, ὃν καὶ αὐτὸν Ἄπιν ὁμωνύμως τῷ δεσπότῃ ἐκάλουν. τὴν δὲ σορὸν τοῦ Ἀπίδος ἐκείνου τοῦ ἀνθρώπου μεταγαγόντος εἰς τὸν ναόν, Σόραπιν ἐκάλουν αὐτοῦ τὴν στήλην, ἣ καὶ Σέραπιν μεταθέσει τῶν στοιχείων. οὐ νεῶς πάγκαλος καὶ ἄγαλμα μέγιστόν τε καὶ φοβερώτατον ἐκ διαφόρου ὕλης ἐσκευασμένον, ὡς ἐκατέρᾳ χειρὶ ἐκατέρου τοίχου ἐφάπτεσθαι. ἐν δὲ μέσῳ τοῦ ἀγάλματος νεῶς ἕτερος πλάνης ἦν, ὧς καὶ ξόανον ἕτερον χαλκοῦν, οὐ μέγα δὲ ἀπηώρητο, οὐ τῇ κεφαλῇ ἐνεύρωντες σίδηρον, καὶ τοῖς τῆς στέγης φατνώμασι μαγνητῶν λίθων κατὰ κάθετον θέμενοι, εἰς ἀέρα τοῦτο μεθῆκαν μετέωρον, καὶ οὔτε γῆς οὔτε στέγης αὐτῆς ἐφαπτόμενον.]

## [29]

[(Jordanes Rom. 333)]

... obitumque Attilae et Zenonis Isauri interitum, antequam moriretur, felix conperit infelicitium ...]

## [30]

## [1. (John of Antioch Fr. 201 = Exc. de Ins. 85)]

Ὅτι τὰ τῶν ἐσπερίων Ῥωμαίων ἐν ταραχῇ ἦν. Μάξιμος τις ἀνὴρ εὐγενὴς καὶ δυνατὸς καὶ δεῦτερον ὑπατεύσας Ἀετίῳ τῷ στρατηγῷ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ταγμάτων δυσμενὴς ὢν, ὡς ἔγνω καὶ τὸν Ἡράκλειον (εὐνοῦχος δὲ οὗτος καὶ τὴν μεγίστην παρὰ τῷ βασιλεύοντι ἔχων ῥοπήν), τῆς αὐτῆς τῷ Ἀετίῳ ἐχθιστον ὄντα προαιρέσεως (ἄμφω γὰρ τῆς ἐκείνου τὴν σφετέραν ἐπειρώντο ἀντιστάγειν δύνανται), ἐς συνωμοσίαν ἔρχεται· καὶ πείθουσι τὸν βασιλέα ὡς, εἰ μὴ φθάσει τὸν Ἀέτιον ἀνελθεῖν ταχέως, ὑπ' αὐτοῦ φθαρῆσεται.

Ὁ δὲ Βαλεντινιανὸς, ἐπειδὴ αὐτῷ ἐχρῆν γενέσθαι κακῶς τὸ τεῖχος τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀρχῆς καταλύοντι, προσίετό τε τοὺς λόγους Μαξίμου τε καὶ Ἡρακλείου καὶ διαρτύνει τῷ ἀνδρὶ τὸν θάνατον, ὅτε δὴ ὁ Ἀέτιος ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἐγένετο κοινωνεῖν τῷ κρατοῦντι μέλλων ἐπὶ τοῖς βουλευμασιν καὶ προνοίας χρυσίων εἰσάγειν πειρώμενος. ὡς δὲ τὰ περὶ τῶν πόρων Ἀέτιος προὔθηκε καὶ ἀναλογισμὸν ἐποιεῖτο τῶν ἐκ τῆς εἰσφορᾶς ἀθροισθέντων χρημάτων, ἀθρόον δὲ Βαλεντινιανὸς ἀνακραγὼν ἀνέθορέ τε τοῦ θάκου καὶ οὐκέτι ἔφη οἶσεν

13 χρυσίων Müller [χρυσίου codd. μάτιον ἀθρόων, δ edd.]

15 χρημάτων, ἀθρόον δ codd. [χρη-

## [2. (Nicephorus Callistus HE 15,8)]

Serapis is Zeus, or Nilus, or Apis, a man of the city of Memphis. In a time of famine he supported the Alexandrians out of his own resources, and when he died they erected a temple and a statue to him. There a bull was kept which had certain marks, a symbol, it seems, of agriculture, and they called it Apis after the lord of the temple. They transferred the sarcophagus of Apis the man to the temple and they called his statue Sorapis (or Serapis, by the change of a letter). His temple was very beautiful and his statue, which was made of various materials, was so very large and terrifying that both of its hands touched the walls. Inside the statue was a second, trick shrine, in which another statue, small and of bronze, floated in the air. They had set some iron in its head and a magnet in the ceiling panels directly above, and had let the statue hover in mid-air, touching neither the floor nor the ceiling.]<sup>127</sup>

## [29]

[(Jordanes Rom. 333)]

... before [Marcian] died his fortune overwhelmed that of Attila and Zeno the Isaurian, for he learned of their deaths ...]

## [30]

## [1. (John of Antioch Fr. 201 = Exc. de Ins. 85)]

The affairs of the western Romans were in turmoil. Maximus, a powerful noble who had been twice consul, was hostile to Aetius, the general of the forces in Italy. Since he knew that Heracleius, an eunuch who carried very great weight with the Emperor, was extremely hostile to Aetius for the same reason (since they both wished to replace his sway with their own), he made an agreement with him, and they persuaded the Emperor that if he did not act first and kill Aetius, Aetius would kill him.

Since Valentinian was doomed to come to ruin by destroying the bulwark of his own sovereignty, he approved the suggestions of Maximus and Heracleius and prepared to kill Aetius in the palace when he was about to hold a planning meeting with the Emperor and was evaluating proposals to raise money. As Aetius was explaining the finances and calculating the tax revenues, with a shout Valentinian suddenly leaped up from his throne and cried out that he would no

τοσαύταις ἐμπαρουσούμενος μοχθηρίαις· ἐπ' αὐτὸν γὰρ φέροντα τὴν  
κακῶν αἰτίαν παρελθεῖν αὐτόν, ὥσπερ τῆς ἐξῶς βασιλείας, καὶ τοῦ  
τῆς ἐσπέρας βούλεσθαι κράτους, παραδηλῶν ὡς δι' ἐκεῖνον οὐκ ἦει  
τὸν Μαρκιανὸν ἐκβαλῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς. τὸ δὲ παράδοξον τῆς ὀργῆς ὡς  
ἀπεθαύμαζεν ὁ Ἀέτιος καὶ ἐπεμῶτο τῆς ἀλόγου κινήσεως ἀπαγαγεῖν  
αὐτόν, σπασάμενος ὁ Βαλεντιανὸς τοῦ κολοῦ τοῦ ξίφος σὺν τῷ  
'Ηρακλείῳ ὥρμησεν, ἤδη καὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν κοπίδα εὐτρεπῆ ὑπὸ τὴν  
χλαμύδα φέροντος· πρὶν κινήσει γὰρ τῶν κοιτώνων ἦν. καὶ ἄμφω  
κατὰ τῆς Ἀετίου κεφαλῆς συνεχεῖς ἐπενεγκόντες πληγὰς ἀνείλυν  
αὐτόν, πολλὰ ἀνδρὸς ἔργα διαπραξάμενον πρὸς τε ἐμφυλίου καὶ  
ὀδυνοῦ πολέμου. τὴν μὲν γὰρ Πλακιδίαν, ἥτις τοῦ Βαλεντιανοῦ  
μήτηρ ἦν, καὶ τὸν παῖδα νέον ὄντα ἐπετρόπευσεν διὰ τῆς τῶν βαρ-  
βάρων συμμαχίας, τὸν δὲ Βονιφάτιον σὺν πολλῇ διαβάτῃ χειρὶ ἀπὸ  
τῆς Λιβύης κατεστρατήγησεν, ὥστε ἐκεῖνον μὲν ὑπὸ φροντίδων νόσῳ  
τελευτῆσαι, αὐτὸν δὲ τῆς αὐτοῦ γαμετῆς καὶ τῆς περιουσίας κύριον  
γενέσθαι. ἀνείλε δὲ καὶ Φήλικα δόλῳ τὴν στρατηγικὴν σὺν αὐτῷ  
λαχόντα ἀρχὴν, ὡς ἔγνω ὑποθήκη τῆς Πλακιδίας ἐς τὴν αὐτοῦ  
ἀναίρεσιν παρασκευαζόμενον, κατηγωνίσσατο δὲ καὶ Γότθους τοὺς ἐν  
Γαλατίᾳ τῇ πρὸς ἐσπέραν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐμβατεύσαντας χωρίους.  
παρεστήσατο καὶ Αἰμοριχιανὸς ἀφηνιάσαντας Ῥωμαίων, ὡς δὲ  
συνελόντα εἰπεῖν, μεγίστην κατεστήσατο δύναμιν, ὥστε μὴ μόνον  
βασιλεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ παροικοῦντα ἔθνη τοῖς ἐκεῖνου ἦκεν ἐπιτάγμασιν.

Μετὰ δὲ τὸν Ἀετίου φόνον καὶ Βοήθιον ὁ Βαλεντιανὸς, ὑπ-  
αρχὸν ὄντα, ἀνείλεν, ἐκείνῳ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα κεχαρισμένον. ὡς δὲ  
ἀτάφους αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν προῦθηκεν, εὐθέως τὴν γερουσίαν  
μετακαλεσάμενος πολλὰς τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐποίητο κατηγορίας, εὐλα-  
βούμενος μὴ πως διὰ τὸν Ἀέτιον ἐπανάστασιν ὑπομένει. ὁ δὲ Μάξιμος  
μετὰ τὴν Ἀετίου ἀναίρεσιν παρὰ τὸν Βαλεντιανὸν ἐφοῖτα, ὡς ἂν  
ἐπὶ τὴν ὑπατον ἀρχὴν προαχθεῖν· ταύτης δὲ διαμαρτῶν τῆς πατρι-  
κίότητος τυχεῖν ἐβούλετο. ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ταύτης αὐτὸν ὁ Ἡράκλειος τῆς  
ἐξουσίας <τυχεῖν> συνεχώρει· ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς γὰρ ὀρμώμενος προ-  
αρέσεως καὶ βουλόμενος μὴ ἔχειν ἀντίρροπον δύναμιν τὰς τοῦ  
Μαξίμου ἀνέκοπεν ὀρμὰς, παραπείθων τὸν Βαλεντιανόν, ἀπὸ πλῆ-  
θους τῆς Ἀετίου βαρύντητος μὴ χρῆναι τὴν ἐκεῖνου πάλιν εἰς ἐτέρους  
μεταφέρειν δύναμιν. ἐντεῦθεν τε ὁ Μάξιμος ἀμφοτέρων διαμαρτῶν  
ἐχαλέπαυεν, καὶ τὸν Ὀπτήλαν καὶ Θραυστήλαν μεταπεμψάμενος,

longer endure to be abused<sup>128</sup> by such treacheries. He alleged that, by blaming him for the troubles, Aetius wished to deprive him of power in the West, as he had done in the East, insinuating that only because of Aetius did he not go to remove Marcian from his throne.<sup>129</sup> While Aetius was stunned by this unexpected rage and was attempting to calm his irrational outburst, Valentinian drew his sword from his scabbard and, together with Heracleius, who was carrying a cleaver<sup>130</sup> ready under his cloak (for he was a head chamberlain), fell upon him. They both rained blows on his head and killed him, a man who had performed many brave actions against enemies both internal and foreign. Through his alliance with the barbarians he had protected Placidia, Valentinian's mother, and her son while he was a child. When Boniface crossed from Libya with a large army, he out-generalled him so that he died of disease as a result of his anxieties and Aetius gained possession of his wife and property. Felix, who was his fellow general, he killed by cunning when he learned that he was preparing to destroy him at Placidia's suggestion. He crushed the Goths of western Gaul who were encroaching on Roman territory, and he brought to heel the Aemorichans who were in revolt from the Romans.<sup>131</sup> In short, he wielded enormous power, so that not only kings but neighbouring peoples came at his order.<sup>132</sup>

After destroying Aetius, Valentinian also killed Boethius the prefect, who had been high in Aetius' favour. When he had exposed their bodies unburied in the Forum, he immediately summoned the senate and made many charges against the men out of fear that because of Aetius it might support a revolt. After the murder of Aetius, Maximus paid court to Valentinian hoping that he would be made consul, and when he failed to achieve this, he wished to become patrician. But Heracleius did not agree that he should have this position. Acting from the same ambition and not wishing a counterbalance to his own power, he thwarted Maximus' efforts by persuading Valentinian that since he had freed himself from the oppression of Aetius, he should not transfer his power to others. Thereupon Maximus, thwarted in both his attempts, became angry. He summoned Optila and Thraustila, Scythians and outstanding warriors who had

19 οὐκ ἦει de Boor [οὐκ εἶπει aut οὐκ εἶπει S] 20 [ἐκβαλῶν S] [ἐκβαλῶν de Boor  
25 τῆς de Boor [τοῦ codd.] 26 διαπραξάμενον Müller [διαπραξάμενος codd.  
28 ἐπετρόπευσεν P (ex corr.)] [ἐπετρόπευσεν S] 32 Φήλικα Müller [Φήλικα codd.  
38 ἦκεν codd.] [εἶκεν de Boor] 47 τυχεῖν addidi [κρατεῖν post συνεχώρει  
add. de Boor] 50 ἐτέρους S [ἐκείνους P] [ἐκείνων Müller]

ἄνδρας Σκύθας καὶ κατὰ πόλεμον ἀρίστους, σὺν Ἀετίῳ δὲ στρατευ-  
 σαμένους καὶ Βαλεντιανῶ προσοικειωθέντας, ἐς λόγους ἦλθε, καὶ  
 πίστει δούς καὶ λαβὼν τὸν βασιλέα ἐν αἰτίᾳ ἐτίθετο τοῦ φόνου τοῦ  
 Ἀετίου ἕνεκα, καὶ μετιέναι αὐτὸν ἄμεινον ἐδίδασκεν· ἔσσεσθαι γὰρ  
 αὐτοῖς τὰ μέγιστα ἀγαθὰ ἐν δίκῃ τῷ πεσόντι τιμωροῦσθαι.

Ἡμερῶν δὲ διαγενομένων οὐ πολλῶν, ἐδόκει τῷ Βαλεντιανῶ  
 ἱππασθῆναι κατὰ τὸ Ἄρεος πεδῖον ὀλίγοις ἅμα δορυφόροις καὶ τοῖς  
 περὶ τὸν Ὀπτήλαν καὶ Θραυστήλαν. ὥς δὲ ἀποβάς τοῦ ἵππου ἐπὶ τὴν  
 τοξείαν ἐχώρει, ἔνθα δὴ ἐπέθεντο Ὀπτήλας καὶ οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ  
 παραιωρημένα αὐτοῖς ἐλκύσαντες ξίφη ὥρμησαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ὀπ-  
 τήλας κατὰ τοῦ κροτάφου παίει τὸν Βαλεντιανόν, ἐπιστραφέντα δὲ  
 ἰδεῖν τὸν πατάξαντα δευτέραν κατὰ τῆς ὀψέως ἐπαγαγὼν κατα-  
 βάλλει· ὁ δὲ Θραυστήλας τὸν Ἡράκλειον καθεῖλε, καὶ ἄμφω τε τὸ  
 διάδημα τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τὸν ἵππον λαβόντες ἐς τὸν Μάξιμον ἀπέ-  
 τρεχον. εἶτε δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἀδόκητον τόλμαν, εἶτε δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς  
 πολέμοις τῶν ἀνδρῶν δόξαν τῶν παρόντων ἐπτοημένων, ἀκύνδυνος  
 αὐτοῖς ἡ ἐπιχείρησις ἦν. δαμόνιον δὲ τι ἐπὶ τῷ Βαλεντιανῶ  
 θανάτῳ συνέβη. μελισσῶν γὰρ ἑσμὸς ἐπιγεγόμενος τὸ ἐς τὴν γῆν  
 ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ῥυέν αἷμα ἀνμῆσατο καὶ ἅπαν ἐμύζησεν. τελευταῖα μὲν οὖν ὁ  
 Βαλεντιανὸς ἔτη βιώσας ἐπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα.

Τὸ ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἡ Ῥώμη ἐν θορύβῳ καὶ ταραχαῖς ἦν. τὰ τε  
 στρατιωτικὰ διεπρέετο πλήθῃ, τῶν μὲν τὸν Μάξιμον βουλομένων  
 παράγειν ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν, τῶν δὲ Μαξιμιανὸν ἐσπουδακῶτων χειρο-  
 τονεῖν· ὅς ἦν μὲν πατὴρ Δομνίου Αἰγυπτίου πραγματευτοῦ, εὐ-  
 ημερήσαντος δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, καὶ τῷ Ἀετίῳ τὴν τοῦ δομestikou  
 διακονούμενος χρεῖαν. τῷ δὲ Μαιωρίῳ ἐσπουδάκει καὶ Εὐδοξία ἡ  
 τοῦ Βαλεντιανῶ γαμετὴ γενομένη. ἀλλὰ τῇ τῶν χρημάτων  
 χορηγίᾳ ὁ Μάξιμος περιῶν τῶν βασιλείων ἐκράτει· οἰηθεὶς δὲ  
 βεβαίαν αὐτῷ ἔσσεσθαι τὴν ἀρχὴν βιάζεται τὴν Εὐδοξίαν θάνατον  
 ἀπειλῶν. οὕτω μὲν οὖν Μάξιμος ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν ἦλθε.

Καὶ Γιζέριχος ὁ τῶν Βανδήλων ἄρχων τὴν Ἀετίου καὶ Βαλεν-  
 τιανῶ ἀναίρεσιν ἐγνωκὼς ἐπιτίδυσθαι ταῖς Ἰταλίαις καιρὸν  
 ἡγησάμενος, ὥς τῆς μὲν εἰρήνης θανάτῳ τῶν σπεισαμένων λυ-  
 θείσης, τοῦ δὲ εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν παρελθόντος μὴ ἀξιώχρευν κεκτη-  
 μένου δύναμιν, οἷον φασὶ καὶ ὡς Εὐδοξίας τῆς Βαλεντιανῶ γαμετῆς  
 ὑπὸ ἀνίας διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀναίρεσιν καὶ τὴν τῶν γάμων ἀνάγκην  
 λάθρα ἐπικαλεσαμένης αὐτόν, σὺν πολλῶ στόλῳ καὶ τῷ ὑπ' αὐτὸν  
 ἔθνει ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀφρῶν ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην διέβηκεν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐν τῷ

campaigns with Aetius and were attached to Valentinian's household,  
 and spoke with them. When they had exchanged oaths, Maximus  
 blamed the Emperor for Aetius' murder and told them that it would  
 be better to take vengeance upon him; for those who avenged the dead  
 man would justly receive very great rewards.

A few days later Valentinian decided to go riding on the Campus  
 Martius with a few guardsmen and the followers of Optila and Thraus-  
 tila. When he dismounted from his horse and was walking off to  
 practise archery, Optila and his followers made for him and, drawing  
 the swords at their sides, attacked him. Optila struck Valentinian across  
 the side of the head and, when he turned to see who had struck him,  
 felled him with a second blow to the face. Thraustila cut down Hera-  
 cleius, and both of them took the Emperor's diadem and horse and  
 rode off to Maximus. Whether those present were stunned by the  
 surprise of the attempt or frightened by the warlike reputation of the  
 men, their attack brought them no retaliation. A divine sign appeared  
 at Valentinian's death. For a swarm of bees settled on the blood which  
 had run onto the ground, drank it and sucked it all up. Thus Valen-  
 tinian died, having lived for thirty-seven years.<sup>133</sup>

Then Rome was in disorder and confusion. The armed forces  
 were divided. Some wanted to make Maximus Emperor, others wished  
 to proclaim Maximian. The latter was the son of Domninus, an  
 Egyptian who had been a successful businessman in Italy, and he had  
 been an attendant of Aetius.<sup>134</sup> Also, Eudoxia, Valentinian's wife,  
 supported Majorian. But Maximus prevailed through his distribution  
 of money and gained control of the palace. By threatening Eudoxia  
 with death he forced her to marry him, thinking that then his position  
 would be secure. Thus Maximus became Emperor of Rome.

Gaiseric, the ruler of the Vandals, heard of the deaths of Aetius  
 and Valentinian and concluded that the time was right for an attack  
 on Italy, since the peace treaty had been dissolved by the deaths of  
 those who had made it with him and the new Emperor did not com-  
 mand an estimable force. They also say that Eudoxia, the wife of  
 Valentinian, out of distress at the murder of her husband and her  
 forced marriage,<sup>135</sup> secretly summoned Gaiseric, who crossed from  
 Africa to Rome with a large fleet and the people whom he led. When

61 ἔνθα δὴ [ἐνθαδὶ de Boor 75 Μαξιμιανόν [Μαιωρίων ? 78 διακονού-  
 μενος [διακονούμενον ? 86 τοῦ δὲ de Boor [τοῦδε codd. et edd.

Ἀζέστῳ (τόπος δὲ οὗτος τῆς Ῥώμης ἐγγύς) τὸν Γίζερίχον ὁ Μάξιμος ἔγνω στρατοπεδεύμενον, περιδεῖς γενόμενος ἔφρουγεν ἵππῳ ἀναβάς καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν βασιλικῶν δορυφόρων καὶ τῶν ἄμφ' αὐτὸν ἐλευθέρων, οἷς μάλιστα ἐκεῖνος ἐπίστευε, ἀπολιπόντων, οἱ ὁρῶντες ἐξελαύνοντα ἐλαδόρουν τε καὶ δειλίαν ὠνείδισον· τῆς δὲ πόλεως ἐξιέναι μέλλοντα βαλὼν τις λίθον κατὰ τοῦ κροτάφου ἀνείλε· καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἐπελθὼν τὸν τε νεκρὸν διέσπασε καὶ τὰ μέλη ἐπὶ κοντῷ φέρον ἐπαιωνίζετο. ταύτης μὲν οὖν ἐκεῖνος ἔτυχε τῆς τοῦ βίου καταστροφῆς, ἐπὶ τῇ τυραννίδι μηνῶν αὐτῷ διαγενομένων τριῶν. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Γίζερίχος ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐσέβαλε.]

[2. (Theophanes *Chron. a.m.* 5946)

Τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει Οὐαλεντινιανός, ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν Ῥώμῃ, ὑφορώμενος τὴν Ἀετίου τοῦ πατρικίου καὶ στρατηγοῦ δύναμιν δολαρονεῖ τοῦτον, Ἡρακλείου τῶς τῶν εὐνούχων συμπράξαντος αὐτῷ.]

[3. (Jordanes *Rom.* 334)

Valentinianus autem occidentalis imperator dolo Maximi patricii, cuius etiam fraude Aetius perierat, in campo Martio, per Optilam et Thraufistilam Aetii satellites iam percussus Eraclio spadone truncatus est. imperium quoque eius idem Maximus invasit tertioque tyrannidis suae mense membratim Romae a Romanis discerptus est. Gizericus tunc rex Vandalorum ab Eudoxia Valentiniani uxore invitatus ex Africa Romam ingressus est eamque urbem rebus omnibus expoliata eandem Eudoxiam cum duabus filiabus secum in Africa rediens duxit.]

31

1. (*Exc. de Leg. Rom.* 7)

Ὅτι Γεζερίχου τὴν Ῥώμην πορθίσαντος, καὶ βασιλεύοντος Ἀβίτου, Μαρκιανὸς ὁ τῶν τῆς ἔω Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς παρὰ τὸν Γεζερίχον τὸν τῶν Βανδύλων ἄρχοντα πρέσβεις ἔστελλεν, ὥστε τῆς Ἰταλῶν ἀπέχεσθαι γῆς καὶ τὰς βασιλείους ἐκπέμπεω γυναῖκας αἰχμαλώτους ἀγομένας, τὴν τε Βαλεντινιανοῦ γαμετὴν καὶ τὰς αὐτῆς θυγατέρας. καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις ἐς τὴν ἔω ἄπρακτοι ἐπανήσαν· οὐδενὶ γὰρ <τῶν> ἐπεσταλμένων παρὰ τοῦ Μαρκιανοῦ ὁ Γεζερίχος ὑπήκουσεν, οὐδὲ μὴν λύειν τὰς γυναῖκας ἐβούλετο. ὁ δὲ Μαρκιανὸς ἕτερα πρὸς αὐτὸν διέπεμπε γράμματα καὶ τὸν πρεσβευσόμενον Βληδαν· ἦν δὲ τῆς τοῦ Γεζερίχου ἀιρέσεως ἐπίσκοπος· τῆς γὰρ τῶν Χριστιανῶν

Maximus learned that Gaiseric was encamped at Azestus (which is a place near Rome), he panicked, mounted a horse and fled. The imperial bodyguard and those free persons around him whom he particularly trusted deserted him, and those who saw him leaving abused him and reviled him for his cowardice. As he was about to leave the city, someone threw a rock, hitting him on the temple and killing him. The crowd fell upon his body, tore it to pieces and with shouts of triumph paraded the limbs about on a pole. This was the end of his life, having usurped power for three months. Meanwhile Gaiseric entered Rome.]<sup>136</sup>

[2. (Theophanes *Chron. a.m.* 5946)

In this year Valentinian, the Emperor at Rome, becoming suspicious of the power of Aetius the patrician and general, killed him by treachery with the aid of Heracleius, an eunuch.]<sup>137</sup>

[3. (Jordanes *Rom.* 334)

Valentinian, the western Emperor, through the treachery of Maximus (by whose contrivances Aetius had perished) was killed on the Campus Martius by Optila and Thraufistila, followers of Aetius who had already cut down the eunuch Heracleius. This same Maximus also seized the throne and in the third month of his usurpation was torn to pieces at Rome by the Romans. Then Gaiseric, the king of the Vandals, who had been summoned from Africa by Eudoxia, the wife of Valentinian, entered Rome and, when he had despoiled the city of everything, returned to Africa taking with him the same Eudoxia and her two daughters.]

31

1. (*Exc. de Leg. Rom.* 7)

When Gaiseric had plundered Rome and while Avitus was Emperor, Marcian, the Emperor of the eastern Romans, sent envoys to Gaiseric, the ruler of the Vandals, telling him to keep away from the land of the Italians and to release the royal women whom he held captive, the wife of Valentinian and her daughters. The envoys returned to the East empty-handed, since Gaiseric paid heed to none of those sent from Marcian nor was he even willing to free the women. To Gaiseric Marcian sent more letters and as ambassador Bleda, a bishop of Gaiseric's own heresy (for the Vandals, too, are of the Christian faith).

θρησκείας καὶ τοὺς Βανδίλους εἶναι συμβαίνει. ὃς ἐπειδὴ παρ' αὐτὸν  
 ἀφίκετο καὶ ἔγνω τῇ αὐτοῦ μὴ ὑπακούοντα πρεσβεῖα, αὐθαδεστέρων  
 λόγων ἤπτετο καὶ ἔφη μὴ συνοίσειν αὐτῷ, εἴπερ ὑπὸ τῆς παρούσης  
 εὐημερίας ἀρθεῖς καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἔω Ῥωμαίων βασιλεία πρὸς πό-  
 λεμον αὐτῷ ἀναστήναι παρασκευάσοι τὰς βασιλείους μὴ λύων γυναῖ-  
 15 κας. ἀλλ' οὔτε <ῆ> τῶν προσηγισμένων ἐπὶ τῇ πρεσβείᾳ ῥημάτων  
 ἐπιείκεια οὔτε ὁ ἀπειληθεὶς φόβος μέτρια τὸν Γεζέριχον φρονεῖν  
 ἠνάγκασεν· ἀπρακτον γὰρ καὶ τὸν Βλήδαν ἀπέπεμπε καὶ ἐς τὴν Σικε-  
 λίαν αὐτὸς καὶ ἐς τὴν πρόσσοικον αὐτῇ Ἰταλίαν δύναμιν διαπεμψάμενος  
 20 πᾶσαν ἐδήρυν· ὁ δὲ Ἀβίτος ὁ τῶν ἐσπερίων Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς  
 ἐπρεσβεύετο καὶ αὐτὸς παρὰ τὸν Γεζέριχον τῶν πάλαι αὐτὸν ὑπο-  
 μνησκῶν σπονδῶν, ὃς εἰ μὴ φυλάττειν ἔλοιτο, καὶ αὐτὸν παρασκευ-  
 ᾶσασθαι πλήθει τε οἰκείῳ πῖνονον καὶ τῇ τῶν συμμάχων ἐπικουρίᾳ.  
 ἔπεμπε δὲ καὶ παραυτὰ τὸν Ῥεκίμερ ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν σὺν στρατῷ.

16 ἡ add. Müller 24 παραυτὰ de Boor [παρὰ codd., exp. Niebuhr in textu,  
 in notis conī. τὸν πατρίκων Ῥεκίμερ Thompson (CR 1946 p.106) lac. ind.  
 post Σικελίαν

## 2. (Suda X 144)

Πρίσκος δὲ λέγει περὶ Χαρύβδεως· παραπλέουσι δὲ τὴν Σικε-  
 λίαν πρὸς τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ κατὰ τὸν πορθμὸν τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἐν ᾧ περὶ ἡ Χά-  
 ρυβδης, πνευμάτων ἐπιλαβόντων δυσσαῶν, αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι κατέδυσαν.

### [32]

[(John of Antioch Fr. 202 = Exc. de Ins. 86)

Ὅτι Ἀβίτου βασιλεύσαντος τῆς Ῥώμης, καὶ λιμοῦ κατὰ τὸν  
 αὐτὸν καιρὸν γενομένου, ἐν αἰτία τὸν Ἀβίτον ὁ δῆμος ποιησάμενος  
 ἠνάγκασε τοὺς ἐκ Γαλατίας αὐτῷ συνεισφρήσαντας συμμάχους  
 ἀπάγειν τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως. ἀπέπεμπε δὲ καὶ τοὺς Γότθους, οὓς  
 ἐπὶ τῇ οφετέρᾳ ἐπήγετο φυλακῇ, χρημάτων αὐτοῖς ποιησάμενος δια-  
 5 νομήν ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων ἔργων, τοῖς ἐμπόροις χαλκὸν ἀποδόμενος· οὐ  
 γὰρ χρυσίον ἐν τοῖς βασιλικαῖς ταμείοις ἔτυχεν ὄν. ὕπερ τοὺς Ῥω-  
 μαίους πρὸς στάσιν διανέστησεν ἀρηρημένους τοῦ τῆς πόλεως  
 κόσμου.

Περὶφανῶς δὲ καὶ ὁ Μαιωρῶνος καὶ ὁ Ῥεκίμερ ἐπανίσταντο τοῦ  
 10 ἐκ τῶν Γότθων ἀπηλλαγμένοι δέους, ὥστε αὐτὸν πῇ μὲν τὰς ἐμ-  
 φυλίας ταραχὰς πῇ δὲ τοὺς τῶν Βανδήλων πολέμους ὕποραθέντα  
 ὑπεξελεθεῖν τῆς Ῥώμης καὶ ἔχεισθαι τῆς ἐπὶ Γαλατίαν ὁδοῦ, ἐπι-  
 θέμενοι δὲ αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν Μαιωρῶνος τε καὶ Ῥεκίμερ εἰς  
 15 τέμενος φυγεῖν κατηνάγκασαν, ἀπαγορεύοντα τῇ ἀρχῇ καὶ τὴν  
 βασιλείῳ ἀποδυσάμενον στολήν. ἔνθα οἱ περὶ τὸν Μαιωρῶνον οὐ

When he arrived and observed that Gaiseric was paying no heed to his  
 embassy, Bleda adopted bolder language and said that even though he  
 were puffed up by his current success, it would not be to his advantage  
 also to rouse the Emperor of the eastern Romans to go to war against  
 him by refusing to free the royal women. But neither the reasonable  
 arguments first advanced by the embassy nor the formidable threats  
 then made forced Gaiseric to a moderate course. He sent Bleda away  
 unsuccessful and again despatched his forces across to Sicily and the  
 neighbouring parts of Italy and ravaged them all. Avitus, the Emperor  
 of the western Romans, also sent an embassy reminding Gaiseric of the  
 old agreements and said that if he chose not to keep them, he would  
 prepare for war relying on his own forces and the aid of his allies.<sup>138</sup>  
 In addition he immediately<sup>139</sup> sent Ricimer to Sicily with an army.

## 2. (Suda X 144)

Priscus says about Charybdis: "[The ships] sailed past Sicily  
 by Messene through the Italian Strait, where storm winds seized them  
 and Charybdis sank them together with their crews."<sup>140</sup>

### [32]

[(John of Antioch Fr. 202 = Exc. de Ins. 86)

When Avitus was Emperor of Rome and there was famine at that  
 time, the people blamed Avitus and forced him to send away from the  
 city of Rome those whom he had brought with him from Gaul. He also  
 dismissed the Goths whom he had brought as his own guard and gave  
 them a money payment raised from public works through the sale of  
 the bronze in them to the merchants, for there was no gold in the  
 imperial treasuries. This roused the Romans to revolt, since they were  
 robbed of the adornments of their city.<sup>141</sup>

Majorian and Ricimer also broke into open revolt now that they  
 were freed from fear of the Goths. As a result Avitus, afraid both of  
 these internal disturbances and of the attacks of the Vandals, withdrew  
 from Rome and began to make his way to Gaul. Majorian and Ricimer  
 attacked him on the road and forced him to renounce his throne, put  
 off his imperial robe and flee to a shrine. Then Majorian's followers



πρότερον τῆς πολιορκίας ἀπέστησαν, πρὶν ἢ λιμῶ πιεσθεῖς τὸν βίον ἀπέλειπε, ὁκτῶ ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας διαγενομένων μηνῶν· οἱ δὲ φασὶ ὅτι ἀπεπνίγη. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν Ἀβίτω τοῦ βίου τέλος καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐγένετο.]

20

## 33

## 1. (Exc. de Leg. Rom. 8)

Ὅτι τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐς Κόλχους ἐλθόντων καὶ συμβαλόντων πόλεμον πρὸς Λαζούς, ὁ μὲν Ῥωμαϊκὸς στρατὸς ἐς τὰ σφέτερα ἐπανέβη, καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ τὰ βασιλῆα πρὸς τὴν ἐτέραν μάχην παρεσκευάζοντο βουλευόμενοι, πότερον τὴν αὐτὴν ἢ τὴν δι' Ἀρμενίας τῆς Περσῶν χώρας προσοίκου πορευθέντες ὁδὸν τὸν πόλεμον ἐπάξουσιν, 5 πρότερον πρεσβεῖα τὸν μόναρχον τῶν Παρθυαίων πείσαντες· κατὰ γὰρ θάλατταν ἄπορον αὐτοῖς πᾶν ἐνομίζετο τὰς δυσχωρίας παραπλεῖν, ἀλγόμενον τῆς Κόλχου τυγχανούσης. ὁ δὲ Γωβάξης ἐπρεσβεύετο μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς παρὰ τοὺς Παρθυαίους, ἐπρεσβεύετο δὲ καὶ παρὰ τὸν βασιλέα Ῥωμαίων. καὶ ὁ μὲν τῶν Παρθίων μόναρχος, ὡς πολέμου 10 αὐτῷ συνισταμένου πρὸς Οὐννακ τοὺς Κιδαρίτας καλουμένους, ἀπεσεύσατο παρ' αὐτὸν τοὺς Λαζούς καταφεύγοντας.

7 πᾶν Maltese (1977) [πᾶν codd. πᾶμπαν de Boor εἶναι Niebuhr]

## 2. (Exc. de Leg. Gent. 12)

Ὅτι Γωβάξης πρεσβεύεται παρὰ Ῥωμαίους. Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἀπεκρίναντο τοῖς παρὰ Γωβάξου σταλείσιν πρέσβεσιν ὡς ἀρέξανται τοῦ πολέμου, εἴ γε ἢ αὐτὸς Γωβάξης ἀπόδοιτο τὴν ἀρχὴν ἢ γοῦν τὸν παῖδα τῆς βασιλείας ἀφείλοιο· οὐ γὰρ θέμις τῆς χώρας ἀμφοτέρους 5 ἡγεμονεῦεν παρὰ τὸν παλαιὸν θεσμόν. ὥστε δὲ θάτερον βασιλεύειν, Γωβάξην ἢ τὸν αὐτοῦ παῖδα, τῆς Κολχίδος, καὶ τῇδε λυθῆναι τὸν πόλεμον, Εὐφῆμιος ἐσηγήσατο, τὴν τοῦ μαγίστρου διέπων ἀρχὴν· ὅς ἐπὶ συνέσει καὶ λόγων ἀρετῇ δόξαν ἔχων Μαρκιανοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων ἔλαχεν ἐπιτροπὴν καὶ πλείστων τῶν εὐβουλευ- 10 θέντων ἐκεῖν· καθηγητὴς ἐγένετο· ὅς καὶ Πρίσκον τὸν συγγραφέα τῶν τῆς ἀρχῆς φροντίδων ἐδέξατο κοινωνόν. τῆς δὲ αἰρέσεως [τῆς] αὐτῷ δοθείσης, ὁ Γωβάξης εἴλετο τῆς βασιλείας παραχωρῆσαι τῷ παιδί, αὐτὸς τὰ σύμβολα ἀποθέμενος τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ παρὰ τὸν κρατοῦντα Ῥωμαίων τοὺς δεησομένους ἐπεμπε, ὡς, ἐνὸς Κόλχων 15 ἡγεμονεύοντος, οὐκ ἔτι δι' αὐτὸν χαλεπαίνοντα ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα χωρεῖν. βασιλεὺς δὲ διαβαίνειν αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐκέλευε καὶ τῶν αὐτῷ

11 τῆς exp. Dindorf [τῇδε τῆς αἰρέσεως αὐτῷ de Boor  
Niebuhr [Κόλχου codd.]

14 Κόλχων

kept him under siege until he died of starvation, having reigned for eight months. Some say that he was strangled. Thus ended the life and the reign of Avitus.]<sup>142</sup>

## 33

## 1. (Exc. de Leg. Rom. 8)

The Romans went to Colchis, made war on the Lazi, and then the Roman army returned home. The Emperor's advisers prepared for a second campaign and deliberated whether in pursuing the war they should travel by the same route or through the part of Armenia close to Persian territory, having first sent an embassy to win over the monarch of the Parthians. For it was considered wholly impracticable to take the sea route along the rugged coast, since Colchis had no harbour. Gobazes himself sent envoys to the Parthians and also to the Romans. Since the monarch of the Parthians was involved in a war with the so-called Kidarite Huns, he ejected the Lazi who were fleeing to him.<sup>143</sup>

## 2. (Exc. de Leg. Gent. 12)

Gobazes sent an embassy to the Romans. The Romans replied to the envoys sent by Gobazes that they would refrain from hostilities if either Gobazes himself resigned his sovereignty or he deprived his son of his royalty, since it was not right that both rule the land in defiance of ancient custom. That one or the other, Gobazes or his son, should rule over Colchis and that war should cease there was the proposal of Euphemius, the master of the offices. Because of his reputation for sagacity and eloquence he was given oversight of the affairs of the Emperor Marcian and was his guide in many good counsels. He took Priscus to share in the cares of his office.<sup>144</sup>

When the choice was put to Gobazes, he chose to hand over sovereignty to his son and himself laid down his symbols of office. He sent envoys to the ruler of the Romans to ask that, since Colchis now had one ruler, he should not take up arms out of anger against him. The Emperor ordered him to cross to the land of the Romans and

δεδογμένων διδόναι λόγον. ὃς δὲ τὴν μὲν ἄριξεν οὐκ ἤρνησατο, Διονύσιον δὲ τὸν εἰς τὴν Κολχίδα πάλαι διαπεμφθέντα τῆς τε αὐτοῦ Γωβάζου διαφορᾶς ἔνεκα πίστω δώσοντα ἤτησεν, ὥς οὐδὲν ὑποσταλὴ ἀνῆκεστον. διὸ δὴ ἐς τὴν Κολχίδα Διονύσιος ἐστέλλετο, καὶ περὶ τῶν 20 διαφορῶν συνέβησαν.

34

(Death of Marcian)

Liber VI

35

(Leo Emperor)

36

1. (Exc. de Leg. Gent. 13)

“Ὅτι ὁ Μαυριανὸς ὁ τῶν ἐσπερίων Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς, ὥς αὐτῷ οἱ ἐν Γαλατία Γότθοι σύμμαχοι κατέστησαν, καὶ τὰ παροικούντα τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐπικράτειαν ἔθνη τὰ μὲν ὅπλοις, τὰ δὲ λόγοις παρεστήσατο, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Λιβύην σὺν πολλῇ διαβαίνεω ἐπειρᾶτο 5 δυνάμει, νηῶν ἀμφὶ τὰς πριακοσίας ἡθροισμένων αὐτῷ, πρέσβεις μὲν πρότερον παρ’ αὐτὸν ὁ τῶν Βανδύλων ἡγούμενος ἐπεμπε λύειν τὰ διάφορα λόγοις βουλόμενος· ὥς δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθε, τὴν Μαυρουσίῳ γῆν, ἐς ἣν τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Μαυριανὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἀποβαίνεω ἐχρῆν, πᾶσαν ἐδήλωσε καὶ ἐκάκωσε καὶ τὰ ὕδατα.

2. (John of Antioch Fr. 203 = Exc. de Ins. 87)

“Ὅτι Μαιωρῶς ὁ τῶν ἐσπερίων βασιλεὺς, ὥς αὐτῷ οἱ ἐν Γαλατία Γότθοι σύμμαχοι κατέστησαν, καὶ τὰ παροικούντα τῇ ἑαυτοῦ ἐπικρατείᾳ ἔθνη τὰ μὲν λόγοις τὰ δὲ ὅπλοις παρεστήσατο, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Λιβύην σὺν πολλῇ διαβαίνεω ἐπειρᾶτο δυνάμει, νηῶν ἀμφὶ τὰς 5 αὐτῷ ἡθροισμένων· καὶ ἐπὶ συνθήκαις αἰσχροῖς καταλύσας τὸν πόλεμον, ἐπανεξεύγνυνεν. ἤδη δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν διαβεβηκότι ὁ Ῥεκίμερ θάνατον ἐπεβούλευσεν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς συμμάχους μετὰ τὴν ἐπάνοδον ἀποπέμψας σὺν τοῖς οἰκείοις ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπανήρχετο, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ῥεκίμερα συλλαβόντες αὐτὸν τῆς ἀλουργίδος καὶ τοῦ 10 διαδήματος ἐγύνωσαν, πληγὰς τε ἐντείναντες τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀπέτέμνοντο. τοῦτο μὲν τῷ Μαιωρῶνι τῆς τοῦ βίου καταστροφῆς γίνεται τὸ τέλος.

4 νηῶν e Prisco Fr. 36,1 1.5 [νικίων codd.]

give an explanation of what he had decided. Gobazes said that he was willing to come, but asked that the Emperor should hand over Dionysius, who had earlier been sent to Colchis over the disagreement with this same Gobazes, as a pledge that no harm should befall him. Therefore, Dionysius was sent to Colchis, and they composed their differences.

34

(Death of Marcian)

Book VI

35

(Leo Emperor)

36

1. (Exc. de Leg. Gent. 13)

When the Goths in Gaul had become allies of Majorian, the Emperor of the western Romans, he subdued the peoples who neighboured upon his dominions, some in war and some by diplomacy, and was attempting to cross to Libya with a large army, having collected a fleet of about three hundred ships. Gaiseric, the ruler of the Vandals, first sent envoys to him in an attempt to settle their differences by negotiation. But when Majorian would not agree, he laid waste all the land of the Moors, to which Majorian's forces would have to cross from Spain, and also poisoned the wells.

2. (John of Antioch Fr. 203 = Exc. de Ins. 87)

When the Goths in Galatia had become allies of Majorian, the Emperor of the West, he subdued the peoples neighbouring upon his dominions, some by diplomacy and some by war, and was attempting to cross to Libya with a large army, having collected a fleet of about three hundred ships. He broke off the war on shameful terms and retreated. When he had already crossed to Italy, Ricimer plotted his death. Majorian had already dismissed his allies after his return and was on his way to Rome with his own followers when Ricimer's men seized him, stripped him of his purple and diadem, beat him and cut off his head. This was the end of Majorian's life.<sup>145</sup>

## 37

(Exc. de Leg. Rom. 9)

Ὅτι τοῦ Βαλάμερος τοῦ Σκύθου παρασπονδήσαντος καὶ πολλὰς πόλεις δηωσαμένου καὶ χώρας Ῥωμαϊκάς, ἔπεμπον παρ' αὐτὸν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι πρέσβεις, οἱ αὐτῷ τοῦ νεωτερισμοῦ κατεμύροντο, καὶ ὥστε μὴ αὐθις τὴν χώραν καταδραμεῖν τ' λίτρας φέρεω αὐτῷ ἐκάστου ἔτους ἑταξαν· σπάνει γὰρ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἔφραξε πρὸς πόλεμον τὸ οἰκεῖον διαναστῆναι πλῆθος.

## 38

1. (Exc. de Leg. Rom. 10)

Ὅτι ὁ Γεζέριχος οὐκ ἔτι ταῖς πρὸς Μαιοριανὸν τεθείσαις σπονδαῖς ἐμμένων Βανδιλῶν καὶ Μαυρουσίων πλῆθος ἐπὶ δηώσει τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ Συκελίας ἔπεμπε, Μαρκελλίνου ἤδη πρότερον τῆς νήσου ἀναχωρήσαντος διὰ τὸ Ῥεκίμερα παρελῆσθαι αὐτὸν τῆς δυνάμεως ἐθελήσαντα τοὺς παρεπομένους αὐτῷ Σκύθας (ἦσαν δὲ ἐν πλείστοις ἀνδράσι) παραπεῖθω χρήμασιν, ὥστε ἐκεῖνον μὲν ἀπολιπεῖν, ἀφίκεσθαι <δὲ πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ Μαρκελλίνον> εὐλαβηθέντα τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν (οὐ γὰρ ἀντιπλοῖσθαι τῷ Ῥεκίμερῳ ἐδύνατο πλοῦτος), τῆς Συκελίας ὑπονοστήσαι. ἐστέλλετο οὖν καὶ παρὰ τὸν Γεζέριχον πρεσβεῖα, τοῦτο μὲν παρὰ τοῦ Ῥεκίμερος, ὡς οὐ δεῖ καταλιγῶρεν αὐτὸν τῶν σπονδῶν, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ κρατοῦντος τῶν ἐν τῇ ἔῳ Ῥωμαίων, ἐφ' ᾧ τῆς Συκελίας καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀπέχεσθαι καὶ τὰς βασιλεῖς ἐκπέμπω γυναῖκας. Γεζέριχος δέ, πολλῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν πρεσβευτῶν κατὰ διαφόρους σταλέντων χρόνους, τὰς γυναῖκας οὐ πρότερον διαφῆκε πρὶν ἢ τὴν πρεσβυτέραν τῶν Βαλεντωνιανοῦ θυγατέρων (Εὐδοκία δὲ ἦν ὄνομα αὐτῇ) Ὀυορίχῳ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ παιδί κατανεγύησεν. τότε γὰρ καὶ τὴν Εὐδοξίαν τὴν Θεοδοσίου θυγατέρα ἀπέπεμπε σὺν Πλακιδίᾳ τῇ ἐτέρᾳ αὐτῆς θυγατρὶ, ἣν ἐγεγαμήκει Ὀλύβριος. τοῦ δὲ τὰς Ἰταλίας καὶ τὴν Συκελίαν δηοῦν ὁ Γεζέριχος οὐκ ἀπέστη, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον αὐτὰς ἐξεπόρθει, μετὰ τὸν Μαιοριανὸν βουληθεὶς βασιλεῦεν τῶν ἐν τῇ ἑσπέρᾳ Ῥωμαίων Ὀλύβριον διὰ τὴν ἐξ ἐπιγαμίας συγγένειαν.

7 δὲ πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ Μαρκελλίνον addidi in lac. [δὲ πρὸς αὐτόν. τοῦτ' ἐποίησε τὸν M. add. Niebuhr]

2. (John of Antioch Fr. 204 = Exc. de Ins. 88)

Ὅτι ὁ Γεζέριχος ἐπόρθει τὰς Ἰταλίας βουλόμενος βασιλεῦσαι τῶν ἑσπερίων Ὀλύβριον διὰ τὴν ἐξ ἐπιγαμίας συγγένειαν. οὐκ ἐποίητο δὲ προφανῆ τοῦ πολέμου αἰτίαν τὸ μὴ τὸν Ὀλύβριον ἐς τὰ τῆς

## 37

(Exc. de Leg. Rom. 9)

When Valamir the Scythian broke the treaty and ravaged many cities and much Roman territory, the Romans sent envoys to him.<sup>146</sup> They upbraided him for his revolt and agreed to pay him three hundred pounds of gold each year so that he not overrun the land again. For he said that his people had turned to war because of lack of necessities.

## 38

1. (Exc. de Leg. Rom. 10)

Since Gaiseric no longer kept the treaty which he had made with Majorian, he sent a force of Vandals and Moors to ravage Italy and Sicily. Marcellinus had already left the island because Ricimer, wishing to drain off his strength, had won over with money his Scythian followers, who were in the majority.<sup>147</sup> As a result they left Marcellinus and went over <to Ricimer, and Marcellinus,> as a precaution against the plot (since he could not compete with Ricimer's wealth), withdrew from Sicily. Embassies were, therefore, sent to Gaiseric, both from Ricimer, warning him not to ignore the treaty, and from the ruler of the eastern Romans,<sup>148</sup> telling him to keep away from Sicily and Italy and return the royal women. Although many embassies were sent to him at various times, Gaiseric did not free the women until he had betrothed Valentinian's elder daughter, whose name was Eudocia, to his son Huneric. Then he dismissed Eudocia, the daughter of Theodosius, and Placidia, her other daughter, who was married to Olybrius. He did not end his devastation of Italy and Sicily, but ravaged it even more, since because of his kinship by marriage he wished Olybrius to be Emperor of the western Romans after Majorian.<sup>149</sup>

2. (John of Antioch Fr. 204 = Exc. de Ins. 88)

Gaiseric ravaged Italy wishing Olybrius to be Emperor of the West because of his kinship by marriage.<sup>150</sup> He did not advertise as his reason that Olybrius had not become the Emperor of the West, but

ἐσπερίας διαβῆναι βασιλεία, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὴ τὴν Βαλεντιανοῦ καὶ  
 Ἀετίου δεδόσθαι αὐτῷ περιουσίαν, τὴν μὲν ὀνόματι Εὐδοκίας, ἣν ὁ 5  
 τούτου παῖς εἶχε, τὴν δὲ ὡς Γαυδεντίου παιδὸς διάγοντος παρ' αὐτῷ.  
 (Cf. Procopius Wars 3,6,6 = Fr. 53,3)

## 39

## 1. (Exc. de Leg. Gent. 14)

Ὅτι οἱ ἐσπέριοι Ῥωμαῖοι ἐς δέος ἐλθόντες περὶ Μαρκελλίνου,  
 μήποτε αὐξανομένης αὐτῷ τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἀγάγοι τὸν  
 πόλεμον, διαφόρως ταραττομένων αὐτοῖς τῶν πραγμάτων, τοῦτο  
 μὲν ἐκ Βανδύλων, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ Αἰγιδίου, ἀνδρὸς ἐκ Γαλατῶν μὲν 5  
 τῶν πρὸς τῇ ἐσπέρᾳ ὀρμωμένου, τῷ δὲ Μαιουριανῷ συστρατευσ-  
 μένου καὶ πλείστην ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἔχοντος δύναμιν καὶ χαλεπαίνοντος  
 διὰ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἀναίρεσιν· ὃν τοῦ πρὸς Ἰταλιώτας τέως  
 ἀπήγαγε πολέμου ἢ πρὸς Γότθους τοὺς ἐν Γαλατίᾳ διαφορὰ. περὶ  
 γὰρ τῆς ὁμόρου πρὸς ἐκεῖνους διαφιλονεικῶν γῆς καρτερῶς ἐμάχετο  
 καὶ ἀνδρὸς ἔργα μέγιστα ἐν ἐκείνῳ ἐπεδείξατο τῷ πολέμῳ. τούτων 10  
 δὴ ἔνεκα <οἱ> ἐσπέριοι Ῥωμαῖοι παρὰ τοὺς ἐξῶν πρέσβεις  
 ἔστειλαν, ὥστε αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸν Μαρκελλῖνον καὶ τοὺς Βανδύλους  
 διαλλάξαι. καὶ πρὸς μὲν τὸν Μαρκελλῖνον Φύλαρχος σταλεῖς ἔπεισεν  
 αὐτὸν κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ὄπλα μὴ κινεῖν, ὃ δὲ παρὰ τοὺς Βανδύλους  
 διαβὰς ἀπρακτος ἀνεχώρει, τοῦ Γεζερίχου μὴ ἄλλως τὸν πόλεμον 15  
 καταθήσειν ἀπειλοῦντος, εἰ μὴ γε αὐτῷ <ἡ> τοῦ Βαλεντιανοῦ καὶ  
 Ἀετίου περιουσία δοθῇ. καὶ γὰρ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐξῶν Ῥωμαίων  
 ἐκεκόμιστο μοῖραν τῆς Βαλεντιανοῦ περιουσίας ὀνόματι Εὐδοκίας  
 τῆς τῷ Ὀνορίχῳ γεγαμημένης. διὸ δι' ἔτους ἐκάστου ταύτην τοῦ  
 πολέμου πρόφασιν ποιούμενος εὐθὺς ἦρος ἀρχομένου σὺν στόλῳ τὴν 20  
 ἐκστρατείαν ἐποιεῖτο ἐπὶ τῇ Συκελίᾳ καὶ τὰς Ἰταλίας· καὶ ταῖς μὲν  
 πόλεσιν, ἐν αἷς μάχῃσι δύναμιν τῶν Ἰταλιωτῶν εἶναι συνέβαινεν,  
 οὐ ῥαδίως προσεφέρετο, καταλαμβάνων δὲ χωρία, ἐν οἷς μὴ ἔτυχεν  
 οὕσα ἀντίπαλος δύναμις, ἐδήλου τε καὶ ἠνδραποδίζετο. οὐ γὰρ πρὸς 25  
 πάντα τὰ ποδᾶσσι τοῖς Βανδύλοις μέρη οἱ Ἰταλιῶται ἀρκεῖν ἐδύ-  
 ναντο, πληθεὶ τῶν πολεμίων βιαζόμενοι καὶ τῷ μὴ παρεῖναι σφίσι  
 ναυτικὴν δύναμιν, ἣν παρὰ τῶν ἐξῶν αἰτοῦντες οὐκ ἐτύγχανον διὰ  
 τὰς πρὸς Γεζερίχον ἐκείνους τεθείλας σπονδὰς· ὅπερ ἔτι μάλιστα  
 ἐκάκωσε τὰ ἐν τῇ ἐσπέρᾳ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα διὰ τὸ διηρηθῆναι τὴν  
 βασιλείαν.

30

rather that he himself had not been given the property of Valentinian  
 and of Aetius, the former in the name of Eudocia, who was married to  
 his son, the latter because Gaudentius, Aetius' son, was living with  
 him.<sup>151</sup> (Cf. Procopius Wars 3,6,6 = Fr. 53,3)

## 39

## 1. (Exc. de Leg. Gent. 14)

The western Romans came to fear that Marcellinus, whose  
 strength was increasing,<sup>152</sup> would make war upon them while their  
 affairs were troubled in a variety of ways, both by the Vandals and  
 by Aegidius, a man sprung from the western Gauls.<sup>153</sup> He had a large  
 force and, having been a fellow soldier of Majorian's, was angry at the  
 murder of the Emperor. In the meanwhile his disagreement with the  
 Goths in Gaul deterred him from war against the Italians. For, being  
 in dispute with them over some border land, he fought hard against  
 them and in the war performed deeds of the greatest bravery. For these  
 reasons the western Romans sent envoys to the East to reconcile  
 Marcellinus and the Vandals to them. Phylarchus was sent to Mar-  
 cellinus and persuaded him not to attack the Romans. But when he had  
 crossed to the Vandals, he returned having achieved nothing, since  
 Gaiseric refused to end the war unless the property of Valentinian  
 and Aetius were given to him. (From the eastern Romans he had  
 acquired a part of the property of Valentinian in the name of Eudocia,  
 who had married Huneric.)<sup>154</sup> Therefore, using this as a reason for  
 hostilities, every year at the beginning of spring he descended upon  
 Sicily and Italy with his fleet. He did not readily attack the cities  
 which the Italians had garrisoned, but seized the places in which  
 there was no adequate force, laid them waste and enslaved them.<sup>155</sup> The  
 Italians were unable to bring help to all the points at which the Vandals  
 could land, being hampered by the numbers of their enemies and by  
 their lack of a fleet. The latter they sought from the eastern Romans  
 but did not receive it because of the treaty which they had with the  
 Vandals. Because of the division of the Empire this fact resulted in  
 great harm for the western Romans.

## 2. (Stephanus Byzantius s.v. Σαλῶναι)

Σαλῶναι, πόλις Δαλματίας, ὡν Σαλωνεὺς τὸ ἔθνηκόν, ὡς Πρίσκοις ἐν ἑκτῷ.

## 40

## 1. (Exc. de Leg. Gent. 14)

Ἐπρεσβεύσαντο δὲ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον κατὰ τοὺς ἐφ' ὧν Ῥωμαῖοι Σαράγουροι καὶ Οὐρωγοὶ καὶ Ὀνόγουροι, ἔθνη ἐξαναστάντα τῶν οἰκείων ἡθῶν, Σαβίρων ἐς μάχην σφίσιν ἐληλυθότων, οὓς ἐξήλασαν Ἀβαροὶ μετανάσται γενόμενοι ὑπὸ ἐθνῶν οἰκούντων μὲν τὴν παρωκεανίτῳ ἁκτῇ, ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ Σαράγουροι ἐλαθέντες κατὰ ζήτησιν γῆς πρὸς τοῖς Ἀκατίροις Οὐννοῖς ἐγένοντο, καὶ μάχας πρὸς ἐκείνους πολλὰς συστησάμενοι τό τε φύλον κατηγωνίσαντο καὶ πρὸς Ῥωμαῖοις ἀφίκοντο, τυχέειν τῆς αὐτῶν βουλόμενοι ἐπιτηδειότητος. βασιλεὺς οὖν καὶ οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν φιλοφρονησάμενοι καὶ δῶρα δόντες αὐτοὺς ἀπέπεμψαν.

1 κατὰ codd. [παρὰ de Boor 3 ἡθῶν Cantoclarus [ἐθῶν A ἐθνῶν X  
5 παρωκεανίτῳ Suda [παρωκεανίτῳ A

## 2. (Suda A 18)

Ὅτι οἱ Ἀβάρεις οὗτοι ἐξήλασαν Σαβίνωρας, μετανάσται γενόμενοι ὑπὸ ἐθνῶν οἰκούντων μὲν τὴν παρωκεανίτῳ ἁκτῇ, τὴν δὲ χώραν ἀπολιπόντων διὰ τὸ ἐξ ἀναχύσεως τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ ὁμιχλώδεις γινόμενον, καὶ γρυπῶν δὲ πλῆθος ἀναφανέν· ὅπερ ἦν λόγος μὴ πρότερον παύσασθαι πρὶν ἢ βορὰν ποιῆσαι τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος. διὸ δὴ ὑπὸ τῶνδε ἐλαυνόμενοι τῶν δευῶν τοῖς πλησιохώροις ἐνέβαλλον· καὶ τῶν ἐπιόντων δυνατωτέρων ὄντων οἱ τὴν ἐφοδὸν <οὐχ> ὑφιστάμενοι μετανίσταντο, ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ Σαράγουροι ἐλαθέντες πρὸς τοῖς Ἀκατίροις Οὐννοῖς ἐγένοντο. (Cf. A 820, Σ 111)

1 ἐξήλασαν [ἐξέψικσαν M 3 ἀπολιπόντων AGTB [καταλιπόντων  
SMB ἀναχύσεως [ἀναλωθῆναι ὑπὸ M 7 δυνατωτέρων ὄντων AGT [ἐμ-  
φανισθέντων M οὐχ add. Müller [μὴ A

## 41

## 1. (Exc. de Leg. Gent. 15)

Ὅτι στασιαζόντων τῶν φυγάδων ἐθνῶν κατὰ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν ἑῷ Ῥωμαῖοις, παρὰ τῶν Ἰταλῶν πρεσβεῖα ἀφίκετο λέγουσα ὡς οὐχ ὑποστήσονται, εἰ μὴ γε σφίσι τοὺς Βανδίλους διαλλάξουσιν. ἀφίκετο δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Περσῶν μονάρχου, τῶν τε παρ' αὐτοὺς καταφρευγόντων ἐκ τοῦ σφετέρου ἔθνους αἰτίαν ἔχουσα καὶ τῶν Μάγων [καί] τῶν ἐν

5 καὶ exp. Valesius

## 2. (Stephanus Byzantius s.v. Σαλῶναι)

Salonae: a city of Dalmatia, the adjective from which is Saloneus, according to Priscus in his sixth book.

## 40

## 1. (Exc. de Leg. Gent. 14)

At this time the Saraguri, Urogi and the Onoguri sent envoys to the eastern Romans. These tribes had left their native lands when the Sabiri attacked them. The latter had been driven out by the Avars who had in turn been displaced by the tribes who lived by the shore of the Ocean. In the same way, the Saraguri, driven to search for land, came into contact with the Akatirian Huns and, after engaging them in many battles, defeated that tribe. The Saraguri then approached the Romans, wishing to win their friendship, and the Emperor and his courtiers received them in a kindly manner, gave them gifts and sent them away.<sup>156</sup>

## 2. (Suda A 18)

These Avars drove out the Sabinores having themselves been displaced by the tribes who lived by the shore of the Ocean. The latter had left their land on account of the mist which came from an inundation of the Ocean and because a flock of gryphons had appeared. It is said that they would not leave until they had eaten the whole race of men. Therefore, driven out by these evils, the ocean dwellers fell upon their neighbours, and since the attackers were more powerful, the Avars, who could not resist their onset, were displaced. In the same way the Saraguri were driven out and came into contact with the Akatirian Huns.<sup>157</sup> (Cf. A 820, Σ 111)

## 41

## 1. (Exc. de Leg. Gent. 15)

While the fugitive peoples were at odds with the eastern Romans,<sup>158</sup> an embassy came from the Italians saying that they could not continue to resist unless the eastern Romans reconciled them with the Vandals. An embassy also arrived from the Persian monarch which complained to the Romans both about the Persians who were fleeing to the Romans and about the Magi who had lived from old in Roman

τῇ Ῥωμαίων γῇ ἐκ παλαιῶν οἰκούντων χρόνων, ὡς ἀπάγειν αὐτοὺς  
 τῶν πατρίων ἐθῶν καὶ νόμων ἐθέλοντες καὶ τῆς περὶ τὸ θεῖον  
 ἀγιοτείας παρενοχλοῦσι τε καὶ ἐς αἰὶ ἀνακαλεσθαι κατὰ τὸν θεσμὸν  
 οὐ συγχωροῦσι τὸ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἄσβεστον καλούμενον πῦρ· καὶ ὡς χρῆ  
 τοῦ Ἰουροειπαᾶχ φρουρίου ἐπὶ τῶν Κασπίων κεμένον πυλῶν χρή- 10  
 ματα χορηγοῦντας Ῥωμαίους ποιεῖσθαι ἐπιμέλειαν ἢ γοῦν τοὺς  
 φρουρήσοντας αὐτὸ στρατιώτας στέλλειν, καὶ μὴ μόνους <σφᾶς>  
 δαπάνῃ καὶ φυλακῇ τοῦ χωρίου βαρύνεσθαι· εἰ γὰρ ἐνδοῖεν, οὐκ εἰς  
 Πέρσας μόνους, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς Ῥωμαίους τὰ ἐκ τῶν παροικούντων  
 ἐθνῶν κακὰ ῥάβδῳ ἀφύκεσθαι. χρήναι δὲ αὐτοὺς ἔλεγον καὶ χρή- 15  
 μασιν ἐπικουρεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ πρὸς Οὐννοὺς πολέμῳ τοὺς Κιδαρίτας  
 λεγομένους· ἔσεσθαι γὰρ σφίσιν αὐτῶν νικούντων ὄνησι, μὴ συγχω-  
 ρομένους τοῦ ἔθνους καὶ εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν διαβαίνειν ἐπικράτειαν.  
 πάντων δὲ ἔνεκα Ῥωμαίων ἀποκρῳαμένων στέλλειν τὸν διαλεξό-  
 μενον τῷ Παρθυαίῳ μονάρχη· μήτε γὰρ φυγάδας εἶναι παρὰ σφίσι 20  
 μήτε παρενοχλεῖσθαι τοὺς Μάγους τῆς θρησκείας περὶ· τὴν φυλακὴν  
 δὲ τοῦ Ἰουροειπαᾶχ φρουρίου καὶ τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς τοὺς Οὐννοὺς  
 ὑπὲρ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀναδεδεγμένους μὴ δικαίως χρήματα αἰτεῖν παρ'  
 αὐτῶν. ἐπρεσβεύετο δὲ παρὰ μὲν Βανδίλους ὑπὲρ Ἰταλῶν Τατιανὸς  
 ἐν τῇ τῶν πατρικίων ἀξίᾳ καταλεγόμενος, παρὰ δὲ Πέρσας Κων- 25  
 στάντιος, τρίτον μὲν τὴν ὑπαρχον λαχὼν ἀρχὴν, πρὸς δὲ τῇ ὑπατικῇ  
 ἀξίᾳ καὶ τῆς πατρικιότητος τυχών.

8 ἀγιοτείας παρενοχλοῦσι τε καὶ ἐς αἰὶ ἀνακαλεσθαι scripsi [ἀγιοτείας, παρα-  
 χωροῦσι δὲ καὶ ἐς αἰὶ ἀνακαλεσθαι A ἀγιοτείας παρενοχλοῦσι τε ἐς αἰὶ καὶ  
 ἀνακαλεσθαι Bekker, Niebuhr 12 σφᾶς add. Bekker 26 ὑπαρχον codd.  
 [ὑπατον ex Fr. 41,2 l.3 Maltese (1977)]

## 2. (Exc. de Leg. Rom. 11)

Ὅτι ἐπὶ Λέοντος βασιλείᾳς Ῥωμαίων ἐπρεσβεύετο παρὰ μὲν  
 Βανδίλους ὑπὲρ Ἰταλῶν Τατιανὸς ἐν τῇ τῶν πατρικίων ἀξίᾳ κατα-  
 λεγόμενος, παρὰ δὲ Πέρσας Κωνστάντιος, τρίτον μὲν <τὴν> ὑπαρχον  
 λαχὼν ἀρχήν, πρὸς δὲ τῇ ὑπατικῇ ἀξίᾳ καὶ τῆς πατρικιότητος τυχών. 5  
 καὶ Τατιανὸς μὲν ἐκ Βανδιλῶν εὐθὺς ἀπρακτος ἀνεχώρησεν, τῶν  
 αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ Γεζερίχου μὴ παραδεχθέντων λόγων· ὁ δὲ Κων-  
 στάντιος τῇ Ἐδέσῃ, Ῥωμαϊκῇ μὲν πόλει, προσοίκῳ δὲ τῆς Περσῶν  
 χώρας, ἐγκατέμεινεν, ἐσδέξασθαι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πολὺ διαναβαλλομένου  
 τοῦ Παρθυαίου μονάρχου.

territory. The embassy alleged that the Romans, wishing to turn the  
 Magi from their ancestral customs, laws and form of worship, harassed  
 them and did not allow the fire, which they call unquenchable, to be  
 kept burning continually according to their law.<sup>159</sup> It also said that the  
 Romans, through a contribution of money, should show interest in the  
 fortress of Iouroeipaach, situated at the Caspian Gates, or they should  
 at least send soldiers to guard it. It was not right that the Persians  
 alone should be burdened by the expense and the garrisoning of the  
 place, since if they did not make these expenditures, the neighbouring  
 peoples would easily inflict damage not only upon the Persians but  
 upon the Romans also. They further said that the Romans should help  
 with money in the war against the so-called Kidarite Huns, since a  
 Persian victory would be advantageous to the Romans insofar as that  
 people would be prevented from penetrating to the Roman Empire  
 also. The Romans replied that they would send someone to discuss all  
 these issues with the Parthian monarch. They claimed that there were  
 no fugitives amongst them and that the Magi were not harassed on  
 account of their religion, and said that since the Persians had under-  
 taken the guarding of the fortress of Iouroeipaach and the war against  
 the Huns on their own behalf, it was not right that they demand money  
 from the Romans.

Tatian, who held the rank of patrician, was sent as ambassador  
 to the Vandals on behalf of the Italians, while Constantius, who was  
 prefect for the third time and a patrician as well as a consular, was sent  
 to the Persians.<sup>160</sup>

## 2. (Exc. de Leg. Rom. 11)

When Leo was Emperor of the Romans, Tatian was sent as  
 ambassador to the Vandals on behalf of the Italians, while Constantius,  
 who was prefect for the third time and a patrician as well as a consular,  
 was sent to the Persians. Tatian returned immediately from the Vandals  
 having accomplished nothing since Gaiseric would not give him an  
 audience. But Constantius waited at Edessa, a Roman city close to  
 Persian territory, since the Parthian monarch delayed receiving him  
 for a long time.<sup>161</sup>

3 τὴν add. Niebuhr ὑπαρχον Müller ex Fr. 41,1 l.26 [ὑπατον codd. def.  
 Maltese (1977)] 4 λαχὼν Dindorf [λαβὼν codd.]

## 3. (Exc. de Leg. Rom. 12)

Ὅτι τὸν Κωνσταντίου τὸν πρεσβευτὴν ἐν τῇ Ἐδέσῃ χρόνον ἐπιμεινάντα, ὡς εἴρηται μοι, τῆς πρεσβείας πέρι, τότε ἐδέξατο ὁ Περσῶν μονάρχος ἐς τὴν σφετέραν καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν ἀρκεσθαι προσέταξεν, οὐκ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς μεθορίοις αὐτῶν τε καὶ Οὐννων τῶν Κιδαριτῶν τὰς διατριβὰς ποιούμενος, <πρὸς οὓς πόλεμος> αὐτῷ συνίστατο αἰτίαν ἔχων ὡς τοὺς φόρους τῶν Οὐννων μὴ κομψομένων, οὓς οἱ πάλαι μὲν τῶν Περσῶν καὶ Πάρθων βασιλεύοντες ἔθεντο. οὐ δὲ πατήρ τὴν τοῦ φόρου ἀπαρνησάμενος ἀπαγωγὴν τὸν πόλεμον ὑπεδέξατο καὶ τοῦτον μετὰ τῆς βασιλείας παρέπεμψε τῷ παιδί, ὥστε ταῖς μάχαις ἐπιτριβομένους τοὺς Πέρσας ἀπάτῃ ἐθέλῃσαι τὴν τῶν Οὐννων λῦσαι διαφορὰν, καὶ δῆτα διὰ πέμψασθαι τὸν Πειρώξην (τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ὄνομα τῷ τότε Περσῶν βασιλευμένῳ) πρὸς τὸν Κούγχαν τὸν Οὐννων ἡγούμενον, ὡς τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀσμενίζων εἰρήνην ἐπὶ τε συμμαχίᾳ σπένδεσθαι βούλοιο καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ κατεγγυᾷ ἀδελφὴν (νεώτατον γὰρ αὐτὸν εἶναι συνέβαυε καὶ μηδέπω παῖδων εἶναι πατέρα). τὸν δὲ προσδεξάμενον τοὺς λόγους γήμασθαι οὐ τοῦ Πειρώξου ἀδελφὴν, ἀλλ' ἑτέραν γυναῖκα βασιλικῶς διακοσμηθεῖσαν, ἣν ὁ Περσῶν μονάρχος ἐξέπεμψε, παρεγγυήσας ὡς οὐδὲν μὲν ἀνακαλύπτουσα τῶν ἐσχηματισμένων βασιλείας καὶ εὐδαμονίας μεθέξει, ἐκλέγουσα δὲ τὴν ὑπόκρισιν θάνατον ἔξει ζημίαν· οὐ γὰρ ἀνέξουσιν τὸν Κιδαριτῶν ἄρχοντα θεράπωναν ἔχειν γαμετὴν ἀντὶ τῆς εὐγενομένης.

Τοῦτου χάριν σπεισάμενος ὁ Πειρώξης πρὸς τὸν τῶν Οὐννων ἡγούμενον οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς ἀπάτης ἀπώνατο· εὐλαβηθεῖσα γὰρ ἡ γυνή, μήποτε ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ ἔθνους ὑπὸ ἐτέρων πυθόμενος τὴν αὐτῆς τύχην χαλεπῶς αὐτὴν ὑφείξει θανάτῳ, μὲν τὸ μελετηθέν, ὁ δὲ Κούγχας ἐπαυέσας τὴν γυναῖκα τῆς ἀληθείας αὐτὴν μὲν ἔμεινεν ἔχων γαμετὴν, τίσασθαι δὲ τοῦ δόλου Πειρώξην ἐθέλων πόλεμον πρὸς τοὺς ὁμόρους ἔχειν ὑπεκρίνετο δεῖσθαι τε ἀνδρῶν οὐ τῶν πρὸς μάχην ἐπιτηδείων, (μυρίον γὰρ αὐτῷ παρεῖναι πλῆθος) ἀλλὰ τῶν στρατηγισάντων αὐτῷ τὸν πόλεμον, ὁ δὲ τ' αὐτῷ ἄνδρας τῶν λογάδων ἐξέπεμψε, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ὁ τῶν Κιδαριτῶν ἄρχων ἀπέκτευνεν, τοὺς δὲ λωβησάμενος παρὰ τὸν Πειρώξην ἀπέπεμψε ἀπαγγελοῦντας ὡς τῆς ἀπάτης ταύτην ἔδωκε δίκην, οὕτως αὖθις αὐτοῖς ὁ πόλεμος ἀνεζωπυρήθη, καὶ ἐμάχοντο καρτερῶς, ἐν Γόργα τοῖνυν, (τοῦτο γὰρ ὄνομα τῷ χωρίῳ, ἐν ᾧ περὶ συνέβαυε τοὺς Πέρσας στρατοπεδεύεσθαι) τὸν Κωνσταντίου ὁ Πειρώξης ἐδέχετο καὶ τινὰς ἡμέρας φιλοφρονησάμενος διαψήκε δεξιὸν οὐδὲν περὶ τῆς πρεσβείας ἀποκρινάμενος.

## 3. (Exc. de Leg. Rom. 12)

When Constantius the envoy had waited for a while at Edessa, as I have said,<sup>162</sup> for the sake of his embassy, the Persian monarch gave him admittance to his territory. He asked Constantius to come to him while he was engaged not in the cities but on the borders between his people and the Kidarite Huns. With these a war had begun, the cause of which was that the Huns were not receiving the tribute monies which the former rulers of the Persians and the Parthians had paid.<sup>163</sup> The father of the monarch had refused the payment of the tribute and had undertaken the war, which his son had inherited together with the kingdom. As a result the Persians were being worn down by the fighting and wished to end the dispute with the Huns by guile. So Perozes (for this was the name of the current Persian king) sent to Kunchas, the leader of the Huns, saying that he welcomed peace with him and wished to make a treaty of alliance and betroth his sister to him, for he happened to be very young and not yet the father of children. However, when Kunchas had accepted these proposals, he married not the sister of Perozes but another woman dressed as a princess, whom the Persian king had sent, having told her that if she did not reveal the trick she would enjoy royal status and affluence, but if she told of the deceit she would suffer death as the penalty, since the ruler of the Kidarites would not endure to have a maidservant to wife instead of a noblewoman.

Having made the treaty on these terms, Perozes did not long profit from his treachery towards the ruler of the Huns. For the woman, fearing that at some time the ruler of the people would be told of her status by others and would put her to a cruel death, revealed what had been done. Kunchas praised the woman for her honesty and continued to keep her as his wife. But, wishing to punish Perozes for his trick, he pretended that he was at war with his neighbours and had need, not of fighting men (for he had an enormous number of these), but of generals to direct the war. Perozes sent him three hundred of his leading captains, and of these the ruler of the Kidarites killed some and mutilated the rest, sending them back to Perozes with the message that this was the punishment for his treachery. Thus the war between them was rekindled, and there was heavy fighting. Therefore, Perozes received Constantius in Gorga, which was the name of the place at which the Persians were encamped, and having treated him generously for a few days, dismissed him without a satisfactory reply to the embassy.<sup>164</sup>

4 Περσῶν ante πόλεσιν add. de Boor 5-6 πρὸς οὓς πόλεμος add. Niebuhr  
8 οὐ scripsi [ὡν codd. παρνησάμενος X 21 ἐξεσθαι X 26 χαλεπῶς codd.

[42]

[(Evagrius HE 2,13)]

Συνηνέχθη δὲ τοῖς οὖτοις ὁμοία ἢ καὶ δεωότερα ἀνὰ τὴν Κωνσταν-  
 τινούπολιν, ἀρχῆς τοῦ κακοῦ γενομένης ἐν τῷ παραθαλασσίῳ τῆς  
 πόλεως μέρει, ὅπερ βοδὸς καλοῦσι πόρον. ἰστόρηται δὲ ὡς κατὰ τὰς  
 ἐπιλυχνίους ὥρας δαίμων τις κακοῦργος παλαμναῖος γυναικὶ εἰκασ-  
 5 θείς, εἴτε καὶ ταῖς ἀληθείαις γυνὴ χερνῆτις ὑπὸ δαίμονος οἰστρου-  
 μένη — λέγεται γὰρ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα —, λύχνον πρὸς παντοπωλίων  
 ἐνεγκεῖν ὠνησομένη τι τῶν τεταριχενύμενων, τεθέντος δ' αὖ τοῦ  
 λύχνου τὸ γύναιον ὑπαναχωρήσαι· τὸ δὲ γε πῦρ στυπῖον λαβόμενον  
 10 φλόγα μεγίστην ἐξῆραι, λόγου τε θάπτον ἐμπρῆσαι τὸ οἶκμα· ἐκ  
 τούτου δὲ τὰ παρακείμενα ῥάδιον ἀφανισθῆναι, τοῦ πυρὸς ἀμφι-  
 νεμομένου οὐ μόνον τὰ εὐξέαπτα ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἐκ λίθων οἰκοδομίας,  
 καὶ ἄχρι τετάρτης ἡμέρας διαμεινάντος, καὶ πᾶσαν ἄμυναν ὑπερ-  
 βεβηκότος, τὸ μεσαίτατον ἅπαν τῆς πόλεως ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρκτύου μέχρι  
 15 τοῦ νοτίου κλίματος δαπανηθῆναι, ἐπὶ πέντε μὲν σταδίους τὸ μήκος,  
 δεκατέσσαρας δὲ τὸ πλάτος· ὡς μηδὲν μεταξὺ καταλειφθῆναι μὴ  
 δημοσίων μὴ ἰδιωτικῶν οἰκοδομιῶν, μὴ κίονας, μὴ τὰς ἐκ λίθων  
 ψαλίδας, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν ἀπεσκληκυῖαν ὕλην ὥσπερ τι τῶν εὐξέαπτων  
 κατακαυθῆναι. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ κακὸν γενέσθαι ἐν μὲν τῷ βορείῳ  
 20 κλίματι, ἐν ᾧ καὶ νεώρια τῆς πόλεως καθεστᾶσθαι, ἀπὸ τοῦ καλου-  
 μένου βοδὸς πόρου μέχρι τοῦ παλαιοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱεροῦ, ἐν δὲ τῷ  
 νοτίῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ λυμένος μέχρις οἰκῶν οὐ πολὺ κειμένων  
 τοῦ εὐκτηρίου τῆς ἐπὶ κλην Ὀμονοίας ἐκκλησίας, ἐν δὲ τῷ μεσαιτάτῳ  
 25 τῆς πόλεως μέρει ἀπὸ τοῦ Κωνσταντινίου προσαγορευομένου φόρου  
 μέχρι τῆς τοῦ Ταύρου καλουμένης ἀγορᾶς, οἰκτρὸν πᾶσι θέαμα καὶ  
 εἰδεχθέστατον. ὅσα γὰρ ἐπηώρητο τῇ πόλει κάλλη, ἢ πρὸς τὸ μεγα-  
 λοπρεπὲς καὶ ἀπαράβλητον ἐξησκημένα, ἢ πρὸς κοινὰς ἢ ἰδιωτικὰς  
 30 καλοῦντα χρείας, ὅρ' ἐν ἐς ὅρη τε καὶ βουνούς ἀπεσχεδιάσθη δυσ-  
 βάτους τε καὶ δυσδιαπορεύτους καὶ παντοίων ὑλῶν πλήρεις, τὴν  
 προτέρων συγγέοντας ὀψιν· ὡς μηδὲ τοῖς οἰκῆτορσι τὸν τόπον ἐπι-  
 τρέπεω εἰδέναι τί τε ἦ ὅρη τῶν προτέρων ἐτύγχανεν ὦν.  
 (Cf. Nicephorus Callistus HE 15,21)]

8 γε om. P<sup>v</sup> 12-13 ὑποβεβηκότος B 15 ὡς [καὶ B 24 τοῦ σταυροῦ A  
 26 ἀπαράκλητον P 29 τῶν τόπων LB<sup>v</sup> 30 ὅν A

[43]

[(Suda B 163)]

Βασίλειος, Βηρίνης ἀδελφὸς τῆς βασιλίδος, ἐπὶ Λέοντος τοῦ  
 βασιλέως ἀντὶ Ῥουστικίου στρατοπεδάρχου ἡρέθη, εὐεπίτευκτος μὲν  
 ὦν ἐν μάχαις, βραδύνους δὲ καὶ φευκίζουσιν ὑπαγόμενος ῥαδίως.]

[42]

[(Evagrius HE 2,13)]

At the same time as these disasters<sup>165</sup> there occurred similar or  
 even worse ones at Constantinople. The trouble began in that part of  
 the city on the coast which they call the Bosphorus. It is said that at  
 dusk a malignant and vengeful spirit in the guise of a woman, or really  
 a working woman possessed by a spirit (for both versions are offered),  
 carried a lamp into a general store intending to buy some pickles. The  
 silly woman set down the lamp and left, and the flame caught some  
 fibres, burst into a huge conflagration and burned down the building  
 in an instant. After this the neighbouring buildings were quickly con-  
 sumed as the fire spread not only to the structures made of in-  
 flammable materials but even to stone buildings. It burned for four  
 days and overcame every attempt to stop it. The whole core of the city  
 from the north to the southern edge was destroyed, an area five stades  
 deep and fourteen wide. Within this area nothing remained of any  
 building, public or private — not even the pillars or stone vaults —, but  
 all materials were burned up and reduced to ashes as if they had been  
 easily combustible. In the northern quarter, where the city's dockyards  
 are, the damage extended from the Bosphorus to the old Temple of  
 Apollo, in the southern quarter from Julian's Harbour to buildings close  
 to the oratory of the church called Concord, and in the centre of the  
 city from Constantine's Forum to the Agora of Taurus. To all it offered  
 a miserable and affecting spectacle. Whatever beautiful things had  
 graced the city, all that was built with an eye to unsurpassable magni-  
 ficence, all that was put to public or private use was at one stroke  
 reduced to hills and mounds of all kinds of rubble, impassable obstacles,  
 the jumbled remains of former beauty. As a result the site did not even  
 allow its inhabitants to recognise what had been there before and where  
 it had stood.<sup>166</sup>  
 (Cf. Nicephorus Callistus HE 15,21)]

[43]

[(Suda B 163)]

Basiliscus, the brother of the Empress Verina, was during Leo's  
 reign chosen general to replace Rusticius. He was a successful soldier  
 but slow-witted and easily taken in by deceivers.]



## 44

*(Exc. de Leg. Gent. 16)*

Ὅτι μετὰ τὸν ἐμπρησμὸν τῆς πόλεως τὸν ἐπὶ Λέοντος ἦκεν ὁ Γωβάξης σὺν Διονυσίῳ ἐς τὴν Κωνσταντίνου Περσικὴν ἔχων στολὴν καὶ τῷ Μηδικῷ δορυφορούμενος τρόπῳ. ὃν οἱ ἀμφὶ τὰ βασιλεια δεξάμενοι πρότερον μὲν τοῦ νεωτερισμοῦ κατεμέμψαντο, ἔπειτα δὲ φιλοφρονησάμενοι ἀπέπεμψαν· εἶλε γὰρ αὐτοὺς τῇ τε θωπείᾳ τῶν λόγων καὶ τὰ τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐπιφερόμενος σύμβολα.

## 45

*(Exc. de Leg. Gent. 17)*

Ὅτι Σκίροι καὶ Γότθοι ἐς πόλεμον συνελθόντες καὶ διαχωρισθέντες ἀμφοτέρω πρὸς συμμάχων μετὰ κλησὺν παρεσκευάζοντο· ἐν οἷς καὶ παρὰ τοὺς ἐξώους Ῥωμαίους ἦλθον. καὶ Ἀσπαρ μὲν ἡγεῖτο μηδετέροις συμμαχεῖν, ὁ δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ Λέων ἐβούλετο Σκίροις ἐπικουρεῖν. καὶ δὴ γράμματα πρὸς τὸν ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς στρατηγὸν ἔπεμπεν ἐντελλόμενος σφίσι κατὰ τῶν Γότθων βοήθειαν τὴν προσήκουσαν πέμπειν.

1 Σκίροι Cantoclar. [Σκόθαι A 3 Ἀσπαρ Cantoclar. [ἄσπερ A

## 46

*(Exc. de Leg. Gent. 18)*

Ὅτι ἦκε κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον παρὰ τῶν Ἀττήλα παίδων ὡς τὸν βασιλεῖα Λέοντα πρεσβεία τὰς αἰτίας διαλύουσα τῆς προὔπαρξάσης διαφορᾶς, καὶ ὡς χρὴ αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ εἰρήνῃ σπένδεσθαι καὶ κατὰ τὸ παλαιὸν ἔθος παρὰ τὸν Ἰστρον ἐς ταὐτὸν ἰόντας Ῥωμαίους προτιθέναι ἀγορὰν καὶ ἀντιλαμβάνειν, ὧν ἂν δεόμενοι τύχοιεν. καὶ ἡ μὲν σφῶν αὐτῶν πρεσβεία ἐν τοῖσδε οὕσα ἄπρακτος ἐπανήει· οὐ γὰρ ἐδόκει τῷ βασιλευντι Οὐννοῦς τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν συμβολαίων μετέχειν πολλὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ κακώσαντας γῆν· οἱ δὲ τοῦ Ἀττήλα παῖδες τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ πρεσβείᾳ ἀπόκρισιν δεξάμενοι πρὸς σφᾶς διεφέροντο· ὁ μὲν γὰρ Δεγγιζίχ, ἀπράκτων ἐπανεληθόντων τῶν πρέσβεων, πόλεμον Ῥωμαίοις ἐπάγῃ ἐβούλετο, ὁ δὲ Ἡρνάχ πρὸς ταύτην ἀπηγόρευε τὴν παρασκευὴν, ὡς τῶν κατὰ χώραν ἀπαγόντων αὐτὸν πολέμων.

## 47

*(Exc. de Leg. Gent. 19)*

Ὅτι Σαράγουροι Ἀκατίροις καὶ ἄλλοις ἔθνεσιν ἐπιθέμενοι ἐπὶ Πέρσας ἐστράτευον. καὶ πρότερον μὲν ἐπὶ τὰς Κασπίας παρεγένοντο

## 44

*(Exc. de Leg. Gent. 16)*

After the fire in the city during the reign of Leo, Gobazes came with Dionysius to Constantinople, dressed in Persian style and with a bodyguard in the Median manner. The officials at court received him and at first blamed him for his rebellion, but then treated him in a kindly manner and dismissed him. For he won them over both by his flattering words and because he brought with him the symbols of the Christians.<sup>167</sup>

## 45

*(Exc. de Leg. Gent. 17)*

A war broke out between the Sciri and the Goths. When the two sides separated, they prepared to call for assistance. Amongst others they came to the eastern Romans. Aspar thought that they should ally with neither, but the Emperor Leo wished to help the Sciri. He sent letters to the general in Illyricum ordering him to send the appropriate help against the Goths.<sup>168</sup>

## 46

*(Exc. de Leg. Gent. 18)*

At this time an embassy came to the Emperor Leo from the sons of Attila to remove the causes of previous disputes. They also said that a peace treaty should be made and that in the old manner they should meet with the Romans at the Danube, establish a market and exchange whatever they required.<sup>169</sup> The embassy left having achieved none of these things, since the Emperor's view was that the Huns, who had done much damage to his territory, should not have access to Roman trade. When the sons of Attila received the reply to the embassy, they fell into disagreement. Since the embassy returned unsuccessful, Dengizich wished to make war on the Romans, whereas Ernach objected to such a campaign because wars in his own territory were occupying him.

## 47

*(Exc. de Leg. Gent. 19)*

The Saraguri, having attacked the Akatiri and other peoples, invaded Persia. First they came to the Caspian gates, but when they

πύλας· καὶ φρουράν Περσικὴν ἐν αὐταῖς ἐγκαθεστῶσαν εὐρόντες  
 ἑτέρων ὁδὸν ἐτράποντο, δι' ἧς ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰβήρας ἐλθόντες τὴν τε  
 αὐτῶν ἐδήρουν καὶ τὰ Ἀρμενίων χωρία κατέτρεχον· ὥστε Πέρσας  
 πρὸς τῷ πολέμῳ τῶν Κιδαριτῶν τῷ πάλαι αὐτοῖς συστάντι καὶ  
 ταύτην εὐλαβουμένους τὴν ἔφοδον παρὰ Ῥωμαίους πρεσβεύσασθαι  
 καὶ αἰτεῖν χρήματα σφίσιν αὐτοῖς δίδοσθαι ἢ ἄνδρας πρὸς φυλακὴν  
 τοῦ Ἰουροειπαάχ φρουρίου, καὶ λέγειν, ἅπερ αὐτοῖς πολλάκις εἴρητο  
 πρεσβευομένοις, ὥς, αὐτῶν ὑρισταμένων τὰς μάχας καὶ μὴ συγχω-  
 ρούντων τὰ ἐπιόντα ἔθνη βάρβαρα πάροδον ἔχειν, ἢ τῶν Ῥωμαίων  
 ἀδήλωτος διαμένει χώρα. τῶν δὲ ἀποκρυσμένων ὥς ἕκαστον ἀνάγκη  
 τῆς οἰκείας ὑπερμαχοῦντα γῆς τῆς σφετέρας φρουρᾶς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι,  
 πάλω ἄπρακτοι ἐπανέβησαν.

## 48

1. (*Exc. de Leg. Gent.* 20)

Ὅτι Δεγγιζὶχ πόλεμον ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ἐπενεγκόντος καὶ τῇ τοῦ  
 Ἰστρου ὄχθῃ προσκαρτεροῦντος, τοῦτο μαθὼν ὁ Ἀναγαστὴς ὁ Ὀρνι-  
 γίσκλου (αὐτὸς γὰρ εἶχε τὴν πρὸς τῷ Θρακίῳ μέρει τοῦ ποταμοῦ  
 φυλακὴν) ἐκ τῶν ἄμφ' αὐτὸν ἐκπέμψας ἐπυνθάνετο ὃ τι βουλόμενοι  
 πρὸς μάχην παρασκευάζονται. ὁ δὲ Δεγγιζὶχ τοῦ Ἀναγαστοῦ κατο-  
 λιγωρήσας τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεμφθέντας ἀπράκτους ἤφει, παρὰ δὲ τὸν  
 βασιλέα τοὺς διαλεξομένους ἔστελλεν, ὥς, εἰ μὴ γῆν καὶ χρήματα  
 αὐτῷ τε καὶ τῷ ἐπομένῳ δοίη στρατῷ, πόλεμον ἐπάξει. τῶν δὲ παρ'  
 ἐκείνου πρέσβων ἐς τὰ βασίλεια ἀφικομένων καὶ τὰ αὐτοῖς ἐν-  
 ταλθέντα ἀπαγγειλάντων, ἀπεκρίνατο βασιλεὺς ἐτοιμῶς ἔχειν πάντα  
 ποιεῖν, εἴ γε ὑπακουσόμενοι αὐτῷ παραγένωνται· χαίρειν γὰρ τοῖς  
 ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐπὶ συμμαχίᾳ ἀφικνουμένοις.

8 δολη Dindorf [δῶη A]

2. (*Evagrius HE* 2,14)

ὑπὸ τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρόνοις, τοῦ Σκυθικοῦ πολέμου συνισταμένου  
 πρὸς τοὺς ἑσώκας Ῥωμαίους, ἣ τε Θρακία γῆ καὶ ὁ Ἑλλησποντος  
 ἐσεισθη, καὶ Ἰωνία καὶ αἱ καλούμεναι Κυκλάδες νῆσοι, ὥς Κνίδου  
 καὶ τῆς Κρητῶν νήσου τὰ πολλὰ κατενεχθῆναι. καὶ ὁμβροὺς δὲ  
 ἐξαισιῶς ὁ Πρίσκοις ἱστορεῖ γενέσθαι ἀπὸ τὴν Κωνσταντινουπόλιν  
 καὶ τὴν Βιθυνῶν χώρῳ, ἐπὶ τρεῖς καὶ τέσσαρας ἡμέρας ποταμηδὼν  
 τῶν ὑδάτων ἐξ οὐρανοῦ φερομένων· καὶ ὄρη μὲν εἰς πεδία κατενεχ-  
 θῆναι, κατακλυσθεῖσας δὲ κώμας παραπολέσθαι, γενέσθαι δὲ καὶ  
 νήσους ἐν τῇ Βοάνῃ λίμνῃ, οὐ μακρὰν τῆς Νικομηδείας ἀφροστώσῃ, ἐκ

4 τῆς Κρητῶν νήσου [τῆς Κῶ τῶν νήσων zn]

8 περιπολέσθαι B

9 Βοάνῃ [Καιμανῇ A] ἀφροστώσῃ Lowth, Müller [ἀφροστώσῃ codd.]

found that the Persians had established a fort there, they took another  
 route, by which they came to Iberia. They laid waste this country and  
 overran Armenia. As a result the Persians, apprehensive of this inroad  
 on top of their old war with the Kidarites, sent an embassy to the  
 Romans and asked that they give them either money or men for the  
 defence of the fortress of Iouroeipaach. They repeated what had often  
 been said by their embassies, that since they were facing the fighting  
 and refusing to allow access to the attacking peoples, the Romans'  
 territory remained unravaged. When the Romans replied that each had  
 to fight for his own land and take care of his own defence, they again  
 returned having achieved nothing.<sup>170</sup>

## 48

1. (*Exc. de Leg. Gent.* 20)

Dengizich declared war on the Romans and approached close to  
 the bank of the Danube. When Ornigisclus<sup>171</sup> son Anagast, who com-  
 manded the defences of the part of the river in Thrace, learned this,  
 he sent some of his men to ask what was their object in preparing for  
 war. Dengizich scorned Anagast and sent his men away with nothing  
 accomplished. He despatched men to the Emperor to announce that if  
 he did not give land and money to himself and the army that followed  
 him, he would make war. When his envoys came to the palace and  
 spoke as they had been ordered, the Emperor replied that he was ready  
 to do everything if they would remain obedient to him, for he was  
 well-disposed to those of the foreign peoples who came into alliance  
 with him.<sup>172</sup>

2. (*Evagrius HE* 2,14)

At about the same time, when the Scythian war against the  
 Romans was beginning, the land of Thrace and the Hellespont, Ionia  
 and the islands called the Cyclades were hit by an earthquake. As a  
 result most of the islands of Cnidus and Crete was devastated. The  
 historian Priscus says that extraordinarily heavy rains fell at Con-  
 stantinople and over Bithynia, and for three and four days torrents  
 of water poured from the sky. Hills were flattened, villages were  
 flooded and destroyed, and in Lake Boanē not far from Nicomedia

τῶν συνεχθέντων ἐς αὐτὴν παμπόλλων φορυτῶν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα 10  
μὲν ὕστερον ἐπράχθη. (Cf. Nicephorus Callistus *HE* 15,20)

## 49

(Exc. de Leg. Gent. 21)

Ὅτι Ἀναγάστου καὶ Βασιλίσκου καὶ Ὀστρυος καὶ ἄλλων  
τῶν στρατηγῶν Ῥωμαίων τοὺς Γότθους ἐς τινα κοῖλον χώρον  
συγκλεισάντων καὶ πολιορκούντων, λιμῶ τε πιεζομένων τῶν Σκυ-  
θῶν σπάνει τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, πρεσβείαν παρὰ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ποιή-  
σασθαι, ὥστε αὐτοὺς εἰ ἐνδιδοῦσι νεμομένους γῆν ὑπακούειν αὐτῶν 5  
ἐς ὃ τι ἂν θέλοιεν· τῶν δὲ ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ τὴν ἐκείνων φέρειν ἀποκρυσ-  
μένων πρεσβείαν, καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων τοῦ λιμοῦ πέρι σφᾶς θέσθαι  
ἐθέλειν τὰς συμβάσεις φαμένων καὶ μὴ ὅλους τε εἶναι μακρὰς ποι-  
εῖσθαι ἀνακωχάς, βουλευόμενοι οἱ τὰς Ῥωμαϊκὰς τάξεις διέποντες 10  
τροφὰς χορηγήσειν αὐτοῖς ὑπέσχοντο ἄχρι τῆς βασιλείας ἐπιτροπῆς.  
εἰ γε σφᾶς αὐτοῖς διέλοιεν ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ Ῥωμαϊκὸν διακέκριται  
πληθος· ἔσεσθαι γὰρ αὐτῶν ραδίως οὕτως ἐπιμέλειαν, ἐς τοὺς  
κληρουμένους καὶ οὐκ εἰς πάντας ἀποβλεπόντων τῶν στρατηγῶν,  
ὥστε ἐς φιλοτιμίαν ὁρῶντες πρὸς τὴν αὐτῶν πάντως ἀμιλληθή-  
σονται κομιδῇ. τῶν δὲ Σκυθῶν τοὺς ἀπαγγελλέντας διὰ τῶν 15  
πρεσβέων προσδεξαμένων λόγους καὶ ἐς τοσαύτας σφᾶς αὐτοὺς  
ταξάντων μοίρας, ἐς ὅσασπερ καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διεκέκρυντο, Χελχάλ,  
τοῦ Οὐννων γένους ἀνὴρ καὶ ὑποστράτηγος τῶν διεπόντων τὰ  
Ἀσπαρος τάγματα, παρὰ τὴν ἐπιλαχοῦσαν αὐτοῖς βαρβαρικὴν 20  
μοῖραν ἐλθὼν καὶ τῶν Γότθων (πλείονες δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ὑπῆρχον)  
μεταπεμψάμενος τοὺς λογάδας τοιῶνδε ἐποίησατο λόγων ἀρχήν,  
ὥς δώσει μὲν αὐτοῖς γῆν ὃ βασιλεὺς, οὐκ εἰς σφετέραν δὲ αὐτῶν  
ὄνησιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐν σφίσιν Οὐννοις. τούτους γὰρ ὀλιγώρως γεη-  
πονίας ἔχοντας δίκην λύκων τὰς αὐτῶν ἐπιόντας διαρπάξεσθαι 25  
τροφὰς, ὥστε θεραπεόντων τάξιν ἐπέχοντας τῆς ἐκείνων ἔνεκα  
ταλαιπωρεῖσθαι τροφῆς, καίπερ ἐς αἰεὶ ποτε τοῖς Οὐννοις τοῦ Γότθων  
γένους ἀσπόνδου διαμενάντος, καὶ ἐκ προσγόνων τὴν αὐτῶν ἀπο-  
φυγεῖν ὁμαιχμίαν ὁμοσαμένων, ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ ὀρκων πατρίων πρὸς τῇ  
τῶν οἰκείων στερήσει καταφρονεῖν· αὐτὸν δὲ, εἰ καὶ τὸ Οὐννων αὐχεῖ 30  
γένος, δικαιοσύνης πόθῳ τάδε πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰπόντα δεδωκέναι περὶ  
τοῦ πρακτέου βουλὴν.

Ἐπὶ τούτοις οἱ Γότθοι διαταραχθέντες καὶ εὐνοίᾳ τῇ πρὸς  
αὐτοὺς ταῦτα τὸν Χελχάλ εἰρηκέναι νομίσαντες, τοὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς

islands were formed by the large amount of debris that was washed into  
it. But these things happened later.<sup>173</sup>  
(Cf. Nicephorus Callistus *HE* 15,20)

## 49

(Exc. de Leg. Gent. 21)

Anagast, Basiliscus, Ostrys and other Roman generals trapped the  
Goths in a hollow place and held them under siege, and the Scythians  
were pressed by starvation owing to their lack of supplies. They sent<sup>174</sup>  
an embassy to the Romans to say that if they were given land upon  
surrendering, they would obey whatever the Romans commanded.  
When the generals replied that they would convey the embassy to the  
Emperor, the barbarians said that they wanted a settlement because  
they were starving and could not make a long truce. The commanders  
of the Roman forces took counsel and promised that they would  
supply food until the Emperor made his decision, provided they split  
themselves up into as many units as the Roman force was divided into.  
In this way they would be easily cared for, since the generals would be  
concerned not with the whole force but with individual groups and as  
a matter of honour would compete to keep them fully supplied. The  
Scythians accepted the proposals brought to them by their envoys and  
split themselves up into as many divisions as the Romans were in.  
Chelchal, a man of the Hunnic race and a junior officer on Aspar's  
staff, approached the part of the barbarians which had been assigned  
to them and, summoning the chiefs of the Goths (who were more  
numerous than the other peoples), began to speak to them as follows.  
He claimed that the Emperor would give them land not for their own  
enjoyment but for the Huns amongst them. For these men have no  
concern for agriculture, but, like wolves, attack and steal the Goths'  
food supplies, with the result that the latter remain in the position of  
servants and themselves suffer food shortages. Yet the Gothic people  
have never had a treaty with the Huns and from the time of their fore-  
fathers have sworn to escape from the alliance with them. Thus, in  
addition to their own hardships, they make light of their ancestral  
oaths. Chelchal concluded that, although he was proud of his Hunnic  
origin, out of a sense of justice he was saying these things to them and  
offering advice as to what they should do.

The Goths were disturbed by these words and, thinking that  
Chelchal had said them out of good will, attacked the Huns amongst

1 Ὀστρυος de Boor | Ὀστρουῖ A Ὀστρύου Niebuhr 4-5 ποιησαμένων de  
Boor ἐποίησαντο ? 17 ὅσασπερ Niebuhr [ὅσας ἄσπερ A 20 καὶ τῶν  
Bekker | καὶ αὐτῶν A

Οἰνους [ὡς] συστάντες διεχειρίζοντο· καὶ μάχη καρτερὰ ἀμφο-  
τέρων συνίστατο τῶν ἐθνῶν <ὡς> ἐκ συνθήματος. οἱ αὖ Ἀσπαρος 35  
πυθόμενοι, ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ οἱ τῶν λοιπῶν στρατοπέδων ἡγεμόνες μετὰ  
τῶν οἰκείων παραταξάμενοι τὸν ἐπιτυχόντα τῶν βαρβάρων ἀνήρουν.  
τοῦ δὲ δόλου καὶ τῆς ἀπάτης οἱ Σκύθαι λαβόντες ἔννοιαν σφᾶς τε ἀνε-  
καλοῦντο καὶ ἐς χεῖρας τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐχώρουν. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν Ἀσπαρος 40  
τὴν σφίσιν ἐπιλαχοῦσαν ἔφθασαν ἀναλώσαντες μοῖραν, τοῖς δὲ  
λοιποῖς στρατηγοῖς οὐκ ἀκίνδυνος ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο, τῶν βαρβάρων  
καρτερῶς ἀγωνισαμένων, ὥστε τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν ὑπολεωφθέντας τάς  
τε Ῥωμαϊκὰς τάξεις διώσασθαι καὶ τῇδε τὴν πολιορκίαν διαφυγεῖν.

34 ὡς exp. Niebuhr 35 ὡς addidi e v.34 35-36 οἱ αὖ Ἀσπαρος πυθό-  
μενοι scripsi [οἱ αὖ περὶ πειθόμενοι A δ' Ἀσπαρ πυθόμενος Bekker 43 διώ-  
σασθαι Niebuhr [διώσασθαι aut δηώσασθαι codd.]

## [50]

[(Evagrius HE 2,16)]

Ἐκ πρεσβείας δὲ τῶν ἐσπερίων Ῥωμαίων, Ἀνθέμιος βασιλεὺς  
τῆς Ῥώμης ἐκπέμπεται· ὧς Μαρκιανὸς ὁ πρῶτον βεβασιλευκῶς τὴν  
οἰκίαν κατενεγγύησε παῖδα.  
(Cf. Nicephorus Callistus HE 15,11; Procopius Wars 3,6,5 = Fr. 53,3)]

## 51

1. (Exc. de Leg. Gent. 22)

Ὅτι μεγίστης πρὸς τὸ Σουάνων ἔθνος Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ Λαζοῖς  
ὑπαρχούσης διαφορᾶς, καὶ σφόδρα ἐς τὴν τοῦ ἱσθμοῦ τῶν Σου-  
άνων συνισταμένων μάχην, καὶ Περσῶν δὲ ἐθελόντων αὐτῷ  
πολεμεῖν διὰ τὰ φρούρια, ἅπερ <ὑπὸ> τῶν Σουάνων ἀφῆρηντο,  
πρεσβεῖαν ἔστειλεν, ἐπικούρους αὐτῷ διαπεμρῆναι παρὰ βασιλέως 5  
αὐτῶν ἐκ τῶν παραφυλαττόντων στρατιωτῶν τὰ Ἀρμενίων ὄρια  
τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὑποτελῶν, ἐφ' ὧς προσχώρων ὄντων ἐτοίμην ἔχων  
βοηθεῖαν, καὶ μὴ κωδυνεύειν τοὺς πόρρωθεν ἀπεκδεχόμενον, ἢ παρα-  
γενομένων ἐπιτριβεσθαι δαπάνη, τοῦ πολέμου, ἃν οὕτω τύχη, διανα-  
βαλλομένου, καθάπερ ἤδη πρότερον ἐγεγόνει. τῆς γὰρ σὺν Ἡρακ-  
λεῖω ἀπεσταλμένης βοηθείας, καὶ Περσῶν καὶ Ἰβήρων τῶν αὐτῷ  
ἐπαγόντων τὸν πόλεμον πρὸς ἐτέρων ἐθνῶν τότε ἀπασχοληθέντων  
μάχην, τὴν συμμαχίαν ἀπέπεμψεν ἀσχάλλων ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν τροφῶν  
χορηγίᾳ, ὥστε αὐτῶν τῶν Πάρθων ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀναξευξάντων Ῥω-  
μαίους ἐπικαλέσασθαι.

2 σήματος aut Σήματος edd. [σώματος de Boor (per errorem?) 4 ὑπὸ add.  
Bekker 8 τοὺς Hoeschel [τοῖς A 14 ἐπ' αὐτὸν Hoeschel [ἐπ' αὐτῶν A

them and began to kill them; and as if at a signal, the two peoples began  
a fierce battle. When Aspar's staff learned this,<sup>175</sup> they and the com-  
manders of the other camps drew up their own forces and killed all the  
barbarians who came their way. When the Scythians realised the intent  
of the deceit and treachery, they formed up their own forces and began  
to fight with the Romans. Aspar's men anticipated this and destroyed  
the section which had been assigned to them. But for the other generals  
the battle was not easy, since the barbarians fought stoutly, so that  
those who survived forced their way through the Roman lines and in  
this way escaped the blockade.

## [50]

[(Evagrius HE 2,16)]

As a result of an embassy of the western Romans, Anthemius was  
sent as Emperor of Rome. To him Marcian, the previous Emperor, had  
betrothed his own daughter.<sup>176</sup>  
(Cf. Nicephorus Callistus HE 15,11; Procopius Wars 3,6,5 = Fr. 53,3)]

## 51

1. (Exc. de Leg. Gent. 22)

A very serious dispute existed between the Romans and Lazi and  
the nation of the Suani. The Suani were making war against . . . , and  
the Persians wished to go to war with him because of the forts which  
had been captured by the Suani.<sup>177</sup> He, therefore, sent an embassy to  
the Romans, asking that reinforcements be sent by the Emperor from  
amongst the troops who were guarding the borders of that part of  
Armenia which was tributary to the Romans.<sup>178</sup> Thus, since these were  
close at hand he would have ready assistance and would not be en-  
dangered while waiting for troops to come from a distance. Further-  
more, he would not be burdened with the expense of supporting them  
if they came and the war were postponed, as had happened earlier. For  
when Heracleius was sent with help and the Persians and Iberians, who  
were at war with him, were diverted to fighting other peoples, he  
dismissed the reinforcements since he was worried about supporting  
them.<sup>179</sup> As a result, when the Persians returned against him, he again  
called upon the Romans.

Τῶν δὲ στείλαι τὴν βοήθειαν ἐπαγγεilaμένων καὶ ἄνδρα τὸν αὐτῆς ἡγησόμενον, παρεγένετο καὶ Περσῶν πρεσβεία ἀγγέλλουσα τοὺς Κιδάριτας Οὐννους ὑπ' αὐτῶν κατηγωνίσθαι καὶ Βαλαάμ πόλιν αὐτῶν ἐκπεπολιωρῆκεναι. ἐμήνουν δὲ τὴν νίκην καὶ βαρβαρικῶς ἐπεκόμπαζον τὴν παροῦσαν αὐτοῖς μεγίστην δύναμιν ἀποραίνεω ἐθέλοντες. ἀλλὰ αὐτοὺς παραντίκα τούτων ἀγγελθέντων ἀπέπεμπε βασιλεὺς, ἐν μείζονι φροντίδι τὰ ἐν Σικελίᾳ συνενεχθέντα ποιούμενος.

20 ἐπεκόμπαζον Niebuhr [ἀπεκόμπαζον A 21 τούτων Hoeschel [τῶν codd.

[2. (John of Antioch *Fr.* 206,2 = *Exc. de Ins.* 90)

Ἐστέλλετο δὲ καὶ κατὰ Τζάνων βοήθεια ληϊζομένων τὰ περὶ τὴν Τραπεζοῦντα χωρία.]

## 52

(*Exc. de Leg. Rom.* 13)

Ὅτι Λέων ὁ βασιλεὺς στέλλει πρὸς τὸν Γεζέριχον Φύλαρχον τὴν τοῦ Ἀνθεμίου βασιλείαν μηνύσων καὶ πόλεμον ἀπειλήσων, εἰ μὴ γε τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ Σικελίας ἀρέξοιτο. ἐπάνηκε δὲ ἀγγέλλων μὴ ἐθέλεω αὐτὸν τοὺς τοῦ βασιλέως προσίεσθαι λόγους, ἀλλὰ ἐν πολέμου εἶναι παρασκευῇ, ὡς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐφῶν Ῥωμαίων παρα- 5 σπονδοῦμενον.

3 Σικελίας Bekker [βασιλείας codd. 5 ἐφῶν Bekker [νέων codd.

## 53

1. (Theophanes *Chron. a.m.* 5961)

Τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει Λέων ὁ βασιλεὺς κατὰ Γεζερίχου, τοῦ τῶν Ἀφρων κρατούντος, στόλον μέγαν ἐξοπλίσας ἀπέστειλεν. ὁ γὰρ Γεζερίχος μετὰ τὴν τελευταίην Μαρκιανοῦ πολλὰ δευνὰ ἐνεδείξατο ἐν ταῖς ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλείᾳ χώραις ληϊζόμενος καὶ αἰχμα- 5 λωτίζων πολλοὺς καὶ τὰς πόλεις κατασκάπτων. ὅθεν ζήλῳ κωηθεὶς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκ πάσης τῆς ἀνατολικῆς θαλάσσης ἑκατὸν καὶ χιλιάδα πλοίων ἀνθρόισας καὶ στρατῶν καὶ ὅπλων ταύτας πληρώσας κατὰ Γεζερίχου ἀπέστειλεν. φασὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν, ἀπ' κεντηνάρια δεδαπανη- 10 κέναι χρυσίου ἐν τούτῳ τῷ στόλῳ. στρατηγὸν δὲ καὶ ἑξαρχον τοῦ στόλου κατέστησε Βασιλίσκον, τὸν Βερώνης τῆς αὐγουστής ἀδελφόν, τῆς ὑπάτου τιμῆς ἥδη μετασχόντα καὶ Σκύθας πολλάκις νικήσαντα ἐν τῇ Θράκῃ. ὅς δὴ, συνδραμούσης αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἐσπερίου οὐκ

6 ἑκατὸν καὶ χιλιάδα Müller [ρ' χιλιάδας codd. 12 ὅς x [ὡς gy ᾧ ὡς h αὐτῷ [οὕτω y

When the Romans had replied that they would send help and a man to command it, an embassy arrived from the Persians which announced that they had crushed the Kidarite Huns and had taken their city of Balaam. They reported their victory and in barbaric fashion boasted about it, since they wished to advertise the very large force which they had at present.<sup>180</sup> But when they had made this announce- ment, the Emperor straightaway dismissed them, since he was more concerned about the events in Sicily.

[2. (John of Antioch *Fr.* 206,2 = *Exc. de Ins.* 90)

[Leo] also sent help against the Tzani, who were ravaging the districts around Trapezus.]<sup>181</sup>

## 52

(*Exc. de Leg. Rom.* 13)

The Emperor Leo sent Phylarchus to Gaiseric to announce to him the sovereignty of Anthemius and to threaten war if he did not evacuate Italy and Sicily. He returned with the report that Gaiseric refused to accept the Emperor's commands and that he was engaged in preparation for war on the ground that the treaty had been broken by the eastern Romans.<sup>182</sup>

## 53

1. (Theophanes *Chron. a.m.* 5961)

In this year the Emperor Leo fitted out a great fleet and sent it against Gaiseric, the ruler of the Africans. For after the death of Marcian, Gaiseric had done many terrible things in the lands under Roman sovereignty, plundering, taking many prisoners and devastating the cities. As a result the Emperor was roused to anger and collected from all the sea of the East eleven hundred<sup>183</sup> ships, which he filled with troops and arms and sent against Gaiseric. They say that he spent one hundred and thirty thousand pounds of gold on this expedition.<sup>184</sup> As general and supreme commander of the force he appointed Basiliscus, the brother of the Empress Verina, who had already held the consulship and had often defeated the Scythians in Thrace. He was joined by a considerable force from the West. Engaging in frequent

ὀλίγης δυνάμεως, συμπλακείς εἰς ναυμαχίας πολλάκις τῇ Γιζερύχου <καὶ μέγα πλῆθος> τῶν νηῶν τῷ βυθῷ παραδοῦς, εἶτα καὶ αὐτὴν ἡδυνήθη Καρχηδόνα κρατῆσαι. ὕστερον δὲ δώροις ὑπὸ Γιζερύχου καὶ πλείστοις χρήμασι δελεασθεὶς ἐνέδωκε καὶ ἡττήθη ἐκῶν, ὥς Πρίσκος ἱστορήσεν ὁ Θραξ.

13 πολλάκις τῇ codd. [πολλοὺς τοῦ Combeffis. 14 καὶ μέγα πλῆθος add. Dindorf pro mss μετὰ | τμ' pro μετὰ Classen 17 Περσικὸς codd.

## 2. (Evagrius HE 2,16)

Ἐκπέμπεται δὲ στρατηγὸς κατὰ Γιζερύχου Βασιλίσκος, ὁ τῆς Λέοντος γυναῖκος Βερίνης ἀδελφός, μετὰ στρατευμάτων ἀριστύνδην συνειλεγμένων. ἅπερ ἀκριβέστατα Πρίσκῳ τῷ ῥήτορι πεπόνηται.

## 3. (Procopius Wars 3,6,1-2 and 5-25)

Τῶνδε εὔνεκα τίσασθαι Βανδίλους βασιλεῖς Λέων βουλόμενος ξυνήγειρεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στράτευμα. τοῦδε δὲ τοῦ στρατεύματος λέγουσι τὸ πλῆθος ἐς δέκα μάλιστα μυριάδας γενέσθαι. στόλον δὲ νεῶν ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς πρὸς ἔω θαλάσσης ἀνδρόισας πολλὴν ἐπεδείξατο μεγαλορροσύνην ἕς τε στρατιώτας καὶ ναύτας, δεδιὼς μὴ τί οἱ ἐκ μικρολογίας ἐμποδῶν γένηται προθυμουμένων ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐπιτελέσαι τὴν κόλασιν. φασι γοῦν αὐτῷ τριακόσια καὶ χίλια κεντηνάρια ἐπ' οὐδενὶ ἔργῳ δεδαπανῆσθαι. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔδει Βανδίλους τῷ στόλῳ τούτῳ ἀπολωλέναι, αὐτοκράτορα τοῦ πολέμου ποιεῖται Βασιλίσκον, Βηρίνης τῆς γυναῖκος ἀδελφὸν ὄντα καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐκτόπως ἐρώντα, ἦν οἱ ἡλπισεν ἀμαχητὶ ἔσεσθαι τὴν Ἄσπαρος προσηποισμένῳ φίλιαν. . .

Λέων δὲ ἦδη πρότερον Ἀνθέμιον, ἄνδρα ἐκ γερουσίας, πλοῦτῳ τε καὶ γένει μέγαν, βασιλέα τῆς ἐσπερίας καταστησάμενος ἐπεμψεν, ὅπως οἱ τὰ ἐς τὸν Βανδικὸν συλλήψεται πόλεμον. καίτοι Γιζερύχος ἔχρηξε καὶ πολλὰ ἐλπάρει Ὀλυβρίῳ παραδοθῆναι τὴν βασιλείαν. Πλακιδίᾳ τῇ Βαλεντιανοῦ παιδί ξυνοικοῦντι καὶ διὰ τὸ κῆδος εὐνοικῶς αὐτῷ ἔχοντι, ἐπειδὴ τε τούτου ἡτύχησεν, ἔτι μᾶλλον ὠργίζετο καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν βασιλέως γῆν ἐληΐζετο. ἦν δὲ τις ἐν Δαλματίᾳ Μαρκελλιανὸς τῶν Ἀετίῳ γνωρίμων, ἀνὴρ δόκιμος, ὃς ἐπειδὴ Ἀέτιος ἐτελεύτησε τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ, βασιλεῖ εἴκειν οὐκέτι ἡξίου, ἀλλὰ νεωτερίσας τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας ἀποστήσας αὐτὸς εἶχε τὸ Δαλματίας κράτος, οὐδενός οἱ ἐς χεῖρας ἰέναι τολμήσαντος. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν Μαρκελλιανὸν τότε Λέων βασιλεῖς εὖ μάλα τιθασσεύων προσεποιήσατο, καὶ ἐς Σαρδῶν τὴν νῆσον ἐκέλευεν ἰέναι, Βανδύλων κατήκοον οὔσαν. ὁ δὲ αὐτὴν Βανδύλους ἐξελάσας οὐ χαλεπῶς ἔσχεν.

22 αὐτὸς Maury [οὗτος codd.

sea-battles with Gaiseric's force, he sent <a large number of ships> to the bottom, and at that point he could have taken Carthage itself. But later, having been won over by Gaiseric with gifts and a large sum of money, he gave in and willingly suffered defeat, as Priscus the Thracian narrates.

## 2. (Evagrius HE 2,16)

Basiliscus, the brother of Verina, Leo's wife, was sent as general against Gaiseric with excellently equipped forces. These things have been set down with the greatest accuracy by Priscus the rhetor.

## 3. (Procopius Wars 3,6,1-2 and 5-25)

The Emperor Leo, wishing to punish the Vandals for these acts,<sup>185</sup> collected an army against them. They say that this army numbered one hundred thousand men. He collected a fleet of ships from the whole eastern sea and he showed great generosity to the soldiers and sailors out of fear that if he was parsimonious, some obstacle would arise to his desire to punish the barbarians. Certainly, they say that he spent one hundred and thirty thousand pounds of gold to no avail. Since it was not to be that the Vandals would be destroyed by this expedition, he appointed as supreme commander Basiliscus, the brother of his wife Verina and a man extraordinarily eager to become Emperor, which he thought he would achieve without difficulty if he won the friendship of Aspar. . . .<sup>186</sup>

Earlier Leo had made Anthemius, a very wealthy senator of noble birth, Emperor of the West and had sent him off to assist in the Vandalic war. But Gaiseric desired and repeatedly asked that the sovereignty be conferred upon Olybrius, who was the husband of Valentinian's daughter, Placidia, and, because he was connected by marriage,<sup>187</sup> friendly towards him. When this was denied him, he became even more angry and ravaged the whole of the Emperor's territory. There was in Dalmatia a certain Marcellianus, one of Aetius' acquaintances and a man of high reputation. When Aetius died in the manner described, he refused to obey the Emperor any longer and, having revolted and having persuaded all the others to secede, he himself held power in Dalmatia, since no one dared to confront him. At this time the Emperor Leo courted Marcellianus assiduously, won him over and told him to go to the island of Sardinia, which was in the possession of the Vandals. He drove out the Vandals and held it without

Ἡράκλειος δὲ σταλείς ἐκ Βυζαντίου εἰς Τρίπολιν τὴν ἐν Λιβύῃ  
νικήσας τε μάχῃ τοὺς ταύτη Βανδίλους τὰς τε πόλεις ῥαδίως εἴλε  
καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐνταῦθα ἀπολιπὼν περὶ τὸ στρατεύμα ἐς Καρχηδόνα  
ἦγε. τὰ μὲν οὖν τοῦ πολέμου προόμια τῇδε ἐφέρετο.

Βασιλίσκος δὲ τῷ παντὶ στόλῳ ἐς πόλισμα κατέπλευσε,  
Καρχηδόνας διέχον οὐχ ἥσσον ἢ ὀγδοήκοντά τε καὶ διακοσίους  
σταδίους (Ἑρμοῦ δὲ νεὼς ἐνταῦθα ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐτύγχανεν ὣν, ἅρ' οὐ  
δὴ καὶ Μερκούριον ὁ τόπος ἐκλήθη· οὕτω γὰρ τὸν Ἑρμῆν καλοῦσι  
'Ρωμαῖοι), καὶ εἰ μὴ ἐθελοκακήσας ἐμέλλησεν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺ ἐπεχείρησε  
Καρχηδόνας ἰέναι, αὐτὴν τε ἂν αὐτοβοεῖ εἴλε καὶ Βανδίλους ἐς οὐ-  
δεμίαν ἀλλήν τραπομένους κατεδουλώσατο. οὕτω Γιζέριχος Λέοντα  
ὥς ἄμαχον βασιλέα κατωρρώδησεν, ἐπεὶ οἱ Σαρδῶς καὶ Τρίπολις  
ἀλοῦσαι ἠγγέλλοντο καὶ τὸν Βασιλίσκου στόλον ἐώρα οἷος οὐδεὶς πω  
ἐλέγετο Ῥωμαίοις πρότερον γεγενῆσθαι. νῦν δὲ τοῦτο ἐκώλυσεν ἡ  
τοῦ στρατηγοῦ μέλλησις, εἴτε κακότητι εἴτε προδοσίᾳ προσγενομένη.

Γιζέριχος δὲ τῆς Βασιλίσκου ὀλιγωρίας ἀπολαύων ἐποίει τάδε.  
ὀπλίσας ἅπαντας ὥς ἄριστα εἶχε τοὺς ὑπηκόους ἐπλήρου τὰς ναῦς,  
ἄλλας τε κενὰς ἀνδρῶν καὶ ὥς τάχιστα πλεούσας ἐν παρασκευῇ  
εἶχε. πέμψας δὲ πρέσβεις ὥς Βασιλίσκου ἐδεῖτο τὸν πόλεμον ἐς  
πέντε ἡμερῶν ὑπερβαλέσθαι χρόνον, ὅπως μεταξὺ βουλευσάμενος  
ἐκεῖνα ποιῶν δὴ μάλιστα βασιλεῖ βουλομένῳ εἴη. λέγουσι δὲ αὐτὸν  
καὶ χρυσίου πολὺ τι χρῆμα κρύφα τῆς Βασιλίσκου στρατιᾶς πέμ-  
ψαντα ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἐκεχειρίαν ὥνῃσασθαι. ἐπρασσε δὲ ταῦτα  
οἰόμενος, ὅπερ ἐγένετο, πνεῦμα ἐπῆρορον ἐν τούτῳ οἱ τῷ χρόνῳ  
γενησέσθαι. Βασιλίσκος δὲ ἡ Ἀσπαρι καθάπερ ὑπέσθη χαριζόμενος  
τῇ τὸν καιρὸν χρημάτων ἀποδιδόμενος, ἡ καὶ βέλτιον αὐτῷ ἐνομίσθη,  
ἐποίει τε τὰ αἰτούμενα καὶ ἡσύχαζεν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, τὴν εὐ-  
καιρίαν προσδεχόμενος τῶν πολεμίων. οἱ δὲ Βανδίλοι, ἐπειδὴ σφίσι  
τάχιστα τὸ πνεῦμα ἐγεγόνει, ὃ δὴ τέως καταδοκοῦντες ἐκάθηντο,  
ἀράμενοι τε τὰ ἱστία καὶ τὰ πλοῖα ἀφέλκοντες ὅσα αὐτοῖς ἀνδρῶν  
κενά, ὥσπερ μοι πρότερον εἴρηται, παρεσκεύαστο, ἔπλεον ἐπὶ τοὺς  
πολεμίους. ὥς δὲ ἀγχοῦ ἐγένοντο, πῦρ ἐν τοῖς πλοίοις ἐνθήμενοι, ἃ  
δὴ αὐτοὶ ἐφέλκοντες ἦγον, κεκολπυμένων αὐτοῖς τῶν ἱστίων, ἀφῆκαν  
ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον. ἅτε δὲ πλήθους ὄντος ἐνταῦθα  
νηῶν, ὅπῃ τὰ πλοῖα ταῦτα προσπίπτουεν, ἔκαιόν τε ῥαδίως καὶ αὐτὰ  
οἷς ἂν συμμίσαιεν ἐτοίμως ξυνδιεφθείρετο. οὕτω δὲ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐπι-  
φερομένου θόρυβός τε, ὥς τὸ εἶκος, εἶχε τὸν Ῥωμαίων στόλον καὶ  
κραυγῆς μέγεθος τῷ τε πνεύματι καὶ τῷ τῆς φλογὸς βόμβῳ ἀντι-

difficulty. Moreover, Heracleius was sent from Byzantium to Tripolis  
in Libya. He conquered the Vandals there in battle and easily took the  
cities and then, leaving his ships there, led his army overland towards  
Carthage. These events were the prelude to the war.

Basiliscus put in with his whole fleet at a place over two hundred  
and eighty stades from Carthage. (A temple of Hermes had been there  
from of old, and hence the place was called Mercurium, for the Romans  
call Hermes 'Mercurius'.) If he had not delayed with cowardly intent,  
but had made straight for Carthage, he would have captured it without  
a fight and enslaved the Vandals without their making any resistance;  
so great was Gaiseric's terror of Leo as an invincible Emperor when he  
was told of the capture of Sardinia and Tripolis and he saw Basiliscus'  
fleet, such as the Romans, it was said, had never had before. But on  
this occasion the general's hesitation, whether the result of cowardice  
or treachery, prevented this conclusion.

Gaiseric, taking advantage of Basiliscus' negligence, did as follows.  
Arming all his subjects as heavily as possible, he manned his ships, while  
keeping some — the swiftest — empty but ready to sail. He sent envoys  
to Basiliscus and asked that the attack be deferred for a space of five  
days, during which he might take counsel and do those things which  
the Emperor most desired. They say that, without the knowledge of  
Basiliscus' army, he also sent a large amount of gold and thus bought  
his truce. He did this thinking that during this time a favouring wind  
would arise, as happened. Basiliscus, either as a favour to Aspar as  
promised, or because he had sold the opportunity for money, or be-  
cause he thought it the best course, granted the request, did not stir  
from his camp and conceded the initiative to the enemy. As soon as  
the wind arose which the Vandals had been waiting for, they raised  
their sails and, towing the ships which, as I have said, had been made  
ready but left empty, they sailed against the enemy. When they came  
near, they set fire to the ships which they were towing and, when their  
sails were bellied by the wind, sent them against the Roman station.  
Since a large number of ships were there, wherever these fire-ships  
struck, they readily spread their fire and were themselves quickly  
destroyed along with those with which they came into contact. As the  
fire spread in this way, panic, as was natural, gripped the Roman fleet.  
A great uproar drowned out the wind and the roaring of the flames as

41 γενομένη Ο 43 ἐπηκόους Ο 47 βεβουλομένῳ V 61 παραπίπτουεν  
Ο αὐτοῖς Ρ αὐτοῖς Grotius 62 ξυνδιεφθείρετο codd. | ξυνδιεφθείροντο Haury  
63 εἶχε τὸν Ῥ. στόλον | ἦν ἐν τῷ Ῥ. στόλῳ Ο

παταγούσης μάλιστα, καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὁμοῦ τοῖς ναύταις 65  
ἀλλήλοις ἐγκελευομένων καὶ τοῖς κοντοῖς διωδουμένων τὰ τε  
πυρφόρα πλοῖα καὶ τὰς σφῶν αὐτῶν ναῦς ὑπ' ἀλλήλων διαφθειρο-  
μένας οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ. ἤδη δὲ καὶ οἱ Βανδίλοι παρῆσαν ἐμβάλλοντές τε  
καὶ καταδύοντες καὶ αὐτοῖς ὅπλοις τοὺς διαφεύγοντας τῶν στρατι-  
ωτῶν ληϊζόμενοι. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ καὶ ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐν τῷ 70  
πόνῳ τούτῳ ἐγένοντο, καὶ πάντων μάλιστα Ἰωάννης, ὑποστράτηγός  
τε ὢν Βασιλίσκου καὶ οὐδ' ὅπως οἰοῦν τῆς ἐκείνου προδοσίας μετα-  
λαχών. περιστάντος γὰρ ὁμίλου πολλοῦ τὴν αὐτοῦ ναῦν, ἔκτεψε μὲν  
ἐπιστραφάδην ἀπὸ τοῦ καταστρώματος πολὺ τι τῶν πολεμίων  
πληθός, ὡς δὲ ἀλικομένης ἤσθητο τῆς νεώς, ἤλατο ξὺν πάσῃ τῇ 75  
τῶν ὅπλων σκευῇ ἀπὸ τῶν ἱκρίων εἰς θάλασσαν. πολλὰ μὲν οὖν  
αὐτὸν ἐλπάρει Γένζων ὁ Γιζερίχου, πιστά τε παρεχόμενος καὶ  
σωτηρίαν προτεωόμενος, ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν ἤσسون ἐς θάλασσαν καθῆκε τὸ  
σῶμα, ἐκεῖνο μόνον ἀποφθεγξάμενος, ὡς οὐ μὴ ποτε Ἰωάννης ὑπὸ  
χερσὶ κυνῶν γέννηται.

Ὁ μὲν δὴ πόλεμος οὗτος ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα καὶ Ἡράκλειος ἐπ'  
οἴκου ἀπεκομίσθη· Μαρκελλιανὸς γὰρ πρὸς τοῦ τῶν συναρχόντων  
ἀπώλετο δόλῳ.

66 ἀλλήλους τε ο 68 βάλλοντές p 75 ἤλατο Hoeschel (ἤλλατο codd.  
76 ἀποσκευῇ o

[4. (Jordanes *Rom.* 337)

Basiliscum cognatum suum, id est fratrem Augustae Verinae  
Africam dirigens cum exercitu, qui navali proelio Chartaginem saepe  
adgrediens ante ea victus cupiditate pecuniis vendidit regi Vanda-  
lorum, quam in Romanorum potestatem redigeret.]

[5. (Theophanes *Chron. a.m.* 5963)

Τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει ἀπέστειλε Λέων ὁ βασιλεὺς κατὰ Γιζερίχου  
Ἡράκλειον τὸν Ἑδεσηνόν, υἱὸν Φλώρου τοῦ ἀπὸ ὑπάτων, καὶ Μάρσον  
Ἰσαυρον, ἄνδρας δραστηρίους, καὶ στρατὸν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου καὶ Θη-  
βαίδος καὶ τῆς ἐρήμου. οἱ τιwes προσπεσόντες ἀδοκῆτως τοῖς Οὐα-  
δήλας Τρίπολιν τε καὶ ἄλλας παρεστήσαντο πόλεις τῆς Λιβύης 5  
πολλὰς καὶ πλέον τῆς Βασιλίσκου ναυμαχίας ἠνίασαν τὸν Γιζερίχον,  
ὥστε παρασκευάσαι αὐτὸν περὶ εἰρήνης πρεσβεύσασθαι πρὸς Λέοντα  
τὸν βασιλέα· καὶ ταύτης τυγχάνει παρὰ Λέοντος χρῆζοντος τότε  
Βασιλίσκου καὶ Ἡρακλείου καὶ Μάρσου εἰς τὴν κατὰ Ἄσπαρος ἐπι-  
βουλήν. ὑποπτος γάρ, ὡς προέφη, γενόμενος τῷ βασιλεῖ ὁ Ἄσπαρ 10  
καὶ πολλὴν περικείμενος δύναμιν δόλῳ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως φονεύεται

2 ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων cf 7 πρεσβεῦσαι gy

the soldiers and the sailors alike shouted orders to each other and used  
their poles to push away both the fire-ships and those of their own  
ships which were being destroyed by each other quite unpredictably.<sup>188</sup>  
And now the Vandals arrived, ramming and sinking and plundering the  
soldiers as they fled, even those with their weapons. But there were also  
some of the Romans who showed themselves brave men in this disaster,  
and most of all John, a general under Basiliscus who had no part at all  
in his treachery. Although a great crowd of the enemy had surrounded  
his ship, from the deck he kept killing a large number of them on all  
sides, and when he saw that the ship was being captured, he leaped  
in full armour from the prow into the sea. Although Genzon, the son  
of Gaiseric, begged him many times, offering him pledges and promising  
him safety, he nonetheless threw himself down into the sea, saying  
only that John would never come into the hands of dogs.

This, then, was the end of the war, and Heracleius returned home.  
For Marcellianus had perished by the treachery of one of his fellow  
generals.

[4. (Jordanes *Rom.* 337)

[Leo] sent his kinsman Basiliscus, the brother of the Empress  
Verina, to Africa with an army. He made frequent seaborne attacks  
upon Carthage, but before he conquered it he was himself overcome  
by greed and sold it back to Gaiseric for money.]

[5. (Theophanes *Chron. a.m.* 5963)

In this year the Emperor Leo sent against Gaiseric Heracleius of  
Edessa, the son of the consular Florus, and the Isaurian Marsus, both  
men of action, with an army drawn from Egypt, the Thebaid and the  
desert. They fell unexpectedly upon the Vandals, captured Tripolis  
and many other cities of Libya and caused Gaiseric more trouble than  
did Basiliscus' fleet. As a result he made ready to send a peace mission  
to the Emperor Leo. He was granted peace by Leo, who wanted Basi-  
liscus, Heracleius and Marsus for his plot against Aspar. As I have said,  
Aspar had acquired great power and had fallen under the Emperor's  
suspicion.<sup>189</sup> Therefore, the Emperor soon had him killed together with



μετὰ βραχὺ σὺν τοῖς αὐτοῦ παισίν, Ἀρδαβουρίῳ καὶ Πατρικίῳ, ὃν καί-  
σαρὰ ὁ βασιλεὺς πεποιήκε πρότερον, ἵνα τὴν Ἀσπαρος εὐνοίαν ἔχῃ.]

## [54]

[1. (John of Antioch *Fr.* 205 = *Exc. de Ins.* 89)

“Ὅτι ἐπὶ Ἀνθεμίου καὶ Λέοντος τῶν βασιλέων Οὐλλιβος ὑπὸ  
Ἀναγάστου ἀνηρέθη κατὰ τὴν Θράκην, ἀμρότεροι τοῦ Σκυθικοῦ  
γένους καὶ πρὸς τὸ νεωτερίζειν ἐπιτήδειοι.]

[2. (*Suda* Υ 583)

Πορευομένων δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ γενομένων κατὰ τινα στενωπὸν,  
προηεί μὲν ὁ Οὐλίθ, ὑποστὰς δὲ ὁ Ἀναγάστης, τῷ δῆθεν ῥαδίως  
ἐκάτερον αὐτῶν διεξελεθεῖν, τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς πῖλον ἀνέλαβε.]

## [55]

[(John of Antioch *Fr.* 206,1 = *Exc. de Ins.* 90)

“Ὅτι τῶν Ἰσαύρων ἐν τῇ Ῥοδίων νήσῳ πρὸς ἀρπαγὴν τρα-  
πέντων καὶ φόνους ἐργασαμένων, οἱ στρατιῶται τούτους διεχειρί-  
σαντο, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς φυγόντες ἐπὶ τὴν Κωνσταντίνου ἄμα  
Ζήνωνι τῷ ἐπὶ θυγατρὶ τοῦ βασιλέως γαμβρῷ παραγενόμενοι καὶ  
τοὺς τὴν ἀγορὰν προσιθέντας διαθορυβοῦντες τὴν δῆμον εἰς λιθο-  
βολίας διανέστησαν. ἐμφυλίου δὲ ἐντεῦθεν κωηθέντος πολέμου, νύξ  
ἐπιλαβοῦσα τὴν στάσιν διέλυσεν.]

4 τοῦ Müller [τῷ codd. 6 ἀνέστησαν S

## [56]

[(John of Antioch *Fr.* 206,2 = *Exc. de Ins.* 90)

Καὶ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Ἀναγάστης, ὁ τῶν Θρακίων  
τελῶν ἑξαρχος, πρὸς τὸ νεωτερίζειν ἀρθεὶς τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐπέτρεχε  
φρούρια. αἰτία δὲ τῆς αὐτοῦ διαφορᾶς ἐλέγετο, ὡς Ἰορδάνου τοῦ  
Ἰωάννου παιδός, ὃνπερ Ἀνέγισκλος ὁ Ἀναγάστου πατὴρ ἀνηρήκει, ἐς  
τὴν ὑπατον ἀνιέντος τιμὴν· τὴν γὰρ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ γενομένην ὁ Ἀνα-  
γάστης οὐκ ἐδέξατο ψῆρον, ὡς ἐπιληψίαν νοσῶν τε καὶ δεδιώς,  
φησί, μήποτε ἐν τῷ τῆς γερουσίας αἰσχος ἀπενέγκοιτο τῷ πάθει, ἃν  
αὐτῷ τύχοι. ἄλλοι δὲ φασὶ αὐτὸν χρημάτων ἐφιέμενον ἐς τὴν ἐπα-  
νάστασιν χωρεῖν, πολλῆς δὲ τῆς περὶ αὐτοῦ γενομένης ὑποψίας,  
τέλος ἐκ τῆς βασιλικῆς αὐλῆς σταλέντες τινὲς ἔπεισαν αὐτὸν  
παύσασθαι τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀρδαβούριον τὸν Ἀσπαρος  
αἴτιον τῆς τυραννίδος ἀπέφηνε καὶ τὰ τούτου γράμματα παρὰ τὸν  
βασιλεύοντα ἔπεμπε.]

his sons Ardabur and Patricius, the latter of whom he had earlier made  
Caesar in order to win Aspar's support.]

## [54]

[1. (John of Antioch *Fr.* 205 = *Exc. de Ins.* 89)

When Anthemius and Leo were Emperors, Oullibus was killed by  
Anagast in Thrace. Both were of the Scythian race and ready for  
rebellion.]<sup>190</sup>

[2. (*Suda* Υ 583)

As they were marching along they came to a defile. Ulith went  
ahead, and Anagast, who had dropped behind so that, as he pretended,  
the other might pass through more easily, lifted the cap from his head.]

## [55]

[(John of Antioch *Fr.* 206,1 = *Exc. de Ins.* 90)

When the Isaurians on Rhodes turned to robbery and murder,  
the soldiers put them down. They fled to their ships and came to  
Constantinople where they joined Zeno, the son-in-law of the Emperor.  
When they harassed the merchants at the market, they aroused the  
populace to attack them with stones. This would have been the start of  
a civil insurrection, but night fell and ended the disorders.]

## [56]

[(John of Antioch *Fr.* 206,2 = *Exc. de Ins.* 90)

At this time Anagast, the commander-in-chief of the Thracian  
forces, rose in revolt and overran the Roman fortresses. The reason for  
his disaffection was said to be that Jordanes, the son of John, whom  
Anegisclus,<sup>191</sup> the father of Anagast, had killed, was raised to the office  
of consul. For Anagast had not been given the honour that had come  
to Jordanes because he suffered from epilepsy and was, they say,  
afraid that at some time he would be disgraced in the senate by his  
illness, if it were to attack him there. Others say that he revolted  
because he wanted money. When he had caused great apprehension,  
envoys were sent from the palace who persuaded him to abandon his  
attempt. He revealed that Ardabur, the son of Aspar, was to blame for  
his revolt and sent Ardabur's letters to the Emperor.]

## [57]

[(John of Antioch *Fr.* 206,2 = *Exc. de Ins.* 90)]

Ὁ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως γαμβρὸς Ζήνων τὴν ὑπατον ἔχων ἀρχὴν ἔστελλε τοὺς τὸν Ἰνδακὸν ἀποστήσοντας ἀπὸ τοῦ λεγομένου Παπιρίου λόφου. τοῦτον γὰρ πρῶτος Νέων ἐφώλευε· μεθ' ὃν Παπίριος καὶ ὁ τοῦδε παῖς Ἰνδακός, τοὺς προσοίκους ἅπαντας βιαζόμενοι καὶ τοὺς διοδεύοντας ἀναιροῦντες.]

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## [58]

[(John of Antioch *Fr.* 206,2 = *Exc. de Ins.* 90 = *Fr.* 51,2)]

## [59]

[(John of Antioch *Fr.* 206,2 = *Exc. de Ins.* 90)]

Διανέστη δὲ τότε πρὸς πόλεμον καὶ τὸ Γότθων ἔθνος Γαλατίαν τὴν πρὸς ἐσπέραν νεμόμενον, ὅπερ πάλαι μὲν Ἀλλαρίχου ὠνομάζοντο· ἔτι γε μὴν καὶ τὸ ἐν Παιονίᾳ βαρβαρικὸν πλῆθος, πρότερον μὲν ὑπὸ Βαλμίερι, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου ἀναίρεσιν ὑπὸ Θευδίμερι ταττόμενον τῷ Βαλμίερος ἀδελφῷ.]

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## [60]

[(John of Antioch *Fr.* 206,2 = *Exc. de Ins.* 90 = *Fr.* 59)]

## 61

(Evagrius *HE* 2,16)

Ὅπως τε δόλῳ περιελθὼν ὁ Λέων μισθὸν ὥσπερ ἀποδιδούς τῆς ἐς αὐτὸν προαγωγῆς ἀναιρεῖ Ἀσπαρα τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ περιθέντα, παῖδάς τε αὐτοῦ Ἀρδαβούριον τε καὶ Πατρίκιον, ὃν Καίσαρα πεποίητο πρότερον ἵνα τὴν Ἀσπαρος εὖνοιαν κτήσεται.  
(Cf. Theophanes *Chron. a.m.* 5963 = *Fr.* 53,5)

## [62]

[(John of Antioch *Fr.* 207 = *Exc. de Ins.* 91)]

Ὅτι ὁ τῶν ἐσπερίων βασιλεὺς Ἀνθέμιος νόσῳ περιπεσὼν ὑπὸ μαγγανείας χαλεπῇ πολλοὺς ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἀλόντας ἐκόλασε, μάλιστα Ῥωμανὸν ἐν τῇ τοῦ μαγίστρου ἀρχῇ τελέσαντα καὶ ἐν ταῖς πατρικίαις ἐγγεγραμμένον, ἐπιτήδειόν τε ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ὄντα τῷ Ῥεκίμερι· δι' ὃν ἀνιαιθεὶς τῆς τε Ῥώμης ἐξῆλθε καὶ ἐξακισχιλίους ἄνδρας ἐς τὸν κατὰ Βανδήλων πόλεμον ὑπ' αὐτὸν ταττομένους ἀνεκαλέσατο.]

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## [57]

[(John of Antioch *Fr.* 206,2 = *Exc. de Ins.* 90)]

The Emperor's son-in-law Zeno, who was then consul, sent men to eject Indacus from the hill called Papirius.<sup>192</sup> First Neon made this his lair, and after him Papirius and his son Indacus, who attacked all those who lived in the neighbourhood and murdered passers-by.]

## [58]

[(John of Antioch *Fr.* 206,2 = *Exc. de Ins.* 90 = *Fr.* 51,2)]

## [59]

[(John of Antioch *Fr.* 206,2 = *Exc. de Ins.* 90)]

At that time the Gothic people who were living in Galatia in the West<sup>193</sup> and who were of old named after Alaric, began hostilities, as also did the horde of barbarians in Pannonia who had earlier been ruled by Valamir and after his death by Theodemir, Valamir's brother.]

## [60]

[(John of Antioch *Fr.* 206,2 = *Exc. de Ins.* 90 = *Fr.* 59)]

## 61

(Evagrius *HE* 2,16)

[Priscus the rhetor also tells] how Leo by the use of treachery rewarded Aspar, as it were, for his own promotion and destroyed the man who had made him Emperor together with his sons Ardabur and Patricius, the latter of whom he had earlier made Caesar in order to win Aspar's favour. (Cf. Theophanes *Chron. a.m.* 5963 = *Fr.* 53,5)

## [62]

(John of Antioch *Fr.* 207 = *Exc. de Ins.* 91)

Anthemius, the Emperor of the West, became seriously ill as the result of sorcery and punished many who were caught in this crime, especially Romanus, who had held the office of master and was enrolled amongst the patricians.<sup>194</sup> He was a very close friend of Ricimer who, out of anger over Romanus, left Rome and summoned six thousand men who were under his command for the war against the Vandals.]<sup>195</sup>

## [63]

[(John of Antioch *Fr.* 208 = *Exc. de Ins.* 92)]

Ὅτι ἐπὶ Λέοντος τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰορδάνης ὁ τῆς ἐξῆς στρατηγὸς καὶ ὑπατος εἰς ἔσχατον ἤλθε κινδύνου, ἅμα δὲ αὐτῷ Μισαήλ καὶ Κοσμὰς τῶν βασιλείων ὄντες θαλαμηπόλοι, ὅτι τὰ βασιλεῖα φυλάττειν καταλελησμένοι, τοῦ βασιλέως ἔξω διαιτωμένοι, Ἰορδάνη τὰ ἔνδον ἰστορήσαι βουληθέντι ἐφῆκαν.]

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## [64]

[1. (John of Antioch *Fr.* 209,1 = *Exc. de Ins.* 93)]

Ὅτι ὁ Ῥεκίμερ εἰς διαφορὰν πρὸς τὸν Ἀνθέμιον καταστὰς τὸν βασιλέα τῶν ἐσπερίων, καὶ ταῦτα θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ κατεγγυηθεὶς Ἀλυπίαν, ἐμφύλιον ἔνδον τῆς πόλεως συνεκρότησε πόλεμον ἐπὶ μῆνας θ'. καὶ Ἀνθεμίων μὲν συνεμάχουν οἱ τε ἐν τέλει καὶ ὁ δῆμος, τῷ δὲ Ῥεκίμερι τὸ τῶν οἰκείων βαρβάρων πλῆθος. συνῆν δὲ καὶ Ὀδοάκρος, γένος ὦν τῶν προσαγορευομένων Σκίρων, πατὴρ δὲ Ἰδικῶνος, καὶ ἀδελφὸς Ὀνοούλφου, [καὶ] Ἀρματίου σωματοφύλακός τε καὶ σφαγέως γενομένου, καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἀνθέμιος κατῴκει ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις, ὁ δὲ Ῥεκίμερ τὰ περὶ τὸν Τίβερην διαφράξας λιμῷ τοὺς ἔνδον ἐβιάζετο. ἐντεῦθεν [τε] αὐτοῖς συμβολῆς γενομένης, πολὺ τῆς Ἀνθεμίου κατέπεσε μοίρας· τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ὁ Ῥεκίμερ παραστησάμενος δόλῳ βασιλέα τὸν Ὀλύβριον ἀποδείκνυσεν, πέντε γοῦν διόλου μῆνας ἐμφύλιος τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπεκράτει πόλεμος, ἄχρις οὗ, τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀνθέμιον ἐνδόντων τοῖς βαρβάρους καὶ τὸν βασιλεύοντα γυμνὸν καταλιπόντων, αὐτοῖς τοῖς πτωχεύουσιν ἀναμιχθεὶς ἐν τοῖς πρόσφυξι τοῦ μάρτυρος Χρυσογόνου γίνεται· ἐκεῖ τε τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀποτέμνεται ὑπὸ Γουνδοβάνδου τοῦ Ῥεκίμερος ἀδελφοῦ βασιλεύσας ἔτη πέντε μῆνας γ' ἡμέρας ὀκτωκαίδεκα.]

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10

15

4 θ' [ε' Müller 7 καὶ expunxi 10 τε exp. Müller

[2. (Theophanes *Chron. a.m.* 5964)]

Ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ δὲ Ῥεκίμερ ὁ στρατηγός, οὗ καὶ πρῶτην ἐμνήσθην, γαμβρὸς δὲ Ἀνθεμίου, τοῦ εὐσεβῶς ἐν Ῥώμῃ βασιλεύσαντος, ἐπανίσταται τῷ ἰδίῳ κηδεστῇ. καὶ πολέμου κρατοῦντος τὴν χώραν, λιμῷ ττουσιν οὕτως αἱ τοῦ βασιλέως δυνάμεις, ὥς καὶ βυρσῶν καὶ ἄλλων ἀπὸ τῶν ἀψασθαι βρωμάτων, αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν βασιλέα Ἀνθέμιον ἔβδομον ἔτος ἔχοντα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀναιρεθῆναι.]

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## [65]

[(John of Antioch *Fr.* 209,2 = *Exc. de Ins.* 93)]

Ὁ δὲ Ῥεκίμερ αὐτὸν μὲν βασιλικῆς ἡξίωσε ταφῆς, τὸν δὲ

## [63]

[(John of Antioch *Fr.* 208 = *Exc. de Ins.* 92)]

During the reign of the Emperor Leo, Jordanes, the general of the East and consul, came into extreme danger together with Misael and Cosmas, who were chamberlains of the palace.<sup>196</sup> For when the Emperor was away, they failed to guard the palace and allowed in Jordanes, who wished to see the interior.]

## [64]

[1. (John of Antioch *Fr.* 209,1 = *Exc. de Ins.* 93)]

Ricimer became hostile towards Anthemius, the Emperor of the western Romans, and, even though he was married<sup>197</sup> to his daughter Alypia, fought a civil war within the city for nine months.<sup>198</sup> The authorities and the populace of Rome fought on Anthemius' side, while Ricimer was supported by a force of his own barbarians. Also on Ricimer's side was Odovacer, a man of the tribe called the Sciri, whose father was Edeco and whose brother was Onulf, the bodyguard and the murderer of Harmatius.<sup>199</sup> Anthemius resided in the palace, while Ricimer blockaded the area by the Tiber and afflicted those inside with hunger. As a result a pitched battle was fought, and many of Anthemius' party were slain. Ricimer subdued the rest by treachery and proclaimed Olybrius Emperor. Rome was gripped by a civil war of altogether five months until Anthemius, his supporters having surrendered to the barbarians and left their Emperor defenceless, mingled with the beggars and joined the supplicants at the church of the martyr Chrysogonus.<sup>200</sup> There his head was cut off by Gundoband, Ricimer's brother.<sup>201</sup> He had reigned for five years, three months and eighteen days.]

[2. (Theophanes *Chron. a.m.* 5964)]

In Italy Ricimer, the general and son-in-law of Anthemius, who was ruling righteously in Rome, revolted from his own father-in-law. As war gripped the land,<sup>202</sup> the Emperor's forces were so hungry that they ate hides and other unwanted foods, and Anthemius was killed in the seventh year of his reign.]

## [65]

[(John of Antioch *Fr.* 209,2 = *Exc. de Ins.* 93)]

Ricimer considered him [Anthemius] worthy of a royal burial

Ὀλυβρίον ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείον ἀνήγαγεν αὐλήν. Ὀλυβρίου δὲ κατὰ τὸν εἰρημένον τρόπον τὴν Ῥωμαίων παρειληφότος ἀρχήν, Ῥεκίμερ ἡμερῶν εἴσω λ' καταλύει τὸν βίον, αἵματος αὐτῷ πλείστου ἐξεμε-  
θέντος. Ὀλυβρίος δὲ μετὰ τοῦτον ἰς' ὀνάς ἐπιβίους ἡμέρας ὑδέρῳ  
συσχεθεὶς μεταλλάττει, τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν <έν>αριθμηθεὶς εἰς μῆνας  
ἕξ ἡμῖσι. τὴν δὲ τοῦ Ῥεκίμερος τάξιν ὑπεισελθὼν Γουνδουβάλης,  
ἀνεψιὸς ὢν αὐτοῦ, Γλυκερίον τὴν τοῦ Ῥώμητος τῶν δομεστικῶν ἀξίαν  
ἔχοντα ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἄγει. γνοὺς δὲ Λέων ὁ τῶν ἐσῶν βασιλεὺς  
τὴν τοῦ Γλυκερίου ἀναγόμενσιν ἐπιστρατεύει κατ' αὐτοῦ, Νέπωτα  
στρατηγὸν ἀποδείξας· ὃς ἐπειδὴ τὴν Ῥώμην κατέλαβεν, ἀμαχεῖ τὸν  
Γλυκερίον ἐχειρώσατο καὶ τῶν βασιλείων ἐξώσας ἐπίσκοπον τοῦτον  
Σάλωνος προχειρίζεται ἡ μῆνας ἐντρικῆσαντα τῇ ἀρχῇ. εὐθὺς γοῦν  
ὁ Νέπως βασιλεὺς ἀναδειχθεὶς ἦρχε τῆς Ῥώμης.]

5 ἰς' [ιγ' edd. 6 ἐν- add. Müller 8 ἀξίαν Müller [ἀξίως codd. 12 τοῦτον  
om. P et edd.]

## Sedis Incertae

[66]

[1. (Procopius Wars 6,15,16-23)

Τῶν δὲ ἰδρυμένων ἐν Θούλῃ βαρβάρων ἐν μόνον ἔθνος, οἱ  
Σκριθίφιναι ἐπικαλοῦνται, θηριώδη τῷ βίῳ ἐχουσιν. οὔτε γὰρ  
ἱμάτια ἐνδιδύσκονται οὔτε ὑποδεδεμένοι βαδίζουσιν οὔτε οἶνον πίνουσιν  
οὔτε τι ἐδώδιμον ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἔχουσιν. οὔτε γὰρ αὐτοὶ γῆν γεωργοῦσιν  
οὔτε τι αὐτοῖς αἱ γυναῖκες ἐργάζονται, ἀλλὰ ἄνδρες αἰεὶ ξὺν ταῖς  
γυναῖξιν τὴν θήραν μόνην ἐπιτηδεύουσι. θηρίων τε γὰρ καὶ ἄλλων  
ζώων μέγα τι χρῆμα αἰεὶ τε ὕλαι αὐτοῖς φέρουσι, μεγάλα ὑπερφύως  
οὔσαι, καὶ τὰ ὄρη αὐτῇ ἀνέχει. καὶ κρέασι μὲν θηρίων αἰεὶ τῶν  
ἀλίσκομένων σιτίζονται, τὰ δέρματα δὲ ἀμφιέννυνται, ἐπεὶ τε αὐτοῖς  
οὔτε λῶον οὔτε ὄργανον ὅτῳ ράπτοιεν ἔστω, οἱ δὲ τῶν θηρίων τοῖς  
νεύροις τὰ δέρματα ἐς ἄλληλα ταῦτα ξυνδέοντες οὕτω δὴ ἐς τὸ σῶμα  
ὅλον ἀμπίσχονται. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τὰ βρέφη αὐτοῖς κατὰ ταῦτα τιθη-  
νοῦνται τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις. οὐ γὰρ σιτίζονται Σκριθιφίνων παιδία  
γυναικῶν γάλακτι οὐδὲ μητέρων ἄπτονται τιτθοῦ, ἀλλὰ ζώων τῶν  
ἀλίσκομένων τοῖς μυελοῖς ἐκτρέφονται μόνοις. ἐπειδὴ οὖν γυνὴ τά-  
χιστα τέκει, δέρματι τὸ βρέφος ἐμβαλομένη κρεμᾷ μὲν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ δέν-  
δρου τῷός, μυελὸν δὲ οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ στόματος ἐνθεμένη ξὺν τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐπὶ  
τὴν εἰλωθυῖαν στέλλεται θήραν. ἐπὶ κοινῇ γὰρ τὰ τε ἄλλα δρώσι καὶ

8 τὰ ὄρη αὐτῇ L [ταύτῃ τὰ ὄρη K 17-18 ξὺν τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐπὶ τὴν εἰλωθυῖαν  
στέλλεται θήραν K [εὐθὺς στέλλεται ἐπὶ θήραν L 18 τὰ τε ἄλλα δρώσι  
καὶ K [τοῖς ἀνδράσι L

and he installed Olybrius in the royal palace. When Olybrius had received the sovereignty in the manner described, Ricimer died within thirty days after vomiting up a great deal of blood. Olybrius survived him by only sixteen days, when he was attacked by dropsy and passed away, having been numbered amongst the Emperors for about six-and-a-half months. Ricimer was succeeded in his position by his nephew, Gundobaules.<sup>203</sup> He made Glycerius, who held the rank of count of the domestics, Emperor. When Leo, the Emperor of the East, learned of the elevation of Glycerius, he sent a force against him, appointing Nepos general. When he took Rome, he overcame Glycerius without a fight, ejected him from the palace and made him bishop of Salona. He had enjoyed sovereignty for eight months. Nepos was straightway appointed Emperor and ruled Rome.]

## Unplaced Fragments

[66]

[1. (Procopius Wars 6,15,16-23)

Of the barbarians settled in Thule, only one people, that called the Scythifini, live a life like that of the wild beasts. For they wear neither woven garments nor shoes for walking, and they do not drink wine or eat food from the earth. They do not till the land themselves, neither do their wives work it for them, but they only hunt, always together with their women. For the vast forests and the mountains which are there produce for them a great number of wild animals and other game. They eat only the flesh of the wild animals which they kill and they dress themselves in their skins. Since they have neither flax nor sewing needles, they tie these skins together with sinews and thus cover their whole body. Even their babies are raised in a manner different from other humans. For the young of the Scythifini are not fed women's milk and are not put to their mother's breast, but their diet is exclusively the marrow of the animals which have been killed. As soon as a woman has given birth, she places the baby in a skin, hangs it up in a tree, places some marrow in its mouth and sets off with her husband upon the usual hunt. For they perform everything together,

τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα μετῴσι τοῦτο. τοῦτοις μὲν οὖν δὴ τοῖς βαρβάροις τὰ  
ἐς τὴν διαίταν ταύτη πη ἔχει.]

20

[2. (Jordanes *Get.* 3,21)

Aliae vero ibi sunt gentes Screrefennae, que frumentorum non  
queritant victum, sed carnibus ferarum atque ovīs avium vivunt; ubi  
tanta paludibus fetura ponitur, ut et augmentum prestant generi et  
satiētatē ad cupiam genti.]

1 sunt [tres OB      2 ovium aviumque HPVLA ovium (om. aviumque) OB  
4 ad [ac B

## 67

(*Suda* A 1660)

Ὅρκοι δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀμοιβαίᾳ σφῶν ἐδίδοντο πίσται, οὐ μόνον  
αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς παραγωμένοις ἐκ τῶν βασιλείων Ῥωμαίων  
τῆς διαλλαγῆς ἔνεκα τῶν ἀνδρῶν. Πρίσκος φησὶν.

2 τοῖς παραγωμένοις M Niebuhr [τοῖς τῶν παραγωμένων ceteri codd.      τῆς  
post βασιλείων ceteri codd. praeter FM

## 68

(*Suda* Π 687)

Οἱ δὲ πεμψθέντες παρόδου ἐς τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἔτυχον ὑστερή-  
σαντες. Πρίσκος φησί.

including this activity. Such is the daily life of these barbarians.]

[2. (Jordanes *Get.* 3,21)

There [i.e. on the island of Scandza] are other peoples, the  
Screrefennae, who do not eat vegetable food but live off the flesh of  
wild animals and birds' eggs. The marshes there produce such a great  
abundance of these that there is sufficient for an increase in population  
and the satisfaction of all its desires.]

## 67

(*Suda* A 1660)

Oaths were given as mutual sureties not only for themselves  
but also for those who had come from the Roman court to reconcile  
the men.<sup>204</sup> Priscus says this.

## 68

(*Suda* Π 687)

Those who had been sent were not allowed to enter the city  
when they arrived too late. Priscus says this.

## NOTES TO PRISCUS

1. Although here Jordanes is looking back to his earlier story on the origin of the Huns (that they were the offspring of witches expelled by the Scythians/Goths and of unclean spirits), nevertheless, at this point Procopius also, who does not include such a story on the origin of the Huns, states as his view that the hind's purpose was to bring woe to Scythia. Thus, a similar sentiment was probably found in Priscus.

2. The passage of Jordanes has been printed rather than that of Procopius because, although the latter is a little more diffuse, Jordanes has all the detail in Procopius and more. The list of the tribes subjugated by the Huns appears also at the beginning of *Fr.* 2, the first passage preserved in the *Exc. de Leg. Rom.* (the doublet Alpidzuros/Alcidzuros is explained in Maenchen-Helfen 1973 p.402), where they are identified as tribes living by the Danube whose members had fled to alliance with the Romans. This suggests that the preliminary material was inserted by Priscus not as part of a longish digression on the origin and early history of the Huns (the traditional view, which I accepted in vol. I p.62), but as a brief explanation both of the status vis-à-vis the Huns of the tribes named and of the Hunnic king Rua's anger at the Romans. With this interpretation the error of Procopius (*Wars* 8,5,10) or his source in dating the Hunnic crossing of Maeotis to the period after the Vandalic crossing to Africa and the Visigothic entry into Spain can be easily explained, since in Priscus the story of the crossing was closely linked with the end of Rua's reign, 434/35 A.D., a date by which the Vandals were in Africa and the Visigoths in Spain. Thus, careless condensation simply dated the crossing by the narrative context to which it was linked.

Agathias (5,11,3) and Cedrenus (I p.547) mention the same story of the crossing, but their relationship to Priscus is quite unclear. Gordon (1960 p.199 nn.2 and 3) argues that the subsequent passage of Jordanes (*Get.* 24,126-28) is also from Priscus, but the lack of parallel material in Procopius and the very close verbal parallels there with Ammianus (31,2,1-9 *passim*) make this highly unlikely.

3. On these tribes see Maenchen-Helfen 1973 pp.402f., 438f., 453f. Maenchen-Helfen (p.90) takes Priscus to mean that these tribes "fled into Roman territory and offered their services to Theodosius". But if the tribes of Scythia subdued at the end of this passage are the ones mentioned at the beginning (and part of the purpose of the treaty from the Huns' point of view seems to have been to secure themselves for this expedition), then it must be a case not of tribes fleeing but of

substantial numbers of individuals fleeing to seek service with the Romans (a later concern of Attila). Thus, the first clause of the treaty attempted to deal with this problem.

4. At this date (?435) he was not yet quaestor (which he became in 438) but one of the *magistri scriniorum* (PLRE II 'Epigenes'). For another example of such a reference forward see n.102.

5. Since the immediate purpose of this clause would be to forestall Roman help to the tribes mentioned at the beginning of this passage, the MSS reading makes best sense and Niebuhr's emendation (*απομένω*) is unnecessary.

6. On the otherwise unattested Sorosgi see Maenchen-Helfen 1973 p.439. The Greek suggests that, unlike the tribes which the Huns first subdued, these were outside their immediate dominion.

7. The next few lines are an almost word-for-word parallel with the previous passage of John of Antioch from the words *καὶ ἐς τοσοῦτον τὰ πράγματα*.

8. Noviodunum was in Scythia Minor and on the Danube. The Rubi (probably Rugi) seem to have been not invaders but a people settled near to Noviodunum, some of whom revolted (see Thompson 1948 pp.217f.). The revolt can be dated no more closely than between the beginning of the History (434/5) and the fall of Naissus (442). The initial statement that Valips had earlier (*πάλιν*) revolted might indicate that Priscus had described the beginning of the revolt in an earlier passage and that the present passage deals with the conclusion of the revolt.

9. The fort would have been the Constantia of Fr. 2. The phraseology imitates Thucydides 1,144,2, from Pericles' reply to the Spartan ultimatum. A comparison of these devastating Hunnic raids with the Peloponnesian War would not have been out of place, and Thucydidean reminiscences crop up frequently hereafter.

10. *Θήκας* could mean "treasure houses", but "tombs" is the likeliest rendering since *σολᾶν* is common late Greek for tomb-robbing (Thompson 1947 p.62).

11. The ancient name of the river Nischava, upon which Naissus stands, is unknown. The city is said by Priscus himself (Fr. 11,1) to be five days' journey from the Danube (which is never called *Δανούβα*, and always by Priscus *Ἰστρος*). Therefore, *Δανούβας* is either the ancient name of the Nischava or (as most editors think) corrupt. No satisfactory emendation has been proposed (see Thompson 1947 p.61).

12. In fact, he embellished it, since it was his birthplace (Anon. Val. 2,2).

13. For Thompson's criticism of the authenticity of this description and my defence of it see vol. I p.54. Gordon (1960 p.200 n.19) follows Thompson in regarding the story of the bridge as "a bad guess". For my own ordering of the fragments, which makes the

building of the bridge quite likely, see vol. I p.168 n.48.

14. Thompson's emendation *εἰν<αι οὐτ>ως* seems misconceived. The point is not that wheels made the access easy, but that the easy (i.e. smooth) access made the use of wheels feasible.

15. This machine seems to have been a type of crane (Blockley 1972 p.22 n.12). For the Thucydidean imitations in this and the following descriptions see Thompson 1945 pp.92-94 and Blockley *art. cit.* pp.22-25.

16. Malalas' somewhat Christianised account of the fall of Antiochus is the fullest and the earliest which survives. It is misplaced just before the fall of the prefect Cyrus in all the sources, and Theophanes (*Chron. a.m.* 5936) specifically dates it to the preceding year, whereas Antiochus seems to have been disgraced around 421 (PLRE II 'Antiochus' 5). The error might have arisen out of Priscus' mention of the disgrace before the fall of Cyrus as part of a retrospective passage attacking eunuchs and specifically Chrysaphius, who replaced Cyrus (see vol. I p.117). Zonaras (13,22,14-16) confirms that Antiochus was made a priest.

17. The words *αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τόπον, Αὔγουστε*, omitted by both Theophanes and the *Paschal Chronicle*, are a studied insult to Theodosius.

18. The passage of Malalas has been given for the same reasons as those remarked in n.16. The passage of the *Paschal Chronicle* is usually printed as Priscus Fr. 3a, but its claims are no stronger than the passage of Malalas (see vol. I pp.116f.), and it omits some details which he gives. However, it does add, what is missing in Malalas, that Cyrus used to go out in the carriage of the praetorian prefect and return in that of the urban prefect (*καὶ προῆι μὲν ὡς ἐπαρχὸς πραιτορίων εἰς τὴν καροῦχαν τῶν ἐπαρχῶν, ἀνεχώρει δὲ καθήμενος εἰς τὴν καροῦχαν τοῦ ἐπαρχοῦ τῆς πόλεως*) and says that, "he himself contrived that lights were set up in the workshops in the evenings as well as at night" (*καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπενόησεν τὰ ἑσπερινὰ φῶτα ἀπτεσθαι εἰς τὰ ἐργαστήρια ὁμοίως καὶ τὰ νυκτερινά* – perhaps a health and safety measure for the workers). Both the *Paschal Chronicle* and Theophanes (probably wrongly) give Smyrna as the place of which Cyrus was made bishop. All three sources continue with an obviously Christianised story of how Cyrus, by his wit, won over the people of the place, who had shown a marked propensity for murdering their bishops. It is possible that a similar anecdote, less obviously Christian, was found in Priscus.

19. Although this and the following are a little unclear, they seem to be mainly an attack on the cowardice of the Roman military establishment, to whom the Asimuntians are contrasted. Towards the end of this fragment the Roman commanders are said to be cowed (*κατεπιτηχότων*) by their defeats.

20. Under the previous year, *a.m.* 5941, a passage which could be Priscan, although there is no indication of this at all. The naval expedition in question is the one against Gaiseric in 441. Its mention here reflects the fact that in this passage Theophanes is incorporating details

of both Hunnic invasions (of 441/2 and 447).

21. The form of his name varies widely in the sources. The form preferred by modern scholars is Arnegisclus.

22. The immediate source of Nicephorus is not known (Eustathius?), though there are clear verbal parallels with Theophanes.

23. For the interpretation of this passage and its dating to 447 see Croke 1982 (against Bayless 1979).

24. On the reading *ἀπέσταλκά σοι* see Thompson 1947 p.62. I have assumed that *ἐπειτα* marks the transition from summary to direct quotation, whereas usually only the second quotation is treated as such.

25. For the translation of *λίθους Ἰνδοκοῖς* see Thompson *loc.cit.* at n.24 above.

26. The identification of Edeco as the father of Odovacer (who is called by the *Suda* K 693 the son of a Thuringian father and Scirian mother) is accepted by *PLRE* II 'Edeco' but rejected by Maenchen-Helfen 1973 p.388 n.104.

27. This is a reminiscence of Homer *Il.* 8,490f. (Bornmann 1974 p.116).

28. See lines 12f. of the present passage.

29. Thompson (1948 p.106) and Browning (1953 pp.143f.) both make the envoys reach (and, indeed, travel beyond) the Danube on the next day after leaving Agintheus near to Naissus. But in *Fr.* 11,1 Priscus says specifically that Naissus was five days' journey from the Danube for an unencumbered traveller, a measurement which he probably obtained from his experience on this occasion; in the present passage there is no indication of the time taken over the journey. Thus, if the envoys took five days to reach the Danube, Browning (*loc.cit.*) is wrong to argue that their crossing point was at Ratiaria, an argument which also ignores Priscus' firm statement that they were marching westwards. It seems more likely that the crossing of the Danube was near to Viminacium or Margus, a distance of over 800 stades from Naissus, a four-day journey at the Herodotean rate of 200 stades per day and just under that at the Procopian rate of 210 (*Wars* 1,1,17). The extra day might have been taken up at the beginning by the short detour to Agintheus.

30. De Boor here reads *διαφανούσης*, attributing the conjecture to Niebuhr, whose text and apparatus both offer, however, *διαφανούσης*, presumably by comparison with the reading at line 400. My own reading is that of the MSS.

31. For *ὕλωδει* Browning (*art.cit.* [at n.29] p.143) seems to read *ἐλώδει* ("marshy"), of which I can find no trace in the editions I have seen. Gibbon appears to have had the same reading (cf. *Decline and Fall* [Everyman edition] III p.363).

32. The MSS reading *ποιουμένω* is defended by Bornmann 1974 pp.116f.

33. Browning (*loc.cit.* at n.31) is wrong to regard this halt as the end of a full day's journey and therefore a useful measure of distance travelled. It is clear that the envoys had been forced to stop early, and the time of halting and the distance travelled on that day are not specified. But since on the next day it took them until the ninth hour to reach Attila's camp, they must have halted a considerable distance away; and thus, for the attendants of Edeco to gallop ahead and the two Scythians to return by late afternoon, they must have halted quite early in the day.

34. The embassy which ended the 'great' invasion of 447 (*Fr.* 9,3, *init.*).

35. Though usually regarded as corrupt, *ταῦτα* can be taken as an accusative of respect, or *πρός* can be inserted.

36. *PLRE* II 'Rusticius' 2 distinguishes this person from the one who appears in *Fr.* 14 as a prisoner from Upper Moesia used by Attila as a secretary. They are probably identical. All Priscus indicates here is that Rusticius was returning from Italy, where he had been on business for Constantius (cf. later in this fragment, line 578, where he is called *τοῦ κατὰ Κωνσταντίου*).

37. This Constantius is to be distinguished from another secretary of Attila of the same name, also sent by Aetius, but a Gaul who was crucified by the Huns before the death of Bleda (see the present fragment, lines 329-42).

38. The date of Carpilio's sojourn as hostage with Attila cannot be fixed. Attila says that Carpilio was hostage with himself (*παρ' αὐτῷ*) which might mean after he had killed Bleda in 445. But perhaps the language is used more loosely and indicates merely the period after he and Bleda had become kings in 434/5 (cf. Maenchen-Helfen 1973 p.106 n.481).

39. The Greek is not entirely clear here. I take Priscus to be saying that after Attila had ordered Vigilas to go immediately to Constantinople with Esclas, he then told Maximinus to remain with his court to receive the replies and finally he closed the audience by accepting the gifts and dismissing the envoys. Some of the MSS and most of the editors omit the words from *δόντας* to *ἀπεξιέναι*, but this is too easy a solution to the difficulty.

40. Jordanes (*Get.* 50,262) calls him Ellac. Since Attila had more than two sons, *πρεσβυτέρω* is an example of the common late-Greek use of the comparative for the superlative.

41. There is a long discussion, with bibliography, of the name and location of this people in Maenchen-Helfen (1973 pp.427-38), who would place them on the Black Sea to the West of the Crimea (cf. lines 550f. of the present fragment).

42. Maenchen-Helfen's analysis of this name (1973 pp.408f.) suggests that he was a Hunnic shaman.



43. These rivers are called *Tisia Tibisiaque et Dricca* by Jordanes (*Get.* 34,178 = *Fr.* 11,3). They cannot be identified with any certainty, but, if one accepts the view that the envoys crossed the Danube near to Viminacium (see n.29), then the Tiphesas/Tibisia may be the Temeşul (Temes) and the Tigas/Tisia would be the Tisza (Theiss). If the journey of seven days noted at line 313 was that from Attila's encampment (which was about a day's journey from the Danube) to the village where they met the western Roman envoys, then at the standard rate of 200 stades per day, the seven-day journey (less one day lost drying out after the storm [lines 305f.], plus one day from the Danube) would have covered about 1400 stades or about 175 miles (at eight stades to the mile). If they had crossed the Tisza (which surely must be Jordanes' Tisia and thus Priscus' Tigas), they would, therefore, be to the West of that river and on a latitude well to the South of the Körös, a reasonable place to meet envoys coming from Noricum (but see n.47 and the text thereat). Attila's headquarters seem to have been a short journey further on, across some, presumably small, rivers (lines 356-58). This would put the headquarters between the Tisza and the Danube, conveniently placed not only to threaten the two parts of the Roman Empire, but also close to the part of Pannonia in his hands. (Bibliography in Thompson 1948 pp.121f., whose view is here followed.)

44. On the (probably) Germanic *medos* ("mead") see Gelzer 1924 pp.313f. and Thompson 1947 p.62. On *kamon*, a beer known in Pannonia, see Thompson *loc.cit.* and Maenchen-Helfen 1973 pp.424f.

45. Bornmann (1974 p.117) points out that this description imitates Thucydidean language, especially of 5,70,1, but also of 2,4,2 and 8,24,1.

46. On these three, respectively, see *PLRE* II 'Romulus' 2, 'Promotus' 1 and 'Romanus' 2. The description of Romanus' office makes it unclear whether he was *comes rei militaris* or *dux*.

47. The punctuation of the text, including the placing of the lacuna, is that of de Boor. The older editors place a comma after *ἐγγαμήκει* and the lacuna after *πόμεως*. No explanations are offered for either reading.

48. The conjecture *δοτήμου* ("bullion" or "plate") for the MSS *δρμου* or *δομλου* is that of Bury (1958 I p.282 n.2).

49. As distinct from the eastern Gauls (*Γαλατοί*) of Asia Minor.

50. Probably in the first invasion of 441-2 (see vol. I p.168 n.48).

51. Since Niebuhr *Σκυθικῶν*, which the MSS favour, has been emended to *συνθηκῶν* (i.e. the agreements with the bishop). But the MSS reading makes good sense, since if Constantius had spoken to the bishop during the siege (as an envoy?), whatever he received would have been regarded by the Huns as part of the common booty (as is clear from Attila's attitude towards Silvanus). Therefore, in withholding the bowls he was ignoring the rights of the Huns, whom he served.

52. The MSS read here *ἐλ οὖν μὴ . . . ἀποσταῆ*, which makes the construction of *τῆς εὐλόγου προφάσεως* awkward. Niebuhr would change *μὴ* to *μετὰ* which makes the envoys issue an unlikely threat (i.e. they would send the gold only if Attila dropped his demands for the bowls). My insertion of *μετὰ* makes the envoys' words rather more conciliatory, and is, I think, an easier correction than Bornmann's proposal (1974 pp.118f.) to read *εὐλόγω προφάσει*.

53. On the location of this village, which is often referred to as 'Attila's headquarters', see nn.29 and 43 together. One further indication that the village was west of the Tisza/Theiss (and perhaps quite close to the Danube) and not, as has often been suggested, north of the Körös or even (as Browning [*art. cit.* at n.29] argued) much further east in Wallachia, is that the baths of Onegesius, described just below, were built of stone brought from Pannonia, which the Huns are unlikely to have transported for enormous distances across the Danube.

54. *Εὐξέστοις* probably qualifies only *σανίω* (which are the boards forming the face of the building) and not *ξύλοις* (perhaps the timbers of the frame to which the boards were attached). My interpretation appears to differ from that of Thompson (*JHS* 1945 p.115) who translates "well-planed planks and panels." (In general I follow his interpretation of Priscus' description of Attila's headquarters, except where I specifically note disagreement.) The Gothic technique of the construction of the wooden buildings is remarked by Maenchen-Helfen 1973 p.180.

55. As Thompson (*art. cit.* [at n.54] p.113) points out, the Greek does not mean — as it has been taken to mean — that the road passed through Onegesius' house (which would thus have been a kind of gatehouse), but that it passed between the buildings that made up his compound.

56. Maenchen-Helfen (1973 p.382 n.57) insists that *παραλος* here = *ripa* (i.e. the lands along the Danube), not "sea coast", as it is usually rendered. But the recent Hunnic invasions had swept over much of Illyricum and Thrace, and it is hard to see why Priscus would single out the peoples near to the Danube as able to speak Greek. If my rendering (which is also that of Bury 1958 I p.283) is correct, then it constitutes an interesting note on the failure of Greek to penetrate into the interior at this period.

57. Thompson (1947 pp.63f.) points out that the description of the hairstyle uses Herodotean language (3,8,3) and that the Hunnic style is described by Procopius *Anecd.* 7.

58. In 441-42 (see *Fr.* 6,1).

59. The meaning of *διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ πλείστοις διατίθεσθαι* is unclear. Both Müller's version (*quoniam plurimum auctoritate valent*) and that of Gordon ("because they sold for the most money" — supported by Bornmann 1974 pp.119f.) strain the Greek. My own version (which is not original) assumes that in the division of spoils, the *λογάδες*, being

the war leaders, would be responsible for the enrichment of the men under their command and would thus choose the prisoners who were likely to bring the highest ransom. Clearly, as in the case of the Greek captured at Viminacium, prisoners might also pay for their freedom with booty earned in war.

60. Whether by *διὰ τοὺς τυράννους* the Greek is castigating the Emperors or whether he is explaining the ban on carrying arms by fear of usurpation, is unclear. I suspect the latter.

61. At this point in the Greek the direct speech changes to indirect, which continues until a few sentences from the end. Perhaps the indirect speech marks a part where the excerptor has condensed a longer original.

62. On the form of the name see Maenchen-Helfen 1973 p.408 (with references).

63. See nn.40 and 41 above.

64. The interpretation of this passage generally follows Thompson *JHS* 1945 pp.113f., except that I read *λίθων* (which is closer to the reading of the MS), rather than his *δοκῶν*, since the lack of building stone in the area remarked at lines 366f. need not indicate a lack of stones to build piles, as he argues. While following Thompson's interpretation of *ἐμβεβλημένων . . . ἀποτελοῦσθαι*, I have taken the phrase to qualify both *σανίδων* and *λίθων*. Thus, Priscus is saying that both types of building were raised on piles.

65. On Rusticius and Constantius see nn.36 and 37.

66. The most recent discussion (with bibliography) of the date of this attack is by Maenchen-Helfen (1973 pp.51-59), who identifies it with the great invasion of the East in 395, in which case the war in which the Romans were involved would have been the war between Theodosius I and Eugenius. Romulus does not say, however, that the Huns entered Roman territory, which they certainly did in 395; and the tone of his remarks suggests to me that the attack in question is not one well known to the eastern Empire. Gordon (1960 p.202) suggested that the attack took place during 423-25, while there were hostilities between the eastern Romans and the usurper John, and Thompson (1948 p.31) advanced 415-20 "or a little later". I prefer his "little later", specifically 420-22, when there were hostilities between the Roman Empire and Persia. The point at which the Romans failed to resist the Hunnic advance — indeed, the only points at which the Romans could have resisted if the attack were not into the Empire itself — would have been the Tauric Chersonese, or even Lazica, if the Huns kept close to the north shore of the Black Sea.

67. *τοὺς διαβεβηκότας* most naturally means those Huns who came over to the Romans with Basich and Kursich, perhaps as allies of Aetius.

68. Thompson (1948 p.31 and n.1), citing Marquart *Ērānšahr* p.97, suggests that this is a reference to the oilfields of Baku in Azerbaijan on

the coast of the Caspian Sea. If this is so, the Huns took a wide sweep to the East on their way home, and the reading *ἀλλήγων* is a considerable understatement or a bad guess on the part of an editor.

69. The rank would have been master of both branches of the soldiery (*magister utriusque militiae*). *PLRE* II 'Attila' points out that since Priscus heard this from the western envoys, it must have been conferred by the western Emperor, Valentinian III. But it could equally well be Priscus' parenthetical comment about Theodosius. There is no independent evidence for this (honorary) title for Attila.

70. I am assuming here that *ἐκεῖνω* refers to Theodosius and that Attila is complaining again about the fugitives amongst the eastern Romans. But since Constantiolus, the speaker, was a westerner, it could equally well refer to Valentinian III.

71. On these rivers see n.43.

72. Although it is just possible that this information is from a note in Priscus which his Byzantine excerptors omitted, it is much more likely to be an addition by Jordanes or his source. Browning (1953 pp.144f.), who appears to regard it as from Priscus, locates this ambush in Transylvania or Eastern Wallachia and uses it to support his argument that Attila's headquarters were in that area rather than in the Hungarian plain. But if it were an addition by Jordanes or his source, its value to his argument is greatly diminished.

73. This is a free rendering of *Fr.* 11,2 lines 358-61, although the interest in the joints is not evident in the text of Priscus which we have.

74. This seems to be based upon *Fr.* 13,1 lines 28-33, although the picture given by the Latin is rather different from that of the Greek.

75. The sentences which I have omitted are not from Priscus. For the Priscan origin of the rest of this paragraph see vol. I n.51 on p.169, and cf. the Greek form of the name Roas.

76. On the sword cult, common amongst peoples of the steppes and Germanic and Iranian tribes, see Alföldi 1932 pp.232-38; Maenchen-Helfen 1973 pp.278-80.

77. *Κύλκα* is a conjecture for the MSS *ἐπόλκα*. De Boor suggests that a line has dropped out between *ἐπο-* and *-λκα*.

78. The description of the seating is not entirely clear. Since Attila was placed in the centre of the (square or, more likely, rectangular) hall, I take the chairs along the walls to have been set only in front of Attila. Thus, the banquet occupied the half of the hall between Attila and the entrance. Onegesius seems to have had the most honourable seat, on the right, closest to Attila, while Attila's two sons sat at the head of the left-hand line. Berichus' distance from Attila is not made clear, since we are only told that he was one seat closer than the eastern Roman envoys.

79. Again, Priscus' description of this ceremony is not wholly clear, and my interpretation differs from those of Bury and Gordon.

In my view Attila as the host greets everyone in turn and offers him his own wooden cup (*κισσύβιον*). The guest, who has stood up, drinks from the cup and returns it to Attila's waiter, who retires (*ὑπεξιώντος*) to his master's side. As the waiter retires, the other waiters step forward in line, offer the metal cups (*κάλυκες*) to the other guests, who then greet the guest whom Attila has welcomed and who has now sat down. The *κάλυκες* are then returned to the waiters, who step back. The whole ceremony is then repeated for all the guests, first down the right-hand side, then down the left.

80. The usual translation of *μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Α.* is "next to the table of Attila", but if the banquet were of any size this would have been impossible, since the guests did not leave their seats. The Greek is, in fact, stressing the order of precedence. First Attila's table was set up, then the rest were set up in order – down the right- and left-hand sides – directly in front of the guests.

81. This passage seems to fit exactly into this place in the *Excerpta*. The error of calling Zercon a Scythian clearly arises from failure to distinguish him from the deranged Scythian who preceded him at the banquet.

82. Thompson (1947 p.64) points out that *δοβεστον γέλωτα* comes from Homer *Il.* 1,599 and invokes the banquet scene there, with the lame Hephaestus bustling about.

83. On the correct form of the name, Ernach not Ernas, see Thompson *loc.cit.* (at n.82) and cf. Maenchen-Helfen 1973 p.415.

84. See n.62.

85. De Boor, following Dindorf, would expunge the *καί*, and it certainly seems intrusive in the sentence as it stands. But perhaps here, as elsewhere, the excerptor has condensed the original, omitting other things which Attila had said to or about the Emperor.

86. Saturnilus (elsewhere Saturninus) was a count of the domestics killed at the order of Eudocia in 444 in retaliation for his killing of two clerics in her service (*PLRE II* 'Saturninus' 3). Gordon (1960 p.203 n.58) considers that the dispute over the girl had been in progress since before Saturninus' death, but it is much more likely that Theodosius would have been able to dispose of the girl so freely after her father's death (that this was the case is suggested by *τὸν δὲ Σ. ἀνηγάγει Ἀθηναίς*). Constantius probably accompanied one of the missions sent by Attila after the peace of 447 (*Fr.* 10).

87. Zeno was master of the soldiers in the East from 447, succeeding Anatolius, and was consul in 448. The war in which he defended the capital was Attila's invasion of 447 (*PLRE II* 'Zeno' 6).

88. *Τοῦ φρουρίου* suggests that something has dropped out (perhaps after the remark that Athenais/Eudocia was called by both names) to the effect that the girl was being kept under guard after her father's murder.

89. Rufus was perhaps a military count, but whether he is identical with the consul of 457 is unclear. (*PLRE II* 'Rufus' 1 denies the identity on the ground that Priscus *Fr.* 18 [=23,1 of the present edition] says that he was dead by 451. But Priscus' Greek does not make it clear whether the death of Rufus or that of Theodosius II is meant, though the former seems likely.)

90. De Boor obelises the words *παρὰ Ῥωμαίων δέξασθαι*, noting that Müller had proposed to read *δῶρα παρὰ Ῥωμαίων δέξασθαι βουλόμενος*. However, the simple infinitive of purpose after *πέμπω* is common (if usually used in the active voice and in poetry) so that *δῶρα* alone can be inserted.

91. Although *δασταυρόω* usually indicates impaling or crucifixion, the punishment here, apparently hanging by the neck with the head (probably) inserted in the cleft of a branch set upright, seems to have been gibbeting.

92. The cause of Berichus' anger may, therefore, have been a discussion by the envoys, which came to him through the servants, in which the Romans explained the defeat in the war of 447 by the ineptitude of the barbarian generals in the Roman armies (cf. *Fr.* 9,4 for the role of Aspar and Areobindus). Croke (1981 p.166) has a different explanation, that Maximinus had recommended to Attila that he not accept Aspar and Areobindus as envoys. This is possible.

93. Thompson (1947 p.64) points out that the one hundred pounds of gold was made up of the fifty sent by Chrysaphius and the fifty demanded by Attila for Vigilas' release. Clearly the first part of this long first sentence was an introductory summary by the excerptor. John of Antioch *Fr.* 198 (= *Fr.* 15,5 of the present text) has the phrase *φωραθέντα τῆς κατ' αὐτοῦ* [sc. Attila] *ἐπιβουλῆς*, but uses it of Chrysaphius.

94. Called Mundzuc by Jordanes *Get.* 34,180 (= *Fr.* 11,3) and Mundius by Theophanes *Chron. a.m.* 5942 (= *Fr.* 9,4).

95. Presumably this was to punish Rufus, who was deprived of her wealth. Presumably, also, Zeno saw Chrysaphius' hand behind this. *PLRE II* 'Zeno' 6 is probably correct to see in this affair one aspect of a struggle at court over policy towards Attila, in which Zeno opposed appeasement. But the evidence is not as unequivocal as *PLRE* implies, since none of the sources there cited actually specifies a motive for Zeno's estrangement.

96. As was noted in vol. I n.90 on p.145, this remark is usually taken to be sarcastic, given Priscus' dislike of Chrysaphius. Perhaps what Priscus means, however, is that on this occasion there was general support for Chrysaphius, since it would have been hardly proper to surrender a high minister, however disliked, to the personal animosity of Zeno or the demands of Attila.

97. Gordon (1960 p.204 n.69) is wrong to say that Nomus succeeded Martialis (cf. *Fr.* 11,1). Nomus had been master of the offices

from 443 to at least 446 and possibly later (*PLRE* II 'Nomus' 1).

98. On Plinthis cf. *Fr.* 2. Armatus is otherwise unknown.

99. Gordon (1960 p.204 n.71) wrongly suggests that by the Ausoriani Priscus meant the Vandals and the expedition of 441. The Ausoriani (or Austoriani) were a Moorish tribe on the borders of Tripolitania and Pentapolis, whose frequent raids are mentioned by Ammianus and Synesius amongst others (see 'Austuriani' in *RE* II 2 col.2592). The eastern Empire held Pentapolis, and the fighting was part of the regular defence against nomad incursions. Thus Armatus could have died any time up to the present, and probably had died fairly recently.

100. On this phrase see n.93.

101. The "greater fear" was the news of Attila's intrigue with Honoria, described by John in the next section (= *Fr.* 17,1). On the identity of Maximinus see vol. I p.48 and nn.7 and 8 thereto.

102. What Honoria escaped from has dropped out of the text. Herculanus was not consul until 452. Despite Bury's doubts (1958 I p.294 n.1), it seems that she was forced to marry Herculanus (cf. *Priscus Fr.* 20,1: ἐκδεδομένην), although τότε of the present passage suggests that whatever she escaped from, she was not so lucky later.

103. Nicephorus Callistus here reads μικρόν τι, which seems more appropriate.

104. This very laboured explanation of the conferring of the title Augustus does not seem likely to have come from Priscus, whose explanations are usually clearer than this.

105. Ardabur was master of the soldiers in the East from 453 to 466, when he was dismissed for treasonable correspondence (*PLRE* II 'Ardabur' 1). The present passage is clearly a summary of material from various parts of the narrative. With the phrase Μαρκιανού . . . χρηστοῦ μὲν γεγονότος cf. Theophanes *Chron. a.m.* 5943: ἐγένετο [sc. Μαρκιανός] δὲ χρηστός. Jordanes, *Rom.* 336, refers to one of these successes when he notes Ardabur's killing of Bigelis, a king of the Goths.

106. The Visigothic king was Theoderic I. His daughter's name is unknown. She was repudiated before 446, by which date Huneric had been betrothed to Eudocia, the daughter of Valentinian III (Bury 1958 I p.256).

107. The identity of the dead king is uncertain, but it is probably the semi-legendary Merovech (*PLRE* II 'Merovechus'). The names of the sons are also uncertain, although one (the winner in the struggle for the throne) was probably Childeric, whose reign may, therefore, have begun a few years earlier than the date of ca 456 given by *PLRE* II 'Childericus'.

108. On the reading πρεσβευόμενον see vol. I n.7 on p.143. The adoption here mentioned is a Germanic custom.

109. Attila appears to be replying to a message from the western Romans, probably their repeated rejection of his demand for Honoria (cf. *Fr.* 20,3).

110. An error for Theoderic I. Since this error also appears in Nicephorus Callistus (see following note) it must have been in Eustathius of Epiphania.

111. The only certainly Priscan material in this very garbled account is on the death of Attila (cf. *Fr.* 24,1). Nicephorus Callistus (*HE* 14,57) has the same account except for the death of Attila by haemorrhage, and he appears to say that he derived it from Eustathius of Epiphania, who would thus have probably been the common intermediary (see vol. I pp.117f.).

112. The words on the embassy of Pope Leo, which I rejected in vol. I p.113 as not from Priscus, I have included both for the sake of the completeness of the narrative and also because I am now not so sure that they could not have been based on Priscus' account.

113. This obvious error probably arose from the tendency of Procopius or his source to incorporate his material in blocks of excerpts with scant respect for chronological precision, the account of Aetius here being placed first. On a related error of chronology see n.2 above.

114. On the episode of Saturnilus' daughter see *Fr.* 14, lines 35-46. The Greek does not specify who died, but it probably means Rufus rather than Theodosius II. It is also unclear whether Apollonius, who was *magister militum praesentalis* of the East from 443 to 451 (*PLRE* II 'Apollonius' 3), was the brother of Rufus (the usual view, e.g. of Thompson 1948 p.143) or of another person who married Saturnilus' daughter after Rufus' death (so *PLRE* II *loc. cit.*). The former view seems to me more likely, since that gives more point to Priscus' introducing the affair of Saturnilus' daughter here.

115. Presumably Priscus claimed to have heard this from Marcian himself, perhaps via Euphemius, the master of the offices, whose *assessor* he was (see vol. I p.48).

116. On the burial rites and the *strava* (which Maenchen-Helfen takes to be a Slavic word) see Maenchen-Helfen 1973 pp.274-78 and 425f., who points out that some of the elements in the account appear to be influenced by classical reminiscences, a characteristic of Priscus (see vol. I pp.54f.).

117. While the account of Attila's death in Theophanes parallels that in *Chron. Pasch.* and Malalas, the previous sentence remarks the death of Aetius (who is still alive in *Chron. Pasch.* and Malalas), an order of events which is also found in Procopius (= *Fr.* 22,2 *init.*). The word τάρτεσθαι, which is used by Theophanes of Theodosius' agreement to pay tribute, also appears in the Priscan *Exc. de Leg. Gent.* 9 (= *Fr.* 23,1) and *Exc. de Leg. Rom.* 6 (= *Fr.* 23,3).

118. Cf. Theophanes *Chron. a.m.* 5946 = *Fr.* 24,2.

119. There may be some Priscan material in this fragment, as Mommsen thought (intro. to his text of Jordanes, p.xxxv), but much is from elsewhere (cf. especially *Fr.* 13,3, where the youngest son, Ernach, is said to be Attila's favourite). Although in the conspectus I included *Get.* 50,264-66 as possibly Priscan, it now seems to me in the light of Jordanes' references there both to himself and to the present time, that there is little, if any, Priscan material in those sections.

120. Procopius (*Wars* 1,19,32-33) indicates that they also continued to receive a subsidy in gold which had been instituted by Diocletian. On the Blemmyes see n.71 on p.219. When Diocletian moved the border northwards to Philae, the Nobadae were invited to settle the evacuated area as a buffer against the Blemmyes, who, however, still made raids. By the present time the Blemmyes and Nobadae were in alliance against the Romans, probably as a result of the increasing encroachment of Christianity (Snowden 1970 pp.138f.).

121. Perhaps, as Snowden (*loc.cit.*) suggests, Florus drove off the Blemmyes and Nobadae after the death of Maximinus. The Temple of Isis at Philae was not interfered with, however, and was not closed until the reign of Justinian (527-65).

122. For Christian dissension as a cause of rioting in classicising history cf. Ammianus Marcellinus 27,3,11-15. The present troubles were part of the ongoing dispute between the adherents of the Chalcedonian and Monophysite doctrines (Bury 1953 I pp.355ff.).

123. This dates the rioting to the summer since only the summer Etesian winds could have driven the ships from Constantinople to Alexandria so quickly.

124. On *παρωούντων* see n.128 below.

125. Thus Florus was both *comes Aegypti* and *praefectus Augustalis* (the latter is presumably *Alexandrinae urbis procurator* of Jordanes *Rom.* 333 = *Fr.* 27,2). He was presumably named *comes Aegypti* as an emergency measure after the death of Maximinus (*PLRE* II 'Florus' 2 connects the combined offices with the religious riots at Alexandria).

126. It is not clear who did the advising, but, since the sentence, like those which precede it, is dependent upon *ιστορεῖ δ' οὖν Πρίσκος*, the identity of *αὐτοῦ* is probably Priscus himself. Furthermore, since Priscus had been an (official or unofficial) advisor to Maximinus, and if Florus succeeded Maximinus, it is likely that Priscus continued in a similar relationship with him until his return to Constantinople. Nicephorus Callistus (*HE* 15,8) merely has *οὖν ελογγήσει*.

127. With this digression Nicephorus interrupts an account of the Alexandrian riots which is word-for-word almost identical with that of Evagrius. He has, however, transformed the temple to which the soldiers had fled into the temple of Serapis, which he seems to identify with the Serapeum. This, however, had been destroyed in 391 (see Eunapius *Fr.* 56). Thus, if this digression came from Priscus, as Valesius thought,

in the original it is unlikely to have been so closely connected with the riots.

128. The original sense of *παρωεῖν* (= "to abuse drunkenly") has clearly been lost here. The word also occurs in *Fr.* 28,1, where the original sense of the word could stand.

129. This sentence is difficult, and my version differs radically from that of Gordon (1960 p.52). It is based upon the text as printed by de Boor, which seems to me to be rendered sound by the acceptance of his conjecture *οὐκ ἔχει* for the MS *οὐκίει* and the restoring of the MS reading *ἐκβαλῶν*, which adds weight to his conjecture. For *παρελῆσθαι τίνα τινος* (= "to deprive someone of something") cf. Zosimus 1,7,2. For Valentinian's delay in recognising Marcian see W. Ensslin, 'Marcianus' 34, *RE* XIV 2 col.1518. The charge that Aetius had designs also on the West may rest upon the betrothal of his son, Gaudentius, to Valentinian's daughter, Placidia (Clover 1966 p.131 n.2).

130. *Κοπίς* usually = "a cleaver", although perhaps here it means a curved knife such as orientals carried (cf. Xenophon *Cyr.* 2,1,9), appropriate for an eunuch chamberlain, who was often an oriental. As a head chamberlain Heracleius would presumably not be searched for weapons.

131. During his ascendancy Aetius had to contend with the expansion of the Visigoths in south-western Gaul. He drove them from Arles in 430, and another general, Litorius, drove them from Narbo in 436. The revolt of the Aemurichans (Armoricans) refers to the uprising of the Bagaudae in north-western Gaul (on which see Clover's commentary to Merobaudes *Paneg.* 2,8ff.).

132. De Boor alters the MS *ἤκεω* to *εἴκεω* wrongly. Aetius' ability to summon foreign peoples as auxiliaries was famous.

133. In fact Valentinian was not yet thirty-six, having been born on July 2, 419 and killed on March 16, 455.

134. *PLRE* II 'Maximianus' rejects the identification, sometimes made, of Maximian with Majorian. But the corruption is an easy one from *Μάξιμον* above, and it does seem from Sidonius Apollinaris (*Paneg. in Mai.* 116-25) that Majorian's father had been a senior financial official of Aetius. The simple change in John's text to *διακονοῦμένον* would put Dominus in the appropriate position in respect of Aetius (and, in my view, improve the balance of the sentence). Moreover, if Majorian had already been mentioned as a candidate, the *καὶ* before *Εὐδοξία* would have more point.

135. Maximus also married his son Palladius to a daughter of Valentinian. It is unclear whether this was Eudocia (so *PLRE* II 'Palladius' 10), who was engaged to Gaiseric's son Huneric (see n.106 above), or to Placidia, the date of whose marriage to Olybrius is uncertain. Recently, Clover (1978) has argued that Placidia was married to Palladius and that she married Olybrius later. The phrase *οὐ δὲ φασι* might indicate that Priscus had doubts about the veracity of the report that Eudoxia summoned Gaiseric.

136. Gaiseric entered Rome on June 2, 455, three days after Maximus' death.

137. Theophanes' account of Valentinian's death and Gaiseric's attack upon Rome (*Chron. a.m.* 5947) appears to be non-Priscan and closer to John of Antioch *Fr.* 200, especially in stressing Valentinian's sexual habits. But some of the phraseology is also quite close to *Fr.* 30,1 above and perhaps derives from a common intermediary.

138. Avitus and the Visigoths were preparing to attack the Vandals via Spain in 456, but the Visigoths proved to be more interested in fighting the Sueves there (Clover 1966 pp.164f.).

139. The MS reading here, *παρὰ τὸν Πέκιμερ*, makes no sense. Niebuhr's conjecture *τὸν πατρικίον* 'P. is unlikely since Ricimer was not made patrician until 457, after Avitus' death (*PLRE II* 'Ricimer' 2). Thompson (*CR* 1946 p.106) argues that *παρὰ* is not corrupt and that a name (ending in *-ίανον*) of someone sent has dropped out after *Σκελίαν*.

140. This article of the *Suda* is placed here by Müller. It could, of course, refer to any shipwreck off Messina, not necessarily one connected with Vandalic raids, though they are, perhaps, most likely.

141. Avitus' successor, Majorian, passed a law (*Nov. Mai.* 4) to ensure the preservation of public buildings.

142. Avitus actually reigned for fifteen months, from his proclamation in Gaul on July 9, 455 to his defeat at Placentia on October 17, 456. Perhaps John's source dated the beginning of his reign from his arrival at Rome. Gregory of Tours (*HF* 2,11) says that he was made bishop of Placentia and died shortly thereafter, the version which is usually accepted.

143. The fugitives whom the Persians ejected were perhaps Mazdaists who were still active in Lazica and who sought Persian intervention (cf. D.M. Lang, *The Georgians* New York/Washington [1966] pp.97f.). The nature of Gobazes' difficulties with the Romans is not clear, and why the Romans objected to a joint kingship (as noted in the next fragment) is not explained.

144. Probably as *assessor*. This is Priscus' last appearance in his History.

145. The first sentence repeats the first sentence of 36,1. The final sentence seems to imitate Polybius 6,8,6: *τὸ τέλος αὐτῶν τῆς καταστροφῆς*. Majorian was executed at Dertona in Liguria on August 7, 461.

146. After the break-up of the Hunnic Empire the Ostrogoths were settled by Marcan in Pannonia, those under Valamir between the rivers Scarniunga and Aqua Nigra (Jordanes *Get.* 52,268). The current fighting began in 459 and ended in 461.

147. Marcellinus, commander of the troops in Dalmatia (perhaps with the rank of *comes rei militaris*), had rebelled against Valentinian III over the murder of his friend Aetius, but gave his allegiance to

Majorian, who sent him to guard Sicily against the Vandals. *PLRE II* 'Marcellinus' 6 identifies the 'Scythians' whom Ricimer bought off as Huns, but perhaps they were Ostrogoths from Pannonia.

148. Leo. Marcan had died in 457.

149. After the death of Majorian at the beginning of August there was no western Emperor until Libius Severus was proclaimed on November 19. The present passage might remark the manoeuvrings during this interregnum. But since Leo and Gaiseric did not recognise Severus, a longer period could be covered. Gaiseric's support of Olybrius is also remarked by Procopius *Wars* 3,6,6 (= *Fr.* 53,3).

150. This is a shorter version of the final sentence of 38,1.

151. Gaudentius, too, had been captured in 455 at the sack of Rome. He is not heard of again.

152. Majorian had made him *magister militum* when he went to Sicily in 460. Upon his return to Dalmatia his title was recognised by Leo but not by Libius Severus (*PLRE II art.cit.* at n.147). Cf. Procopius *Wars* 3,6,7 = *Fr.* 53,3.

153. I.e. he was from Gaul as distinct from Galatia in Asia Minor. For eight years immediately before this time he had been the leader of the Franks during the exile of their king, Childeric (*PLRE II* 'Childericus' 1), and they were his allies in the hostilities with the Visigoths which culminated in the battle of Orleans in about 463 in which the Gothic king Frederic was killed (*PLRE* 'Aegidius').

154. Presumably some portion of Valentinian's eastern property, which had come to him from Theodosius I through his mother, Galla Placidia, was granted to Eudocia as her marriage portion (so Oost 1968 p.307).

155. In addition to holding parts of Sicily, Gaiseric also annexed Sardinia, Corsica and the Balearic Islands.

156. The Saraguri and Onoguri seem to have been Turkic peoples, the latter being identified with the Hunuguri of Jordanes *Get.* 5,37. The Saraguri are probably not the Sadagarii of Jordanes *Get.* 50,265 (as Gordon, 1960 p.134, thinks) since they were settled on Roman territory in Lower Moesia, whereas the Saraguri seem to have been beyond the Danube. The Sabiri are noted by Jordanes in the first passage cited as the neighbours of the Hunuguri. On the Akatiri-Akatzirri see n.41. The reference to the Avars is one of the earliest notices of a people who were to trouble the European provinces of the Byzantine Empire from the end of Justinian's reign.

157. This passage is rather awkward, perhaps as the result of clumsy condensation. Gordon (1960 p.134) makes the Avars the ones "driven out by these evils", but since the evils are clearly the mist and the gryphons, those driven out must be the dwellers by the (Arctic) Ocean. On the gryphons see vol. I p.54, where I wrongly identified the Avars with the dwellers by the Northern Ocean.

158. This suggests that after *Fr.* 40,1 Priscus described other dealings between the Romans and the peoples displaced by the Avars, and that these dealings included fighting, presumably over their attempts to settle on Roman territory. Cf. 40,1 *init.*, ἐπρεσβεύσαντο... κατά, where one would expect παρά (which de Boor proposes). *Katá* suggests hostilities, and perhaps some words which mentioned such have been omitted here.

159. Whether "Magi" here means the priests of Zoroastrianism or is used generally for all followers of that religion, is unclear. Certainly, there had been missionary work by Zoroastrians in Roman territory, especially Cappadocia, during the early Sassanian period (R.N. Frye, *The Heritage of Persia* London [1962] p.220).

160. Constantius, the name which appears both here and in the following two passages, is an error (apparently Priscan) for Constantinus. His three prefectures were all of the East (*PLRE* II 'Constantinus' 22).

161. The protocol was that the embassy remain at the border until the ruler decided whether to receive it, whereupon a message of invitation (or refusal) was sent (cf. Const. Porph. *De Caer.* 1,89 p.403, 11ff.). Presumably Gaiseric refused to admit Tatian.

162. This suggests that Priscus interrupted his account of Constantius' embassy with other material, perhaps other diplomatic activity or the account of the fire at Constantinople (= *Fr.* 42).

163. Both Gordon (1960 p.10) and the translator in Müller misunderstand this sentence and make the Kidarites the tributaries. Not only is this intrinsically unlikely at the period, but the middle *παρνησάμενος* in the next sentence indicates that the Persians refused to pay. Thus *κοιμιζομένων* here = "receive" (cf. *Fr.* 38,1, ἐκεκόμιστο of Gaiseric receiving some of the property of Valentinian III) and *ἔθεντο* = "paid", as often elsewhere (see LSJ s.v. *τίθημι* A, II, 8), though Priscus usually uses *τίσσεσθαι* in this sense (see n.117).

164. On the basis of this story in the Herodotean tale of Amasis and Cambyses (3,1) see vol. I pp.154f.

165. An earthquake at Antioch was described in the previous chapter.

166. Although it is certain that Priscus mentioned the Great Fire (cf. *Fr.* 44), it is no more than a possibility that Evagrius' account came from him. Some of the vocabulary is uncommon and unexampled in Priscus (e.g. *ἐπιλυχνίος*, *ἀποσκληῖναι*, *φόρον*, *ἐπαιωρέω* in the sense used, *δυσδιαπορευτός*, *εἰσδεχθέστατος*). Some of it is Evagrius' own (see the *index graecitatis* at the end of the Bidez-Parmentier edition).

167. Τῇ τε θωπεῖα τῶν λόγων alludes to Plato *Laws* 906B. On the role played by Daniel the Stylite in this reconciliation see vol. I p.60.

168. After the break-up of Attila's empire the Sciri, with other peoples, were settled in Lower Moesia and Scythia Minor (Jordanes

*Get.* 50,265). According to Jordanes (*Get.* 53,275-76) the Sciri were roused to hostilities by Hunimund, a Suevic king. In the ensuing fighting the Ostrogothic king Valamir was killed, but the Sciri were crushed.

169. Cf. *Fr.* 2. Marcian probably discontinued the market. Many barbarian tribes had become very dependent on Roman articles of trade.

170. See *Fr.* 40 for the attack upon the Akatiri. The Persian embassy noted in the present passage seems to have been another, later one than that remarked in *Fr.* 41,1.

171. See n.21.

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158. This suggests that after *Fr.* 40,1 Priscus described other dealings between the Romans and the peoples displaced by the Avars, and that these dealings included fighting, presumably over their attempts to settle on Roman territory. Cf. 40,1 *init.*, ἐπρεσβεύσαντο... κατὰ, where one would expect παρὰ (which de Boor proposes). Κατὰ suggests hostilities, and perhaps some words which mentioned such have been omitted here.

159. Whether "Magi" here means the priests of Zoroastrianism or is used generally for all followers of that religion, is unclear. Certainly, there had been missionary work by Zoroastrians in Roman territory, especially Cappadocia, during the early Sassanian period (R.N. Frye, *The Heritage of Persia* London [1962] p.220).

160. Constantius, the name which appears both here and in the following two passages, is an error (apparently Priscan) for Constantinus. His three prefectures were all of the East (*PLRE* II 'Constantinus' 22).

161. The protocol was that the embassy remain at the border until the ruler decided whether to receive it, whereupon a message of invitation (or refusal) was sent (cf. Const. Porph. *De Caer.* 1,89 p.403, 11 ff.). Presumably Gaiseric refused to admit Tatian.

162. This suggests that Priscus interrupted his account of Constantius' embassy with other material, perhaps other diplomatic activity or the account of the fire at Constantinople (= *Fr.* 42).

163. Both Gordon (1960 p.10) and the translator in Müller misunderstand this sentence and make the Kidarites the tributaries. Not only is this intrinsically unlikely at the period, but the middle ἀπαρνησάμενος in the next sentence indicates that the Persians refused to pay. Thus κομιζομένων here = "receive" (cf. *Fr.* 38,1, ἐκεκόμιστο of Gaiseric receiving some of the property of Valentinian III) and ἐδυντο = "paid", as often elsewhere (see LSJ s.v. τίθημι A, II, 8), though Priscus usually uses τάσσεσθαι in this sense (see n.117).

164. On the basis of this story in the Herodotean tale of Amasis and Cambyses (3,1) see vol. I pp.154f.

165. An earthquake at Antioch was described in the previous chapter.

166. Although it is certain that Priscus mentioned the Great Fire (cf. *Fr.* 44), it is no more than a possibility that Evagrius' account came from him. Some of the vocabulary is uncommon and unexampled in Priscus (e.g. ἐπιλυχνίος, ἀποσκληῖναι, φόρον, ἐπαυρῶ in the sense used, δυσδιαπορευτός, εἰσδεχθέστας). Some of it is Evagrius' own (see the *index graecitatis* at the end of the Bidez-Parmentier edition).

167. Τῇ τε θωπεῖα τῶν λόγων alludes to Plato *Laws* 906B. On the role played by Daniel the Stylite in this reconciliation see vol. I p.60.

168. After the break-up of Attila's empire the Sciri, with other peoples, were settled in Lower Moesia and Scythia Minor (Jordanes

*Get.* 50,265). According to Jordanes (*Get.* 53,275-76) the Sciri were roused to hostilities by Hunimund, a Suevic king. In the ensuing fighting the Ostrogothic king Valamir was killed, but the Sciri were crushed.

169. Cf. *Fr.* 2. Marcian probably discontinued the market. Many barbarian tribes had become very dependent on Roman articles of trade.

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identical with the 'Cosmas' 3 of *PLRE* II, who was *praepositus sacri cubiculi* from ca 488-91.

197. For this rather loose use of κατεγγυάω cf. *Fr.* 15,3.

198. Müller (*ad loc.*), by comparison with the statement below, would emend θ' to ε'. But the passage is clumsily condensed, perhaps from two versions which gave different lengths for the fighting and varied in other details also (see n.203 below).

199. On Onulf and Harmatius see Malchus *Fr.* 17.

200. Now the church of Santa Maria in Trastevere.

201. Gundobad was, in fact, Ricimer's nephew (*PLRE* 'Gundobadus' 1).

202. With the phrase πολέμου κρατούντος τὴν χώραν cf. ἐμφύλιος τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπεκράτει πόλεμος of the previous passage.

203. The differences in the spelling of Gundobad's name and in his relationship to Ricimer from those in the passage of John above (= *Fr.* 64,1) seem to confirm that John drew from two sources. One of these, represented by the beginning and end of *Fr.* 64,1, gave the length of the civil war as nine months and made Gundobad Ricimer's brother. The other gave five months, made Gundobad Ricimer's nephew and correctly placed the elevation of Olybrius before the blockade of Rome (note in the present passage after Anthemius' death Ricimer is said to have installed [ἀντήγαγεν] Olybrius in the palace, not made him Emperor, which he was already). This second source also carefully computed Olybrius' reign as about 6½ months, i.e. five months of the siege, plus thirty days, plus sixteen days.

204. The second part of this sentence is awkward and unclear, and the MSS variants reflect attempts to tidy it up. My own reading suggests that the sentence might have come from an account of an attempt by the Roman authorities to mediate a dispute between quarrelling barbarians in Roman service (cf. *Fr.* 54).

## MALCHUS

### Text and Translation

## MALCHUS

### TESTIMONIA

#### 1

(Photius *Bibl. Cod.* 78, I pp.160f.)

Ἀνεγνώσθη Μάλχου σοφιστοῦ Βυζαντιακὰ ἐν βιβλίοις ἑπτὰ. ἄρχεται μὲν ἐξ οὗ Λέοντα τὸν βασιλέα ἡ νόσος ἐπῆξε, τούτῳ δὲ τῆς βασιλείας ἔτος ἑπτακαίδεκατον παρετείνετο. διέρχεται δὲ τὴν τε Ζήνωνος ἀνάρρησιν, καὶ τὴν ὑπερόριον τῆς βασιλείου δόξης διατριβήν, καὶ τὴν Βασιλίσκου ἀνάρρησιν, καὶ τὴν τῆς ἀλουργίδος ἀπόθεσιν καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ πάλῳ κάθοδον Ζήνωνος, τὴν τε τοῦ προεξηρημένου Βασιλίσκου διὰ ξίφους ἀναίρεσιν, ἧς καὶ γυνὴ καὶ τέκνα παρανόμῳ κρίσει ἐκονώνησαν. καὶ ὅτι Ἀρμάτος, ὁ Ζήνωνι κατὰ γυναικὸς τοιαύτης ἀντιμισθίας ἀπώνατο διὰ Ὀνούλφου δεξαμένους τὴν σφαγὴν.

Διαλαμβάνει δὲ καὶ τὴν Θεοδερικοῦ τοῦ Ὀτριάριου στάσιν, καὶ τὴν Θεοδερικοῦ τοῦ Μαλαμείου φιλίαν, καὶ τὸν πρὸς τὸν τοῦ Ὀτριάριου Θεοδερικοῦ πόλεμον, καὶ τὴν κατὰ Ζήνωνος πάλῳ στάσιν καὶ τὴν Μαρκιανοῦ ἐπανάστασιν, καὶ πρὸ γε τούτου τὴν τῆς πενθερᾶς Βηρήνης ἐπιβουλὴν, καὶ τὴν διὰ τοῦτο φυγαδεύειν τὴν αἰδίαν, καὶ τὴν κατὰ Ἰλλου πρότερον ἐπιβουλὴν Βηρήνης συσκευασθεῖσαν, καὶ τὴν Ἐπιδάμνου ὑπὸ Θεοδερικοῦ τοῦ Μαλαμείου ἐν δόλῳ κατάσχεσιν.

Ταῦτα διεξιὼν, διέξεισι καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ Ῥώμῃς καὶ τέλος τοῦ ἐβδόμου λόγου ποιεῖται τὸν Νέπωτος θάνατον, ὃς ἐκβαλὼν τῆς ἀρχῆς Γλυκερίου τὴν τε Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἰσχὺν περιεβάλετο, καὶ εἰς σχῆμα κείρας κληρικῶ ἀντὶ βασιλέως ἀρχιερέα κατέστησεν· ὅς οὐ καὶ ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ἀνήρηται.

Οὗτοι αἱ δὲ τῆς ἱστορίας λόγοι καὶ προσηγομένους ὑποφαίνουσιν αὐτῶ λόγους ἄλλους διαπεπονῆσθαι· καὶ ἡ ἀπαρχὴ δὲ τῶν ἑπτὰ τοῦ

6 ἐπὶ Α [ἐν Μ 8 Ἀρμάτως Α<sup>2</sup> 13 πάλῳ στάσιν Α [πάλῳ Μ 15 ἐπιβουλὴν Α<sup>2</sup> Μ [ἐπιβουλὴν Α 20 τε Α [τότε Μ

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Read the *Byzantine History* of the sophist Malchus in seven books. He begins from the time when the Emperor Leo was struck by his disease. Leo had then reached the seventeenth year of his reign. He describes the proclamation of Zeno, the period he spent in exile deprived of his royalty, the proclamation of Basiliscus, his renunciation of the purple and the return of Zeno to the throne, and the execution by the sword of the aforementioned Basiliscus, whose wife and children by an unjust judgement met the same fate. He also tells how Armatus, who effected Zeno's return, enjoyed an appropriate reward, meeting his end at the hand of Onulf.

He further describes the revolt of Theoderic the son of Otriarus, the friendship of Theoderic the son of Malamir,<sup>1</sup> and the war against Theoderic the son of Otriarus; his second revolt<sup>2</sup> and the rebellion of Marcian; before this the plot of Zeno's mother-in-law, Verina, and her perpetual exile because of this;<sup>3</sup> the earlier plot contrived by Verina against Illus; and the capture of Epidamnus by Theoderic the son of Malamir by a trick.

During the narrative of these events he also describes events at Rome and ends the seventh book with the death of Nepos. Having deposed Glycerius, tonsured him and made him a bishop, Nepos assumed power at Rome. He was killed as the result of a plot by Glycerius.

These seven books of History show that Malchus produced other books which preceded them, as the beginning of the first of the seven

πρώτου λόγου τοῦτο παραδηλοῖ· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπομένους, εἰ τὸ 25  
 ζῆν προσῆν τῷ συγγραφεῖ, ὡς τοῦ ἐβδόμου λόγου τὸ πέρας ἐνδείκ-  
 νυσι. ἔστι δὲ ὁ συγγραφεὺς Φιλαδελφεύς, εἴ τις ἄλλος κατὰ συγ-  
 γραφὴν ἱστορίας ἄριστος, καθαρὸς, ἀπέρिटτος, εὐκρινής, λέξεων ταῖς  
 ἀνθηροτάταις καὶ εὐσήμοις καὶ εἰς ὅγον τινὰ ἀντηγμέναις χρώμενος· 30  
 οὐδὲ αἱ καωσπρεπεῖς αὐτῷ, ὅσαι τὸ ἐμφατικὸν καὶ εὐῆχον καὶ μεγα-  
 λεῖον ἔχουσι, παραβλέπονται ὥσπερ τὸ . . . καὶ τοιαῦτ' ἔνια. καὶ  
 ὅλως κανὼν ἔστω ἱστορικοῦ λόγου. σοφιστῆς δ' ἦν τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα,  
 καὶ ῥητορικῆς εἰς ἄκρον ἐληλακώς, καὶ τὴν θρησκείαν οὐκ ἔξω τοῦ  
 χριστιανικοῦ θειασμοῦ.

28 εὐκρινής [εὐκρινής Niebuhr  
 litterarum in A

31 ὥσπερ . . . ἔνια om. M., lac. viii

## 2

(Suda M 120)

Μάλχος, Βυζάντιος, σοφιστής. ἔγραψεν ἱστορίαν ἀπὸ τῆς βασι-  
 λείας Κωνσταντίνου καὶ ἕως Ἀναστασίου· ἐν ἣ τὰ κατὰ Ζήνωνα καὶ  
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 ἀγαλμάτων τοῦ Αὐγουσταίου καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ διεξέρχεται μάλα  
 σεμνῶς καὶ τραγωδίας δίκην ἀποθρηνῶν αὐτά.

## FRAGMENTA

## 1

(Exc. de Leg. Gent. 1)

Ὅτι ἐν τῷ ἐπτακαίδεκάτῳ ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας Λέοντος τοῦ  
 Μακέλλη, πάντων πανταχόθεν τεταράχθαι δοκούντων, ἀρικνεῖται τις  
 τῶν Σκηνητῶν Ἀράβων, οὗς καλοῦσι Σαρακηνοὺς, ἱερεὺς τῶν παρ'  
 ἐκείνους Χριστιανῶν, ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύτης. Πέρσαι καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι  
 σπονδὰς ἐποίησαντο, ὅτε ὁ μέγιστος πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ Θεοδοσίου  
 συνερράγη πόλεμος, μὴ προσδέχεσθαι τοὺς ὑποσπόνδους Σαρα-  
 κηνούς, εἴ τις ἐς ἀπόστασιν νεωτερίσαι προέλοιτο. ἐν δὲ τοῖς Πέρσαις  
 ἦν ὁ Ἀμόρκεσος τοῦ Νομαλίου γένους· καὶ εἴτε τιμῆς οὐ τυγχάνων ἐν  
 τῇ Περούδι γῇ ἢ ἄλλως τὴν Ῥωμαίων χώραν βελτίω νενομικώς,  
 ἐκλιπὼν τὴν Περούδα εἰς τὴν γείτονα Πέρσαις Ἀραβίαν ἐλαύνει, 10  
 κάντεῦθεν ὁρμώμενος προνομὰς ἐποιεῖτο καὶ πολέμους Ῥωμαίων  
 μὲν οὐδενί, τοῖς δὲ ἀεὶ ἐν ποσὶν εὐρισκομένοις Σαρακηνοῖς· ἅρ' ὧν  
 καὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὖξων προήκει κατὰ μικρόν. μίαν δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων  
 παρεσπάσατο νῆσον Ἰωτάβην ὄνομα, καὶ τοὺς δεκατηλόγους ἐκ-  
 βαλὼν τῶν Ῥωμαίων αὐτὸς ἔσχε τὴν νῆσον, καὶ τὰ τέλη ταύτης 15

also indicates. Moreover, had the historian lived longer he would have  
 written others, as the end of the seventh book shows. The author, who  
 is from Philadelphia, is the best of all the writers of history. His style is  
 pure, straightforward and clear, and his vocabulary is choice and in-  
 telligible and it imparts dignity. His neologisms are not to be despised  
 since they are forceful, euphonious and elevated, such as . . . and a  
 number of similar expressions. In short the work is a paradigm of  
 historical writing. He was a sophist by profession and reached the  
 pinnacle of the rhetor's art. In belief he was not outside the Christian  
 faith.

## 2

(Suda M 120)

Malchus, a Byzantine and a sophist. He wrote a History from the  
 reign of Constantine to Anastasius. In it he describes the events of the  
 reigns of Zeno and Basiliscus, the burning of the Public Library and of  
 the statues in the Augusteum and other happenings. He laments these  
 things in a dignified and tragic manner.

## FRAGMENTS

## 1

(Exc. de Leg. Gent. 1)

In the seventeenth year of the reign of Leo the Butcher, when  
 everything everywhere seemed to be in confusion, a priest of the  
 Christians amongst the Tent Arabs, whom they call Saracens, arrived  
 for the following reason. When in the time of Theodosius the greatest  
 war had broken out against the Persians, they and the Romans made a  
 treaty to the effect that neither side would accept the Saracen allies of  
 the other if any of them attempted to revolt. Amongst the Persians  
 was a certain Amorkesos of the tribe of Nomalius, who, whether  
 because he did not receive honour in the land of Persia or because for  
 some other reason he thought the Roman Empire better, left Persia  
 and travelled to that part of Arabia adjacent to Persia. Setting out from  
 here he made forays and attacks not upon any Romans, but upon the  
 Saracens whom he encountered. Building up his forces from these, he  
 gradually advanced. He seized one of the islands belonging to the  
 Romans, which was named Jotaba, and, ejecting the Roman tax  
 collectors, held the island himself and amassed considerable wealth

λαμβάνων χρημάτων εὐπόρησεν οὐκ ὀλίγων ἐντεῦθεν. καὶ ἄλλας δὲ  
 ὁ αὐτὸς Ἀμόρκεσος τῶν πλησίων ἀφελόμενος κωμῶν ἐπεθύμει Ῥω-  
 μαίοις ὑπόσπονδος γενέσθαι καὶ φύλαρχος τῶν ὑπὸ Πετραίων ὑπὸ  
 Ῥωμαίοις ὄντων Σαρακηνῶν. πέμπει οὖν πρὸς Λέοντα τὸν βασιλέα  
 Ῥωμαίων Πέτρον ἐπίσκοπον τῆς φυλῆς τῆς ἑαυτοῦ, εἴ πως δύναιτο  
 ταῦτα πείσας ποτὲ διαπράξασθαι. ὡς δ' ἤρκετο καὶ διελέχθη τῷ  
 βασιλεῖ, δέχεται τοὺς λόγους ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ μετάπεμπτον εὐθὺς  
 ποιεῖται τὸν Ἀμόρκεσον ἐλθεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀβουλότατα τοῦτο δια-  
 νοησάμενος καὶ ποιήσας. εἰ γὰρ δὴ καὶ φύλαρχον χειροτονῆσαι  
 προήρητο, ἔδει πόρρωθεν ὄντι τῷ Ἀμορκέσῳ τοῦτο προστάξει, ἕως  
 καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐνόμιζε φοβερὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν αἰεὶ τοῖς τυχοῦσι  
 Ῥωμαίων ἐμελλεν ἦκεν πεπτηχῶς καὶ τὴν γε προσηγορίαν βασι-  
 λέως ἀκούων αὐτήν· καὶ γὰρ διὰ πολλοῦ κρεῖττόν τι τῶν ἀνθρώπων  
 εἶναι τῶν ἄλλων ἐνόμιζεν. νῦν δὲ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὸν διὰ πόλεων  
 ἦγεν, ἃς ἐμελλεν ὄψεσθαι τρυφῆς μόνον γεμούσας, ὅπλοις δὲ οὐ  
 χρωμέναις· ἔπειτα δέ, ὡς ἀνῆλθεν ἐς Βυζάντιον, δέχεται παρὰ τοῦ  
 βασιλέως ἀσμένως, καὶ τραπέξης κοινῶν βασιλικῆς ἐποιήσατο καὶ  
 βουλῆς προκειμένης μετὰ τῆς γεροντίας συμπαρεῖναι ἐποίει· καὶ τό-  
 γε δὴ αἰσχιστον ὄνειδος τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ὅτι καθέδραν αὐτῷ τὴν  
 πρωτοπατρικίαν ἀποδοθῆναι ἐκέλευσε σχηματιστάμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς,  
 ὅτι δὴ Χριστιανὸς ἀνεπίσθη γενέσθαι· καὶ τέλος ἀπέπεμψεν αὐτόν,  
 ἰδίαν μὲν παρ' αὐτοῦ εἰκόνα τῶν χρυσῶν καὶ κατὰ λυδίων λαβῶν  
 σφόδρα τε οὖσαν πολυτελεῆ, χρήματα δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνῳ ἐκ τοῦ  
 δημοσίου ἀντιδοῦς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κελεύσας ἕκαστον εἰσενεγκεῖν,  
 ὅσοι ἐτέλουν εἰς τὴν βουλὴν. τὴν δὲ νῆσον ἐκεῖνην, ἣς ἐμνήσθημεν  
 πρόσθεν, οὐ μόνον κατέλιπεν αὐτῷ ἔχειν βεβαίως, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλας  
 αὐτῷ κώμας προσέθηκε πλείονας. ταῦτα παρασχὼν Ἀμορκέσῳ ὁ  
 Λέων καὶ τῶν φυλῶν ἄρχοντα, ὡς ἠθέλε, ποιήσας ἀπέπεμψεν  
 ὑψηλόν, καὶ ὅσος οὐκ ἐμελλε τοῖς δεξαμένοις λυσιτελεῖν.

18 τῶν ὑπὸ [τῶν ἐπὶ Valesius τῶν κατὰ Bekker 37 λαβόντα Niebuhr

## 2

(Exc. de Leg. Gent. 2)

Ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς Λέων βασιλεὺς ἀπέστειλε πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ Θράκῃ  
 βαρβάρους πρεσβευτὴν Τελόγιον τὸν σελεντιάριον. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι  
 τοῦτον ἀσμένως δεξάμενοι ἀντιπέμπουσι πρέσβεις πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα  
 φίλοι Ῥωμαίων εἶναι βουλόμενοι. ἠτήσαντο δὲ τρία, πρῶτον [ἵνα]  
 Θεοδέρικον τὸν κατάρχοντα αὐτῶν τὴν κληρονομίαν ἀπολαβεῖν, ἣν

through collecting taxes.<sup>4</sup> When he had seized other villages nearby, Amorkesos wished to become an ally of the Romans and phylarch of the Saracens under Roman rule on the borders of Arabia Petraea.<sup>5</sup> He, therefore, sent Peter, the bishop of his tribe, to Leo, the Roman Emperor, to see if he could persuade Leo and arrange these things. When Peter arrived and spoke to the Emperor, Leo accepted his proposals and immediately sent for Amorkesos to come to him.

This intention of Leo, which he carried out, was very unwise. If he wished to appoint Amorkesos phylarch, he ought to have made this appointment while keeping him at a distance and while Amorkesos held Roman power in awe, so that he would always come submissively before the Roman officials whom he encountered and give heed to the Emperor's communications. For in this case he would have thought the Emperor to be much greater than the rest of mankind. But as it was he first led him through cities which he would observe to be full of luxury and unready for war. Then, when he came to Byzantium, the Emperor readily received him in person, invited him to dine at his table and, when the senate was meeting, had him attend that assembly. The worst insult of all to the Romans was that the Emperor, pretending that Amorkesos had been persuaded to become a Christian, ordered that he be granted a chair amongst the highest-ranking patricians. Finally, Leo dismissed him, having received from him as a personal gift a very valuable ikon of gold set with precious stones,<sup>6</sup> while giving him in return money from the public treasury and ordering all the senators to give him gifts. The Emperor not only left him in firm control of the island which I mentioned earlier, but added to it a large number of other villages. By granting Amorkesos these things and by making him phylarch, as he desired, Leo sent away a proud man and one who would not work for the advantage of those who had received him.

## 2

(Exc. de Leg. Gent. 2)

The Emperor Leo himself sent Telogius the silentiary as envoy to the barbarians in Thrace.<sup>7</sup> The barbarians gladly received him and in turn sent envoys to the Emperor, wishing to be friends of the Romans. They had three demands: first, that Theoderic, their leader, should receive the inheritance which Aspar had left him; second, that he be

ἀφῆκεν αὐτῷ Ἀσπαρ, δεύτερον νέμεσθαι τὴν Θράκην συγχωρη-  
θῆναι αὐτῷ, τρίτον καὶ στρατηλάτην γενέσθαι τῶν ταγμάτων,  
ὥν περ καὶ Ἀσπαρ ἡγήσατο. καὶ ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς πρὸς τὰ δύο παν-  
τελῶς ἀπέπατο, μόνον δὲ περὶ τῆς στρατηγίας κατένευσεν, εἰ φίλος  
αὐτοῦ γένηται ἀδόλως· καὶ οὕτω τοὺς πρέσβεις ἀπέπεμψεν.

Ὁ δὲ Θεοδέρικος ὁ τῶν βαρβάρων ἀρχηγὸς τοὺς πρέσβεις  
αὐτοῦ δεξάμενος ἐκ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπράκτους τὸ μὲν τῆς δυνάμεως  
αὐτοῦ εἰς Φιλίππους ἐκπέμπει, τῷ δὲ προσεκάθητο τὴν Ἀρκαδιού-  
πολιν μηχανῇ πάσῃ πολιορκῶν, καὶ ταύτην παραλαμβάνει οὐχ ὄπλοις,  
ἀλλὰ λιμῷ τοὺς ἔνδον τοῦ ἄστεος ἰσχυρῶς στενοχωρήσαντι· καὶ γὰρ  
καὶ ἵππων καὶ ὑποζυγίων καὶ νεκρῶν σωμάτων ἤψαντο καρτε-  
ροῦντες εἰ ποθεν αὐτοῖς ἔλθοι βοήθεια, τῆς δὲ μὴ παρούσης ἀπῆλ-  
πισαν καὶ συνέδωκαν. οἱ δὲ ἐκπεμφθέντες ἐπὶ Φιλίππους τὰ πρὸ τοῦ  
ἄστεος ἐνέπρησαν μόνον, οὐδὲν δὲ ἄλλο δευρὼν εἰργάσαντο. καὶ  
τούτων οὕτω λυμανομένων τὴν Θράκην, ὅμως καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ βάρβαροι  
ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ συνεχόμενοι πρεσβεῖαν πέμπουσι περὶ εἰρήνης πρὸς τὸν  
βασιλέα. καὶ γίνεται ἡ σύμβασις τῶν ὅρκων ἐπὶ τούτοις, τοῖς μὲν  
Γότθοις δίδοσθαι κατ' ἔτος χρυσίου λίτρας δισχιλίας, τὸν δὲ Θεο-  
δέρικον καθίστασθαι στρατηγὸν <τῶν> δύο στρατηγιῶν τῶν ἁμῶι  
βασιλέα, αἵ περ εἰσὶ μέγισται, αὐτὸν δὲ τῶν Γότθων αὐτοκράτορα  
εἶναι, καὶ μηδένας ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀποσπῆναι εἰς τὴν σφετέραν γῆν  
θέλοντας τὸν βασιλέα δέχεσθαι· συμμαχεῖν δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ εἰς πᾶν ὃ  
τι κελεύει, πλὴν ἐπὶ μόνων τῶν Βανδάλων.

10 ἀδόλως Bekker [ἀδόλος codd. 18 ἐνέδωκαν Niebuhr 24 τῶν ante  
δύο addidi 26 εἰς τὴν σφετέραν γῆν inseruit Valesius ex εἰς τὴν ἑτέραν γῆν  
quae post μέγισται (v.25) exstant in codd.

## 3

(Suda Λ 267)

Λέων, βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων, ὁ Μακέλλης· ὃς ἔδοξε τῶν πρὸ  
αὐτοῦ βασιλέων ἀπάντων εὐτυχέστατος εἶναι καὶ φοβερός ἅπασιν τοῖς  
τε ὑπ' ἐκείνου τὴν βασιλείαν τελοῦσι καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων αὐτῶν, ὅσοις  
εἰς φήμην ἀφίκετο. καὶ ταύτην μὲν τοῖς πολλοῖς καταλέλοιπε δόξαν.  
ἐγὼ δέ, φησὶ Μάλχος, εὐτυχίαν οὐκ οἶμαι, εἰ τις τῶν ἀρχομένων τὰ  
ὄντα διασπλῶν καὶ μισθοῦμενος αἰεὶ συκοράντας ἐς τοῦτο καὶ κατη-  
γορῶν αὐτός, ὅτε μὴ ἄλλον ἀνῆρύρισκε, καὶ τὸν χρυσὸν ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς  
γῆς συλλεξάμενος, ἑαυτῷ μόνῳ κατάδοιτο, ἐρήμους μὲν τὰς πόλεις  
ἥσπερ ἔμπροσθεν εἶχον εὐπορίας ποιήσας, ὥς μηκέτι τοὺς φόρους,  
οὓς ἐτέλουν, δύνασθαι μετ' εὐχερείας ἀπενεγκεῖν, καὶ ἀπλῶς πάσης  
κακίας ἀπισχυρίζεται ὁ Μάλχος γενέσθαι αὐτὸν καταγῶγιον. [ὃς  
γε καὶ Ὑπερέχιον τὸν γραμματικὸν ἐφυγάδευσε καὶ ποτε καὶ τῷ

allowed to live in Thrace; third, that he receive the generalship of the  
forces which Aspar had led. The Emperor absolutely rejected the first  
two demands and agreed to the generalship only if Theoderic would  
become his friend with no treacherous intent. With this reply Leo  
dismissed the envoys.

When Theoderic, the leader of the barbarians, received his envoys,  
who had come empty-handed from the Emperor, he sent part of his  
army off to Philippi and with the rest he encamped before Arcadiopolis  
and besieged it by every means. He took the city not by storm but  
through severe starvation which wore down those within. For, as they  
held out in the hope that help would come to them from some quarter,  
they ate horses, pack animals and corpses, and only despaired and  
surrendered when this did not arrive. Those sent against Philippi merely  
burned the buildings outside the fortifications and did no other  
damage. Although these disasters were afflicting Thrace, the barbarians,  
too, were beset by famine and sent a peace embassy to the Emperor. A  
sworn agreement was made on these terms: that every year the Goths  
should receive two thousand pounds of gold; that Theoderic be ap-  
pointed general of the two forces attendant upon the Emperor (which  
are the most important);<sup>8</sup> that he should be sole ruler of the Goths, and  
that the Emperor should not admit anyone who wished to cross to his  
territory; that Theoderic should fight with the Emperor against anyone  
whom the latter ordered, except only the Vandals.<sup>9</sup>

## 3

(Suda Λ 267)

Leo, Roman Emperor, 'The Butcher'. Of all the emperors who  
preceded him, he seemed to be the most successful, being feared by all  
those who lived under his regime and even by the barbarians whom his  
reputation reached. Although he left this opinion amongst many men,  
Malchus says, "But I do not consider it success if someone plunders the  
possessions of his subjects, continually pays informers to this end,  
himself brings accusations when he cannot find another to do it for  
him, collects the gold from every land and lays it up for himself alone,  
and so thoroughly empties the cities of their former wealth that they  
could no longer easily pay the taxes which were assessed". In short,  
Malchus asserts that he was a lodging place of every vice. [He exiled  
the grammarian Hyperechius and, yet again, when he said that a stipend

Εὐλογίῳ τῷ φιλοσόφῳ σιτηρέσιον εἰπὼν δοθῆναι, τῶς τῶν εὐ-  
 νούχων λέγοντος, ὅτι ταῦτα εἰς στρατιώτας προσήκοι δαπανᾶσθαι,  
 εἶπεν· εἶδε γένοιτο ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐμοῦ χρόνου, ὥστε τὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν 15  
 εἰς διδασκάλους παρέχεσθαι. (Cf. Photius *Bibl. Cod.* 78 = T.1)]

## 4

(Photius *Bibl. Cod.* 78 = T.1)

## 5

(Exc. de Leg. Rom. 3)

“Ὅτι Ζήνων ἀνὴρ ὢν ἀπόλεμος ἄγαν, καὶ πολλῆς πανταχόθεν  
 ταραχῆς ἐφεστῶσης, ἔγνω πρὸς τὸν Βάνδιλον εἰς Καρχηδόνα πρεσ-  
 βεύσασθαι. καὶ Σευῆρον ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς πρεσβευτὴν αἰρεῖται, ἄνδρα  
 καὶ σωφροσύνη διαφέρειν δοκοῦντα καὶ τῷ ἐθέλειν τὰ δίκαια, καὶ  
 πατρίκιον αὐτὸν ποιήσας ἀποπέμπει, ὅπως ἐκ τῆς ἀξίας τῆς πρεσ- 5  
 βείας τὸ σχῆμα κατασκευάσοι σεμνότερον. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐξέπλευσεν, ὁ δὲ  
 Βάνδιλος, μαθὼν ὅτι ἦξοι πρεσβεία, φθάσας ἔκπλουν ποιεῖται καὶ  
 Νικόπολιν εἶλεν. ὁ δὲ πρεσβευτὴς Σευῆρος διαβὰς ἀπὸ Συκελίας εἰς  
 Καρχηδόνα ἀφῆκε καὶ πολλὰ διὰ τὸν ἔκπλουν ἐμέμερετο τὸν Βάνδιλον.  
 ὁ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἔλεγεν ὡς πολέμιος πρᾶξαι· τὸν δὲ περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης, 10  
 ἐπειδὴ πρεσβεύοιτο, νῦν ἔφη λόγον προσδέχεσθαι. τοῦ δὲ Σευῆρου τό-  
 τε σῶφρον τοῦ βίου θαυμάσας καὶ τῶν λόγων ἠγάσθη, καὶ τῆς  
 δικαιοσύνης αἰετὶ πείραν λαμβάνων πᾶν ἔτοιμος ἦν ποιεῖν, ὅπερ  
 ἐκεῖνος προβάλλοιτο. μάλιστα δὲ ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ δίκαιος εἶναι, ὅτι, τὰ  
 χρήματα αὐτῷ τοῦ βαρβάρου διδόντος, καὶ τὰ πρέποντα δῶρα πρεσ- 15  
 βευτῇ δωροῦμενος ἀπεώσατο πάντα εἰπὼν, ὡς ἀντὶ τούτων δωρὸν  
 ἔστω εὐσχημον πρεσβεύοντι ἀνθρώπῳ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους κομί-  
 σασθαι. ὁ δὲ τῆς διανοίας ἐπανέσας τὸν ἄνδρα· οὗς μὲν ἐγὼ, ἔφησεν,  
 σὺν τοῖς ἐμοῖς υἱέσι τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἀπέλαχον, τούτους σοὶ πάντας 20  
 ἀφίημι· ἦν δὲ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν κατενείματο μοῖραν, τούτους σοὶ μὲν  
 ἐξέσται παρ’ ἐκόντων, εἰ βούλει, πρίασθαι τῶν ἐχόντων, αὐτὸς δ’ ἂν  
 σὺ δυναίμην οὐκ ἐθέλοντας ταῦτα τοὺς εἰληφότες βιάσασθαι. ἐν-  
 ταῦθα ὁ Σευῆρος ἀπέλυσε μὲν προῖκα οὗς αὐτὸς εἶχεν ὁ Βάνδιλος· ἃ  
 δὲ εἶχε χρήματα καὶ ἐσθῆτας καὶ σκεύη πάντα ὑπὸ κήρυκι δημοσίᾳ  
 πωλήσας τούτοις ὅσους ἴσχυσε τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἐπρίατο. 25

4 τῷ Hoeschel [τὸ codd. 6 κατασκευάσθαι de Boor 16 ἀπεώσατο de Boor  
 [ἀπεώσατο codd. ἀπεσεῖσατο Hoeschel 20 αὐτῶν Niebuhr [αὐτὸ codd.]

should be given to the philosopher Eulogius and one of the eunuchs  
 suggested that the money be spent on the soldiers, he replied, “I wish  
 I might see the day when the pay of the soldiers is given to teachers”.  
 (Cf. Photius *Bibl. Cod.* 78 = T.1)]

## 4

(Photius *Bibl. Cod.* 78 = T.1)

## 5

(Exc. de Leg. Rom. 3)

Zeno was a very unwarlike man and, when troubles broke out on  
 all sides, he decided to send an embassy to the Vandal at Carthage. He  
 selected as ambassador a senator, Severus, who had a reputation for  
 outstanding moderation and desire for justice. In order that he might  
 cut a majestic figure in keeping with the dignity of the embassy, Zeno  
 made him patrician before sending him off. When Severus set sail, the  
 Vandal, learning that an embassy was to arrive, first made a raid by sea  
 and captured Nicopolis. The ambassador Severus crossed from Sicily  
 and when he reached Carthage complained bitterly to the Vandal over  
 the raid. The latter said that he had done this as an enemy, but since  
 the embassy had arrived, he would now listen to the proposals for  
 peace. He marvelled at the moderation of Severus’ lifestyle, admired his  
 words and, while continually putting his uprightness to the test, was  
 prepared to do everything that he proposed.<sup>10</sup> Severus seemed to him  
 especially upright in that when the barbarian offered him money and  
 was presenting him with gifts appropriate for an ambassador, he refused  
 them all, saying that instead of these things the most fitting gift for an  
 envoy was that the captives be handed over to him. The Vandal praised  
 the man’s attitude and said, “All of the prisoners which I and my sons  
 obtained in the division of the spoils I hand over to you, and, as for the  
 portion which my followers received, you are free to buy these from  
 their owners, if you so wish and they are willing to sell. But if the  
 owners are unwilling, I cannot force them.” Thereupon Severus  
 straightway freed as a gift those whom the Vandal held and, offering by  
 public herald all his money, clothes and equipment, bought back those  
 other prisoners whom he was able.<sup>11</sup>



## [1. (Suda H 466)

Ἡράκλειος, στρατηγὸς γεγωνὺς ἐπὶ Ζήνωνος, οἷος μὲν τολμῆσαι καὶ πρόθυμος ἐγχειρεῖν ἐς πολέμους ἐτοιμῶς, οὐ μέντοι τὸ προμηθὲς εἶχεν ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις, οὐδὲ βουλὴν πρότερον ποιησάμενος ὥρμα πρὸς ὃ ἔσπευδε πράττειν, ἀλλ' ἐξω τοῦ λογισμοῦ πρὸς τὰ ἔργα ἐχώρει καὶ τὸ ἐμπλήκτως ὁρᾷ ἐν ἀνδρὸς μοῖρα ἐτίθετο. ὅπερ δὴ καὶ 5  
μάλιστα αὐτὸν ὕστερον ἔσφηλεν.]

5 δὴ A [δὲ GVM

## 2. (Exc. de Leg. Rom. 4)

Ὅτι Ζήνων ὁ βασιλεὺς πρὸς τὸν ἀρχηγὸν τῶν Γότθων πρεσβευάμενος περὶ Ἡρακλείου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τοῦ κρατηθέντος παρὰ τῶν Γότθων, ὑπέσχετο ἐπὶ λύτρους ἀφίσειν καὶ τὰ λύτρα ρ' συνωμολόγησε τάλαντα. ταῦτα τοὺς προσήκοντας Ἡρακλείῳ Ζήνων ἐκέλευσε παρασχεῖν, ἵνα μὴ δοκοίη λελυμένος ὑπ' ἄλλων ἐν δούλῳ 5  
γενέσθαι σχήματι. πέμπεται δὲ εἰς Θράκην τοῖς Γότθοις τὰ χρήματα. αἱ δὲ ἐδέξαντο μὲν καὶ δῆθεν ἐκ τῆς φρουρᾶς ἀνιᾶσιν Ἡράκλειον· προίοντι δὲ αὐτῷ ἐν Ἀρκადίῳ πόλει προστρέχουσι τινες Γότθοι, καὶ βαδίζοντι τῷ Ἡρακλείῳ τις ἐκ τῶν Γότθων βίβ' τὸν ὤμον ἔπαισε. 10  
τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἡράκλειον τις ἐπέπληξε τῷ Γότθῳ· καὶ πῶς, εἶπεν, οὔτε σωτὸν οἶδας, ἄνθρωπε, οὔτε γινώσκεις ὃν ἔπληξας; ὁ δὲ πάνυ γινώσκειν ἔφη τὸν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κάκιστα ἀπολούμενον· καὶ ἅμα σπασάμενοι ὁ μὲν τις τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ Ἡρακλείου, ὁ δὲ τὰς χεῖρας ἀπέτεμεν. καὶ φασιν ὅτι κατὰ ἀνταπόδοσιν ἔπαθεν Ἡράκλειος· ἐλέγετο 15  
γὰρ τινες τῶν ὑπ' αὐτῷ τελούντων στρατιωτῶν δόξαντάς τι πλημμελεῖν οὐκ ἄξιον θανάτου εἰς βόθρον καταβαλὼν πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα ἀναγκάσαι αὐτοὺς καταλεῦσαι. ἔκτοτε οὖν ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀγανάκτησις εἰς αὐτὸν ἐτηρεῖτο.

8 προστρέχουσι Niebuhr [προτρέχουσι codd. 10 ἐπέπληξε Hoeschel [ἐπληξε codd. 15 αὐτῷ EMP

## [7]

## [(Suda E 3100)

Ἐρύθριος, ἑπαρχὸς γεγωνὺς ἐπὶ Ζήνωνος· ὅς ἐπεὶ μήτε τὰ κοινὰ διακοῦντα ἑώρα, μήτε βάρος προσθεῖναι πλεῖον τοῦ τεταγμένον τοῖς συντέλεσιν ἠνεῖχετο, μήτε τινα ποιεῖν πονηρόν, ὥς ὢν φιλόανθρωπος, τῶν ὀφειλομένων ἡδύνατο χάριν, αἰτησάμενος παρὰ Ζήνωνος ταύτην τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπαύσατο. λύπην δὲ τῇ πόλει παρέσχεν, 5  
ἥνικα ταύτην ἀπέθετο· μόνος γὰρ τῶν τελούντων τότε εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν οὗτος ἐπὶ τῷ πάντων ἀγαθῷ ἐπεφύκει, θάπτους μὲν τὰς

## [1. (Suda H 466)

Heracleius, a general during the reign of Zeno. He was eager for deeds of daring and to rush forthwith into battle. However, he lacked forethought amidst danger and took no counsel before he set out to do what he proposed, but he went off to action without any planning. He considered frantic, headlong activity to be the mark of a man,<sup>12</sup> and this later caused his downfall.]

## 2. (Exc. de Leg. Rom. 4)

The Emperor Zeno sent an embassy to the leader of the Goths concerning Heracleius, who had been defeated by the Goths. [Theoderic the son of Triarius] promised to free him for ransom and agreed to the sum of one hundred talents. Zeno ordered Heracleius' relatives to pay the money lest Heracleius be thought to have been reduced to servile status if he were ransomed by others.<sup>13</sup> The money was sent to the Goths in Thrace. They accepted it and freed Heracleius from custody. When he was making a public appearance at Arcadiopolis, some Goths rushed up to him, and one of them struck him hard on the shoulder as he was walking along. One of Heracleius' escort rebuked the Goth, saying, "Don't you know who you are, man? Don't you know whom you've struck?" The other replied that he knew very well and was going to bring him to a nasty end. The Goths drew their swords together and one cut off Heracleius' head, another his hands. They say that Heracleius was killed in revenge. For it is alleged that when some of the soldiers under his command had committed an offence less than capital, he had them thrown into a pit and compelled the whole army to stone them to death. Thereafter God's retribution pursued him.<sup>14</sup>

## [7]

## [(Suda E 3100)

Erythrius, [praetorian] prefect under Zeno. When he saw that the treasury could not meet expenses, since he could neither bear to lay upon the taxpayers a heavier burden than the regular taxes nor bring himself, being a kindly man, to injure anyone because of unpaid debts, he sought Zeno's permission and resigned his office. When he laid down his office it caused grief to the city. For, of the high officials in the state at the time, he alone worked for the good of all, giving prompt

χάριτας παρέχων τοῖς αἰτουμένοις, οὐκ ἔχων δέ τινα παντάπασι τῶν  
 πρόσθεν προσκεκρυμμένων ἀμύνεσθαι. τὸ δὲ κοινὸν τότε εἰς πᾶσαν  
 ἀπορίαν κατῆλθεν ὡς μηδὲν ἔχων ὑπόλοιπον. ἃ τε γὰρ ἐν τῷ κοινῷ  
 ταμείῳ Λέων κατέλιπεν ἀποδνήσκων, ὑπὸ Ζήνωνος ταχὺ ἐκεκέν-  
 νωτο πάντα, πολλὰ μὲν χαριζομένου τοῖς φίλοις ὡς ἔτυχεν, οὐκ ὄντος  
 δὲ ἀκριβοῦς, ὥστε γινώσκειν αὐτά, εἴ πη καὶ ἄλλως κλέπτωτο.]

9 τὸ δὲ κοινὸν τότε [ὅτε τὸ κοινὸν οὕτως V 13 ὥστε [ὡς γε GIM

[8]

[(Suda Z 84)

Ζήνων, βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων, ὃς Ζήνωνα τὸν ἑαυτοῦ υἱὸν διά-  
 δοχῶν καταλαμβάνειν θέλων κομιδῇ νέον προηγέ τε δι' ἀξιών καὶ  
 σωμασκειῖσθαι ἐκέλευεν εἰς ἐπίδοσιν τῆς ἡλικίας, οἱ δὲ βασιλικοὶ ἐν  
 ἐξουσίᾳ γενόμενοι τοῦ ἄδην τὰ δημόσια καταναλίσκειν Συβαριτικῶς  
 τὸν νέον κραιπαλᾶν ἐνήργουν καὶ μαστροπεύοντες αὐτῷ τοὺς  
 συνήθους πρὸς τοὺς τῶν ἀρρένων ἔρωτας λυσσᾶν ἐπαίδευσαν  
 ἐκτόπως, διαίτης οὖν ἐν ἡδοναῖς καὶ τύρῃ τιθεμένης τὸ καλὸν ἐθαῖς  
 γενόμενος καὶ τὴν ὑποτυρωμένην ἀλαζονείαν ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλικῇ κατα-  
 δοκίᾳ διὰ τῶν προσώπων ἀπεμφαίνων ἀκροβατεῖν τε ἤρξατο καὶ  
 μετέωρον τὸν αἰχένα αἶρειν καὶ συλλήβδην φάναι, προσέχευ πᾶσιν  
 ὡς οἰκέταις ἀνθρώποις. ἀλλ' ὁ πάντων ἔφορος τὴν φυσικὴν καὶ  
 διδακτικὴν κακότητα αὐτοῦ τεθεαμένος, διαρρεῦσαντα τῇ γαστρὶ καὶ  
 ἀναισθητῶς ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἐς τὴν εὐνήν ἀποπατοῦντα, πρόωρον  
 τῶν ἀνθρωπείων ἐδικαίωσεν ἐκβῆναι. (Cf. A 463, Δ 885, M 270)]

3 ol [οὐ A 6 ἐνήθους V et M 270 9 τοῦ προσώπου ὑπεμφαίνων GIM

9

[1. (Suda E 1727)

Ἐξῆλθεν: ἐξέβη, ἐτελέσθη. ὅτι Ζήνωνι παρ' ἣν εἶχε δόξαν  
 ἐξῆλθε τὸ μάντευμα· ἀντὶ γὰρ τῆς βασιλίδος, ὡς ᾤετο, πόλεως, εἰς  
 λόφον συγκλεισθέντι τὸ αὐτὸ ὄνομα ἔχοντα, συνέβη τὸ πέρας τοῦ  
 Ἰουλίου.]

4 Ἰουλλίου Müller [βλουccodd.

2. (Exc. de Leg. Rom. 5)

Ἵτι . . . φεύγειν τε καὶ πλανᾶσθαι καὶ μηδαμῶς δύνασθαι  
 τῶν κακῶν ἀναπνεῦσαι, παρ' οἷς μοι τοῦ πταιίσματος ἡλπίζον εἶναι  
 παραψυχὴν.

1 συμβαίνει μοι add. Niebuhr in lac.

relief to those who requested it and not pursuing someone for all his  
 previous delinquencies.<sup>15</sup> At that time the treasury had been reduced to  
 utter exhaustion, so that there was nothing left in it. For what Leo had  
 left in the exchequer at his death was all quickly dissipated by Zeno,  
 who gave much of it on impulse to his friends and took no care to learn  
 whether other assets were being stolen.]

[8]

[(Suda Z 84)

Zeno, Emperor of the Romans. Wishing to make his own son,  
 Zeno, his successor, he promoted him through the public offices, even  
 though he was very young, and told him to exercise in order to increase  
 his stature. However, the imperial officials charged with utterly con-  
 suming the public funds saw to it that the young man was as drunk as a  
 Sybarite and, procuring youths of his own age for homosexual affairs,  
 taught him extraordinary perversions. As he became accustomed to  
 consider as good a life dedicated to empty pleasures and displayed in  
 his expression the arrogant pretensions of his expectation of the throne,  
 he began to strut, to raise his neck high and, to speak briefly, to treat  
 all men as his servants. But the Ruler of all, observing his wickedness,  
 which was both innate and learned, decreed that he suffer an untimely  
 death, having contracted dysentery and having lain unconscious,  
 befouling his bed, for many days. (Cf. A 463, Δ 885, M 270)]

9

[1. (Suda E 1727)

The prophecy turned out for Zeno otherwise than he had ex-  
 pected. For he spent July, which was to be the limit of his exile, not  
 in the imperial city, as he had thought, but shut up on a hill of the  
 same name.]<sup>16</sup>

2. (Exc. de Leg. Rom. 5)

. . . to be a fugitive and a wanderer and never be able to enjoy a  
 respite from my sufferings even with those amongst whom I hoped to  
 find solace for my misfortune.<sup>17</sup>

[3. (*Suda* B 164)]

Βασιλίσκος· ὅτι Βασιλίσκος, ὁ Ῥωμαίων τῶν ἐφ' ὧν βασιλεύς, τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τοὺς ἐπισκόπους εἰσέπραττε χρήματα καὶ Ἀκάκιον τὸν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐπίσκοπον μικροῦ δεῖν ἀπώσατο, εἰ μὴ τῷ πλήθει τῶν λεγομένων μοναχῶν ἀπεκρουσθῇ. πολὺς τε ἦν πρὸς ἐπιθυμίαν χρημάτων, ὥς μηδὲ αὐτῶν τῶν τὰς εὐτελεῖς καὶ βαναύσους μετιόντων ἐπιστήμας ἀπέχεσθαι. καὶ ἦν ἅπαντα μεστὰ δακρύων τῇ τῶν τοιούτων εἰσφορῶν εἰσπράξει. (καὶ ζῆται ἐν τῷ Ἀρμάτος.)]

6 μετὰ AN

[4. (*Suda* A 3968)]

Ἀρμάτιος· οὗτος μέγιστον ἴσχυσε παρὰ τῇ Ζηνωνίδι τῇ βασιλίσσῃ καὶ αὐτῷ Βασιλίσκῳ. ἐσφάγη δὲ ὑπὸ Ζήνωνος τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ ὑπερήσθησαν οἱ πολῖται τῇ τοῦτου σφαγῇ. ἐπὶ γὰρ Λέοντος πρὸς τοὺς στασιάζοντας ὅσους λάβοι τῶν Θρακῶν τὰς χεῖρας ἐκτέμνων ἀπέπεμπε. Ὀνόουλφος δὲ αὐτὸν διεχρήσατο, ὄντω δὲ Ἀρμάτιος πένητα καὶ ἄρτι ἐκ βαρβάρων ἦκοντα προσλαβὼν φιλοφρόνως τὸ μὲν πρῶτον κόμητα ἐποίησεν, ἔπειτα καὶ στρατηγὸν Ἰλλυριῶν, καὶ εἰς ἐστίασιν ἔχειν πολὺν ἄργυρον παρέσχε. ἀντέδωκε δὲ τούτῳ τὴν βαρβαρικὴν ἀπιστίαν μετὰ χειρὸς μαιφρόνου.

(Cf. Photius *Bibl. Cod.* 78 = T.1; *Suda* M 120 = T.2)]

[10]

[(*Suda* E 2494)]

Ἐπίνικος, ὑπαρχος τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ Βασιλίσκου, κόρον χρηματισμοῦ μὴ λαμβάνων μηδὲνα καὶ τὰ ἔθνη καὶ τὰς πόλεις πάσας καπηλεύων καὶ ἀτόπων τὰς ἐπαρχίας προσταγμάτων ἐμπλήσας· ἃ μὴ φέρουσαι ἔτι τῶν ἀρχόντων αἱ τάξεις, μηδὲ αἱ ἔξω βουλαί, φυγοῦσαι κατέλιπον τὰς τῶν φόρων εἰσπράξεις. ἐκ δὲ τῆς τοῦτου πλεονεξίας <ο> ἀρχόμενοι ἰκέται ἐν τοῖς κοινῶς ἱεροῖς ἐκαθέζοντο ἐλέγχοντες τὰ τοῦτου κλέμματα. ἦν δὲ πᾶσιν ἀπεχθὴς τιμὴν οὐδενὶ νέμων προσήκουσαν. καὶ τοῦτον τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπήλλαξαν ἀτίμως· ἀνθαιροῦνται δὲ ἄνδρα Λαυρέντιον, ὃς ἦν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς τῆς μεγάλης ῥητόρων καὶ πρωτεύσας ἐν ταύτῃ. ὅτῳ δὲ συνείποια, οὔτε τρίβειν, ὥς ἂν μάλλον κερδαῖνοι, οὔτε διέλκεν ἡνείχετο.]

1 ἔπαρχος A 3 πλήσας A 6 oi addidi ἀρχόμενοι Bernhardt ἐρχόμενοι Drachmann

[3. (*Suda* B 164)]

Basiliscus, the Emperor of the eastern Romans, exacted money from the bishops of the churches and almost banished Acacius, the bishop of Constantinople, but was deterred by a crowd of the so-called 'monks'. He was so greedy for money that he did not leave alone even those who pursued mean and mechanical occupations. There was universal lamentation because of the imposition of such taxes. (Also look under 'Harmatus'.)]<sup>18</sup>

[4. (*Suda* A 3968)]

Harmatius was extremely influential with the Empress Zenonis and Basiliscus himself. He was put to death by Zeno, and the citizens were overjoyed at his execution. For during the reign of Leo he cut off the hands of all the rebellious Thracians whom he caught and sent them away. He was killed by Onulf, whom Harmatius had received in a kindly manner when he was in poverty and newly arrived from amongst the barbarians. He had first made him count, then general of the Illyrians, and had given him much money to pay for his entertainment. Onulf's bloodstained hands paid Harmatius back with barbarous treachery.

(Cf. Photius *Bibl. Cod.* 78 = T.1; *Suda* M 120 = T.2)]

[10]

[(*Suda* E 2494)]

Epinicus, city prefect<sup>19</sup> during the reign of Basiliscus. He profiteered incessantly, selling all the provinces and the cities, and he overloaded the provincial governments with extraordinary demands. Since neither the administrators nor the local councils could endure these, they left their posts and abandoned the collection of the taxes. As a result of his profiteering the provincials sat as suppliants in the public churches attesting to his thefts. He was hated by everyone and gave to no one his due honour. He lost his office in disgrace, and in his stead they chose Laurentius, who was the senior official of the rhetors in the Great Agora. Epinicus did not allow anyone with whom he was associated to waste any time or procrastinate, so that he might make more profit.]

[11]

[(Zonaras 14,2,22-24)

Οὐ κρατοῦντος ἐμπρησμὸς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει ἐγένετο μέγιστος, ἐκ τῶν Χαλκοπρατίων ἀρξάμενος καὶ πάντα τὰ προσεχῇ τούτοις νεμηθεὶς καὶ ἀποτεφρώσας τὰς τε τῶν δημοσίων πλατειῶν στοὰς καὶ τὰς αὐταῖς ἐπικειμένας οἰκοδομάς, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν κεκλημένην Βασιλικήν, καθ' ἣν καὶ βιβλιοθήκη ἐτύχγανε δώδεκα 5 μυριάδας βιβλίων ἀποκειμένων ἐν αὐτῇ ἔχουσα· ἐν οἷς ἀναγράφεται εἶναι καὶ δράκοντος ἔντερον, μήκους ὅν ποδῶν ἑκατὸν εἴκοσιν, ἔχον ἐγγεγραμμένα χρυσοῖς γράμμασι τὰ τοῦ Ὀμήρου ποιήματα, τὴν τε Ἰλιάδα καὶ τὴν Ὀδύσειαν, οὗ καὶ ὁ Μάλχος τὰ περὶ τούτων τῶν βασιλέων συγγραφόμενος μέμνηται. διέφθρε δὲ τὸ πῦρ ἐκεῖνο καὶ 10 τὴν ἐν τοῖς Λαύσου τῆς πόλεως ἀγλαΐαν καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖ ἐνιδρυμένα ἀγάλματα τῆς τε Σαμίας Ἥρας καὶ τῆς Λωδίας Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ τῆς Κνιδίας Ἀφροδίτης, τὰ κατὰ τέχνην περιβόητα ἀφιδρύματα, καὶ μέχρι τοῦ Φόρου ἐπέδραμε.

(Cf. Cedrenus I p.618; Suda M 120 = T.2)]

12

(Photius Bibl. Cod. 78 = T.1; [Suda B 164 = Fr. 9,3])

13

[1. (Suda K 693)

Ὁ δὲ Ὀνούλφος ἔρην ἐξ ἐθνῶν κατὰ πατέρα μὲν Θεουρίγγων, τῶν δὲ Σκίρων κατὰ τὴν μητέρα.]

2. (Photius Bibl. Cod. 78 = T.1; [Suda A 3968 = Fr. 9,4])

14

(Exc. de Leg. Gent. 3)

Ὅτι ὁ Αὐγουστος ὁ τοῦ Ὀρέστου υἱὸς ἀκούσας Ζήνωνα πάλιν τὴν βασιλείαν ἀνακεκτῆσθαι τῆς ἑω τὸν Βασιλίσκον ἐλάσαντα, πνέγκασε τὴν βουλὴν ἀποστεῖλαι πρεσβείαν Ζήνωνι σημαίνουσαν, ὡς ἰδίᾳ μὲν αὐτοῖς βασιλείας οὐ δέοι, κοινὸς δὲ ἀποχρήσει μόνος ὧν αὐτοκράτωρ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς πέρασιν. τὸν μὲντοι Ὀδόαχον ὑπ' αὐτῶν προβεβλήσθαι ἱκανὸν ὄντα σώξω τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς πράγματα, 5 πολιτικὴν ἔχοντα σύνεσιν ὁμοῦ καὶ μάχιμον· καὶ δεῖσθαι τοῦ Ζήνωνος πατρικίου τε αὐτῷ ἀποστεῖλαι ἀξίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἰταλῶν τοῦτω ἐφεῖναι διοικῶν. ἀρκενοῦνται δὲ ἄνδρες τῆς βουλῆς τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ τούτους εἰς Βυζάντιον κομίζοντες τοὺς λόγους, καὶ ταῖς αὐταῖς ἡμέραις 10

[11]

[(Zonaras 14,2,22-24)

While [Basiliscus] was Emperor a very serious fire broke out at Constantinople. Beginning in the quarter of the bronze merchants, it spread to all the areas nearby and reduced to ashes the colonnades of the public squares and the adjacent houses, as well as the Basilica, so-called, which contained a library of 120,000 books. Amongst these it is written that there was the intestine of a serpent, one hundred and twenty feet long, which had written on it in gold letters the poems of Homer, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Malchus, who wrote a history of these Emperors, also mentions this. The fire also destroyed the beautiful palace of Lausus and the statues therein, the Hera of Samos, the Athena of Lindos and the Aphrodite of Cnidos, famous masterpieces of art, and it spread as far as the Forum.<sup>20</sup>

(Cf. Cedrenus I p.618; Suda M 120 = T.2)]

12

(Photius Bibl. Cod. 78 = T.1; [Suda B 164 = Fr. 9,3])

13

[1. (Suda K 693)

On his father's side Onulf was descended from the Theuringi, on his mother's side from the Sciri.]

2. (Photius Bibl. Cod. 78 = T.1; [Suda A 3968 = Fr. 9,4])

14

(Exc. de Leg. Gent. 3)

When Augustus, the son of Orestes, heard that Zeno had driven out Basiliscus and regained the sovereignty of the East, he compelled the senate to send an embassy to Zeno proposing that there was no need of a divided rule and that one, shared Emperor was sufficient for both territories. They said, moreover, that they had chosen Odovacer, a man of military and political experience, to safeguard their own affairs and that Zeno should confer upon him the rank of patrician and entrust him with the government of Italy. Representatives of the Roman senate arrived at Byzantium carrying these proposals. During these same days envoys came from Nepos to congratulate Zeno on what

ἐκ τοῦ Νέπωτος ἄγγελοι τῶν τε γεγεννημένων συνεστησόμενοι τῷ  
 Ζήνωνι καὶ δεόμενοι ἅμα ταῖς ἰσῆαις τῷ Νέπωτι συμφοραῖς χρησα-  
 μένῳ συσπιδάσαι προθύμως τῆς βασιλείας ἀνάκτησιν, χρήματά τε  
 καὶ στρατὸν ἐπὶ ταῦτα διδόντα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, οἷς δέοι, συνεκπο-  
 νοῦντα τὴν καθόδον. ταῦτά τε τοὺς λέγοντας ὁ Νέπως ἀπέστειλλεν. 15  
 Ζήνων δὲ τοῖς ἡκουσι τοῖς μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἀπεκρίνατο ταῦτα, ὡς  
 δύο ἐκ τῆς ἑῷ βασιλείας λαβόντες τὸν μὲν ἐξεληλάκασιν, Ἀνθέμιον  
 δὲ ἀπέκτευναν· καὶ νῦν τὸ ποιητέον αὐτοὺς ἔφη γινώσκειν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν  
 βασιλέως ἔτι ὄντος ἐτέραν ἡγήσεσθαι γνώμην ἢ κατιόντα προσ-  
 δέχεσθαι· τοῖς δὲ ἐκ τοῦ βαρβάρου ὅτι καλῶς πράξει παρὰ τοῦ 20  
 βασιλέως Νέπωτος τὴν ἀξίαν τοῦ πατρικίου δεξάμενος Ὀδοάχος·  
 ἐκπέμψαν γὰρ αὐτόν, εἰ μὴ Νέπως ἐπεφθάρκει· ἐπαυεῖν δὲ ὡς ἀρχὴν  
 ἐπιδέδεικται ταύτην τοῦ τὸν κόσμον φυλάττειν τὸν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις  
 προσήκοντα, καὶ πιστεύειν ἐντεῦθεν ὡς καὶ τὸν βασιλέα τὸν ταῦτα 25  
 τιμήσαντα καταδέξοιτο θάπτον, εἰ ποιεῖν θέλοι τὰ δίκαια, καὶ βασι-  
 λειον γράμμα περὶ ὧν ἡβούλετο πέμπειν τῷ Ὀδοάχῳ πατρικίον ἐν  
 τούτῳ τῷ γράμματι ἐπωνόμασε. ταῦτα δὲ συνεσπιδάξε τῷ Νέπωτι  
 ὁ Ζήνων ἐκ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ κακῶν τὰ ἐκείνου οἰκτείρων καὶ τό γε κοινὸν  
 τῆς τύχης εἰς ὑπόθεσιν ἔχων τῷ δυστυχοῦντι συνάχθεσθαι, ἅμα δὲ 30  
 καὶ Βηρίνα συνεπώτρυνε τοῦτον τῇ Νέπωτος γυναικὶ συγγενεῖ οὓσῃ  
 συσπεύδουσα.

19 εισηγήσεσθαι Bekker  
 Niebuhr [te A

22 ἐκπέμψαν AEX [ἐκπέμψεν edd.

28 γε

## 15

(Exc. de Leg. Gent. 4)

Ὅτι ἐν τῷ ἐξῆς ἔτει ἐπὶ Ζήνωνος πρέσβεις ἦλθον ἐκ Θράκης  
 τῶν ὑποσπόνδων Γότθων, οὓς δὴ καὶ φοιδεράτους οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι  
 καλοῦσιν, ἀξιούντες Ζήνονα Θεωδερίχῳ σπεισάσθαι τῷ παιδὶ  
 Τριαρίου ἡσυχον ἐθέλοντι διεξάγειν τὸν βίον καὶ μηδένα πόλεμον 5  
 τοῖς κοινῶς αἰρεσθαι πράγμασιν· ἡξίουν δὲ καὶ σκοπεῖν ὅσα πολέμοις  
 ὧν κατέβλαψε Ῥωμαίους, καὶ ὅσα Θεωδερίχῳ ὁ τοῦ Βαλαμείρου  
 παῖς στρατηγὸς ὧν καὶ φίλος ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐλυμήνατο, καὶ μὴ νῦν  
 ἀπεχθείας παλαιὰς ὁρᾶν μᾶλλον ἢ ὅπως τι τῷ κοινῷ γένοιτο  
 πάντως ωφέλιμον.

Εὐθύς οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν βουλήν συγκαλέσας γνώμην αὐτοῖς 10  
 προὔθηκεν, ὅ τι δέοι ποιῆσαι. οἱ δὲ ἀμφοτέροις μὲν οὐκ ἔφασαν ἱκανὸν  
 τὸ δημόσιον εἶναι συντάξεις τε καὶ μισθὸν ἐπαρκέσαι προχείρως,  
 ὅποτε γε μηδὲ αὐτοῖς μόνοις τοῖς στρατιώταις ἀμέμπτους ὑποτελεῖν  
 τὰς χορηγίας δυνάμεθα· ὁπότερον δὲ αὐτῶν δεῖ φίλον προελέσθαι,

had transpired and to ask that he lend strong support to Nepos, who  
 had suffered similar misfortunes, in the recovery of his throne by giving  
 money and an army for this purpose and by offering other forms of  
 assistance necessary to effect his return. Nepos had sent the men to say  
 these things. To those who had come from the senate Zeno gave the  
 following reply: they had received two Emperors from the East, one  
 of whom they had ejected, the other, Anthemius, they had killed. Now,  
 he said, they knew what they should do: since their Emperor was still  
 alive, they should entertain no other thought than to welcome him  
 on his return. To the representatives of the barbarian he replied that it  
 was better that Odovacer had received the patriciate from the Emperor  
 Nepos, although he would have conferred it<sup>21</sup> if Nepos had not done  
 so first. Zeno added that he congratulated Odovacer in thus beginning  
 by preserving the order of government appropriate for the Romans and  
 that from this he was confident that, if Odovacer wished to act justly,  
 he would quickly receive back the Emperor who had honoured him in  
 this manner. He sent to Odovacer a royal letter concerning what he  
 wished and in the letter addressed him as patrician. Zeno gave this  
 support to Nepos since he pitied the latter's plight because of his own  
 and since he held it as a principle that those in like positions should  
 sympathise with their equals when they suffer misfortune.<sup>22</sup> At the  
 same time Verina, too, joined in urging on<sup>23</sup> Zeno, since she was sup-  
 porting Nepos' wife, who was her relative.

## 15

(Exc. de Leg. Gent. 4)

In the following year envoys came to Zeno from the allied Goths  
 in Thrace, whom the Romans call *foederati*.<sup>24</sup> They requested that  
 Zeno make a treaty with Theoderic the son of Triarius, who wished to  
 live a life of peace and not to be at war with the state, and they asked  
 the Emperor to consider how little harm the son of Triarius, though  
 an enemy, had done to the Romans and how much damage Theoderic  
 the son of Valamir, though a general and a friend, had done to the  
 cities. Zeno ought not now look to old hatreds rather than how he  
 might most advance the common good.

The Emperor, therefore, immediately convened the senate and  
 asked its advice as to what he should do. They said that the treasury  
 did not have the resources to furnish subsidies and pay to both parties,  
 since "we cannot supply our own soldiers alone without difficulties".  
 They left it to the Emperor to decide which of them should be chosen

τούτου κύριον αὐτὸν τὸν βασιλέα καθίστασαν. ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν αὐλὴν τοὺς  
 τε κατὰ τὴν πόλιν στρατιώτας καλέσας καὶ τὰς σχολὰς ἀπάσας,  
 ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ βῆμα πολλὰ τοῦ Θεουδερύχου κατηγορεῖ, ἐν τούτοις ὅπως  
 τε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐχθρὸς ἄνωθεν εἶη, καὶ ὡς ἐλυμήνατο τοῖς τὴν  
 Θράκην οἰκοῦσι χεῖράς τε ἀποτέμνων ἅμα τῷ Ἀρματίῳ καὶ τὸ  
 γεωργοῦν ἅπαν ποιήσας ἀνάστατον· ὅπως τε τυραννίδα πάλιν ἐπὶ  
 τοῖς κοινῶς τὴν Βασιλίσκου ἐπήγειρε καὶ ὡς τοὺς στρατιώτας  
 ἐκεῖνον ἀνέπεισεν ἐκποδῶν ποιήσασθαι, ὡς τῶν Γότθων ἀρκούντων.  
 καὶ νῦν δὲ πρεσβεύεσθαι οὐκ εἰρήνης γε μᾶλλον ἢ στρατηγίας δεό-  
 μενον. ἦν οὖν ἔχετε γνώμην καὶ ὑμεῖς περὶ τούτων, ταύτην, ἔφη, παρ'  
 ὑμῶν ἀκοῦσαι βουλόμενος νυνὶ παρεκάλεσα, εἰδὼς τῶν βασιλέων  
 τούτους ἀσφαλῶς πράττειν, οἳ ἂν τὰ βουλευόμενα τοῖς στρατιώταις  
 κοινώσουσιν. οἱ δὲ ἥς κατέτενε κατηγορίας ἀκούσαντες καὶ ἐκ  
 ταύτης διδαχθέντες ὁ χρῆν ἀποκρίνασθαι πάντες ἀνεβόησαν ἐχθρὸν  
 εἶναι Ῥωμαίοις Θεουδερύχον καὶ πάντας, εἴ τις ἐκεῖνῳ συνέστηκεν.

Οὐ μέντοι τοῖς πρέσβεσι ταύτην εὐθὺς ἔδωκεν ἀπόκρισιν ὁ  
 Ζήνων, ἀλλ' ἐπεῖχεν, ἕως τι πλέον ἀκούσει τῶν ἔξωθεν. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ  
 γράφοντες τὰ ἔνδον γινόμενα τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει τινὲς τῷ Θεουδερύχῳ  
 ἐάλωσαν, Ἀνθιμὸς τε ἰατρός καὶ Μαρκελλῆνος καὶ Στέφανος, καὶ οὐ  
 μόνον ἑαυτῶν ἐπιστολὰς ἔπεμπον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει πλαττό-  
 μενοι γράμματα ἐκεῖνῳ ἐπέστελλον θαρσύνειν βουλόμενοι, ὡς  
 ἱκανοὺς ἔχοντα τοὺς συμπράττοντας ἔνδον. καὶ τρεῖς τῶν ἀπὸ βουλῆς,  
 τοῦ μαγίστρου παρόντος, ἐξετάσαντες ταῦτα καὶ πληγὰς τὰ σώματα  
 πολλὰς ἐπιθέμενοι φυγὴν εἰς ἅπαξ ἐπέθηκαν. δῆθεν γὰρ ἀπέχεσθαι  
 θανάτου καὶ σφαγῶν δοκεῖν ὁ Ζήνων ἐβούλετο.

16 καλέσας Valesius [κελεύσας A 27 κοινώσωσω Müller 31 ἀκούσειε  
 Dindorf]

## 16

## 1. (Exc. de Leg. Rom. 6)

Ὅτι τὸν ἄρχοντα Αἰγύπτου ἐπὶ μόλις χρυσίου λίτραις ν' ἐκπε-  
 πόμενον, ὥσπερ εὐδαμονεστέρας γενομένης ἢ πρόσθεν, ἐπὶ πεντα-  
 κοσίαις ὁμοῦ λίτραις ἀπέστειλεν.

## [2. (Suda Z 83)]

Ζήνων, βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων, τὴν μὲν ὠμότητα, ἣ ἐκέχρητο  
 Λέων, ἐν τῇ φύσει οὐκ εἶχεν. οὐδὲ τὸ θυμούμενον ἀπαραίτητον αὐτῷ  
 καθιεστῆκε ἐσάπαξ, οἷον τοῦ Λέοντος διέμενε. καὶ τὴν γε προ-  
 αἰρεσιν ἐν πολλοῖς εἶχε φιλότιμον· καὶ ἃ ἔπραττε δόξης ἕνεκεν καὶ  
 τοῦ θαυμάζεσθαι ἔπραττεν, ἐπιδεικτικῶς μᾶλλον ἢ ἀληθῶς. οὐ μὴν

as a friend, Zeno summoned to the palace all the soldiers in the city  
 and the palace regiments and, ascending the tribunal, made many  
 charges against the son of Triarius. Amongst these he recounted how  
 from the beginning he had been hostile to the Romans; how he had  
 harmed the inhabitants of Thrace, along with Harmatius cutting off  
 their hands<sup>25</sup> and driving out all the farmers; how he had encouraged  
 Basiliscus' usurpation against the state; and how he had persuaded him  
 to dispose of his own troops on the ground that the Goths were  
 sufficient for him.<sup>26</sup> Now he was sending an embassy seeking not peace  
 but a generalship. "I have summoned you now", said Zeno, "wishing to  
 hear from you your view on these matters, for I know that those Em-  
 perors who share their deliberations with the soldiers act safely". When  
 they heard the charges which he made and learned from these the  
 answer required, they all shouted out that the son of Triarius and all  
 who sided with him were enemies of the Romans.

Zeno did not give this reply to the envoys straightaway but  
 waited until he should hear more of what was happening outside the  
 city.<sup>27</sup> Meanwhile, certain persons in the city (the doctor Anthimus,  
 Marcellinus and Stephanus), who were writing to Theoderic about  
 what was happening within, were arrested. They were not only sending  
 letters in their own names but were also despatching to him forged  
 letters from high officials, since they wished to encourage Theoderic  
 to think that he had sufficient supporters within the city. Three  
 senators, in the presence of the master of the offices, examined these  
 matters and, having inflicted many lashes upon the bodies of these  
 persons, condemned them to perpetual exile. Zeno, of course, wished  
 to avoid the death penalty and bloodshed.

## 16

## 1. (Exc. de Leg. Rom. 6)

Whereas the governor of Egypt is usually appointed for a pay-  
 ment of fifty pounds of gold, as if the country had become richer than  
 before, he appointed him for almost five hundred pounds.<sup>28</sup>

## [2. (Suda Z 83)]

Zeno, the Roman Emperor, did not have in his character the same  
 cruel streak as Leo, nor did he have the constant, inexorable anger that  
 was in Leo. In many matters he desired repute, and what he did, he did  
 to win glory and cause admiration — for show rather than out of com-  
 mitment. He lacked both the practical experience and the knowledge<sup>29</sup>

οὔτε ἔμπερος τῶν πραγμάτων ἦν οὔτε εἶχεν ἐπιστήμην, δι' ἧς ἔστω  
 ἀσφαλῶς τὰς βασιλείας ἰδύνεσθαι. πρὸς δὲ κέρδος καὶ λῆμμα οὐχ  
 οὕτω μὲν ἔμμανῶς ὥς ὁ Λέων διέκειτο· οὐδὲ ἔπλαττε μὴ ὄντα τοῖς  
 κεκτημένοις ἐγκλήματα· οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ παντελῶς κρείττων ὑπῆρχε τοῦ  
 10 πράγματος. καὶ χρηστῆς ἂν βασιλείας ἔτυχον Ῥωμαῖοι, εἰ μὴ Σε-  
 βαστιανὸς ὁ τότε παραδυναστεύων ἤγεν αὐτὸν ἐς ὅπη ἐβούλετο,  
 καπηλεύων ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀγορᾶς ἅπαντα καὶ μηδὲν ἄπρατον ἑῶν ἐν τῇ  
 βασιλείᾳ αὐτῇ διαπράττεσθαι. ἀλλὰ τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς ἀπεδίδοδο  
 πάσας, ἰδίᾳ μὲν ἑαυτῷ, ἰδίᾳ δὲ λαμβάνων τῷ βασιλεῖ τὰ τιμήματα·  
 15 καὶ εἰ προσήλθεν ἕτερος βραχὺ τι προστιθείς, ἐκείνος ἦν αἰρετώ-  
 τερος. τῶν δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις γνωμένων ἀπάντων οὐδὲν ἦν, ὃ μὴ  
 λαβὼν ἀπεπίπρασεν. εἰ δὲ τινι ἀρχὴν τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ὄντων ἐχαρί-  
 σατο Ζήνων, ὥσπερ πολιτοκάπηλος αὐτὸς ταύτην ὀλίγου παρ'  
 ἐκείνου λαμβάνων, ἄλλοις παρεῖχε τοῦ πλείονος, Ζήνωνι δὲ τὰ  
 κλέμματα παρέχων.] 20

11 ἐς ὅπη [ἔποι V 12 καπηλεύων . . . παρέχων (v.20) [δς τῆς ἀρχῆς  
 ἅπαντα ἀπεπίπρασεν καὶ τῷ δίδοντι βραχὺ τι πλέον ἐκείνῳ ἐδίδου· Ζήνωνι δὲ  
 τὰ κλέμματα παρεῖχε καὶ οὕτως διέφθειρε τὰ Ῥωμαίων V 17 τινι ἀρχὴν  
 Müller (τινι post ἀρχὴν Bernhardt) [τινα ἀρχὴν codd.]

## 17

(Exc. de Leg. Gent. 5)

Ὅτι τῷ αὐτῷ ἔτει πρέσβεις ἐκ Καρχηδόνας ἐς Βυζάντιον  
 ἦλθον, οὓς Ἀλέξανδρος ἤγεν ὁ τῆς Ὀλυβρίου γυναικὸς ἐπίτροπος· ὃς  
 ἐτύγχανε πεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ Ζήνωνος πάλαι, συνθελοῦσης καὶ αὐτῆς  
 τοῦτο τῆς Πλακιδίας. ἔλεγον δὲ οἱ πρέσβεις ὅτι Ὀνώριχος φίλος τε  
 τῷ βασιλεῖ καθεστῆκει ἀδόλως καὶ στέργοι τὰ Ῥωμαίων, καὶ ἀρίστη  
 5 πάντα, ἃ πρόσθεν ἐνεκάλει περὶ τῶν προσόδων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων  
 χρημάτων, ἃ τῆς αὐτοῦ γυναικὸς προειλήφει ὁ Λέων, καὶ ὅσα τῶν  
 ἐμπόρων τῶν ἐκ τῆς Καρχηδόνας ἀρτι καθισταμένου τοῦ πολέμου  
 ἐλήφθη, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο πάλαι ὁ πατὴρ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ὁπωσοῦν  
 ἔσχευ αἰτίαν· τὴν τε εἰρήνην ἔχειν ἀξιοῖ βεβαίαν, καὶ μηδὲν εἶναι  
 10 λοιπὸν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὑποπτος τῷ μὴ οὐχὶ γνησίως τὰς σπονδὰς  
 ἐμπεδώσῃ καὶ ὅσα ἤδη συνέκειτο. εἰδέναι γὰρ χάριν, ὅτι τὴν  
 Ὀλυβρίου τετιμῆκα γυναῖκα· καὶ ταῦτα πυνθόμενος πάντα ἔτοιμος  
 ἦν βασιλεῖ πράττειν ἃ βούλοιο. ἦν δὲ τοῦτο πρόσχημα εὐπρεπὲς  
 τῷ λόγῳ, ἐπεὶ τό γε ἀληθὲς πᾶσαν ἐδεδοίκεσαν ὑποψίαν πολέμου,  
 15 καὶ μετὰ τὸν θάνατον Γωζιρίχου πεσόντες ἐς πᾶσαν μαλακίαν οὔτε  
 τὴν αὐτὴν ῥώμην ἐς πράγματα ἔσχον οὔτε τὰς αὐτὰς ἔτι συνεῖχον  
 παρασκευάς, ἃς ἐκείνος πρὸς πᾶσαν πρᾶξιν εἶχεν ἐφόρους, ὥς

through which it is possible to govern states safely. He was not so  
 frantically eager as Leo for wealth and profit, and he did not fabricate  
 false charges against wealthy men, although he was not wholly above  
 such activity. The Romans would have enjoyed a successful reign if  
 Sebastianus, who at the time had great influence with the Emperor,  
 had not led him into whatever he wished, selling everything as if at a  
 market and allowing no business to be done in the palace without  
 payment. He sold all government positions, taking private profit, partly  
 for himself and partly for the Emperor. If someone else came forward  
 and offered a little more, he was preferred. There was nothing in the  
 palace which he did not buy and sell. If Zeno bestowed a position upon  
 a member of his court, Sebastianus, like a trader in public offices,  
 bought it from him for a small price and sold it to others for more,  
 giving the proceeds of his robbery to Zeno.]

## 17

(Exc. de Leg. Gent. 5)

In the same year envoys came from Carthage to Byzantium  
 conducted by Alexander, the guardian of Olybrius' wife. He had been  
 earlier sent out by Zeno with the consent of Placidia herself. The  
 envoys said that Huneric had established himself as an honest friend  
 of the Emperor, loved everything Roman and was renouncing all claims  
 on the public revenues and the other monies which Leo had earlier con-  
 fiscated from his wife, as well as what the Emperor had seized from the  
 Carthaginian merchants soon after the beginning<sup>30</sup> of the war, and  
 everything else over which his father had grievances against the Ro-  
 mans. He wished to enjoy a secure peace and to leave no ground re-  
 maining for the Romans to suspect that he would not honestly adhere  
 to the treaty and the matters already agreed upon. He was grateful that  
 Zeno had honoured Olybrius' wife and, learning this, was ready to do  
 for the Emperor whatever he wished. This was the plausible pretext for  
 the proposal, when, in reality, the Vandals feared any hint of war. For  
 after the death of Gaiseric they had fallen completely into softness  
 and had maintained neither the same strength for action nor the same  
 military establishment which he had kept ready for use, so that he

θαπτον ἀεὶ πράττειν ἢ ὡς ἂν ἄλλοι βουλευσάωντο. δεξάμενος δὲ αὐτοὺς φιλοφρόνως ὁ Ζήνων τιμῆς μὲν ἡξίωσε δεούσης τοὺς πρέσβεις, καὶ δώροις ἀπέπεμψε τοῖς πρέπουσι κοσμήσας, Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ ποιεῖ τῶν πριβάτων κόμητα.

## 18

1. (*Exc. de Leg. Rom. 7*)

Ὅτι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ ὁ Ζήνων αἰσθόμενος ὡς τὰ μὲν Θεουδερύχου τοῦ παιδὸς Βαλαμήρου ἀεὶ ἀσθενέστερα καὶ ἐλάττονα γίνοντο, ὁ δὲ τοῦ Τριαρίου ἔθνη τε συναθροίζει καὶ συστρέφει δυνάμεις, ἐνόμισε βέλτιον ἐπὶ μετρίοις αὐτῷ, εἰ συμβῆναι βούλοιο, καταλῦσαι τὴν ἔχθραν. καὶ πρέσβεις ἀποστείλας ἡξίω τὸν τε υἱὸν παραδοῦναι ὄμηρον, ὡς πάλαι προukaλεῖτο, καὶ ἰδιώτην ὄντα ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μένεω μηδὲν ἐνοχλούμενον, ὥσπερ ἤτησε τότε, λαβεῖν τε τὴν οὐσίαν ὁπόσῃς ἀρήρητο καὶ τὰλλα ἡσυχάζειν οὐδὲν ἔχοντα κακὸν αὐτῷ ἐτέρῳ παρέχοντα. ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι <οὔτε> τὸν υἱὸν ἔτι ὄμηρον δώσοι, αὐτὸς δὲ δύνασθαι ἔτι ἐκ μόνῃς τῆς οὐσίας ἰδιώτης διάγειν. ἕως μὲν γὰρ ἦν μόνος μήπω ἔθνη τοσαῦτα περὶ αὐτὸν ἔχων, μόνῃν ἂν τὴν οὐσίαν σφόδρα συστελλομένῳ ἴσως ἂν ἐπαρκέσαι· νῦν δέ, ἐπεὶ αὐτὸν εἰς ἀνάγκην τοῦ ἔθνη συλλέξει κατέστησαν, ἐκ τῆς ἀνάγκης εἶναι ἢ τρέφειν τοὺς ἐλθόντας ἢ σὺν αὐτοῖς πολεμεῖν, ἕως παθῶν ἢ δράσας ἐν ἀναμνησθήτητον τῷ παντὶ πέρας ἐξοίσειεν.

Ταῦτα ὡς ἀπηγγέλθη, ἔδοξεν εἰς ἀκριβῆ κατασκευάζεσθαι πόλεμον. καὶ τάγματα μὲν πάντα, ὅσα τε πρὸς τῷ Πόντῳ καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ ὅσα τοῖς ἐξώοις ἐνὶ δρυτο μέρεσι, κατὰ τάχος ἐκάλει, καὶ παρὴν πανταχόθεν οὐκ ὀλίγον τι πληθὺς. κατεσκευάζοντο δὲ ἅμαξαι σκευοφόροι καὶ βόες ἐκονοῦντο καὶ σιτὸς τε καὶ ὅσα χρήσιμα στρατοπέδῳ πάντα ἐγίνετο ἔτοιμα, ὡς αὐτοῦ γε μέλλοντος Ἰλλοῦ ἐξιέναι.

9 οὔτε add. Valesius 9-10 ἀπεκρίνατο οὔτε . . . δώσω conl. de Boor

2. (*Exc. de Leg. Rom. 8*)

Ὅτι ὁ Ζήνων Μαρτινιανὸν προβαλόμενος στρατηγόν, καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐς ἀταξίαν ἐλθόντος, ὡς ταῦτα καλῶς ἔχων ἔδοκει, πέμπει ἄνδρας αὐτίκα παρὰ τὸν Βαλαμήρου λέγοντας, ὅτι οὐ δεῖ τρίβειν ἔτι τὴν μάχην, ἀλλ' ἔργου νῦν ἔχεσθαι καὶ πληροῦν τὰς ἐλπίδας, ἐφ' αἷς τῆς στρατηγίας ἡξιώθη Ῥωμαίων. ὁ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας ἀντιπέμπει καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς Βυζάντιον πρέσβεις λέγων, ὡς οὐ πρότερον ἐγχειρήσοι τῷ ἔργῳ, εἰ μὴ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος αὐτῷ ἐπομόσαιτο πᾶσα, ὡς οὐδέποτε ἐπὶ τῷ Τριαρίῳ συμβήσονται. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ βουλῆς καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες ὡμοσαν μὴ συμβαίνειν, εἰ μὴ βασιλεὺς

always moved more quickly than his opponents calculated. Zeno received the envoys in a friendly manner, bestowed upon them the honour due to ambassadors, sent them away laden with the appropriate gifts and made Alexander count of the privy purse.<sup>31</sup>

## 18

1. (*Exc. de Leg. Rom. 7*)

At the same time Zeno learned that the position of Theoderic the son of Valamir was eroding and becoming weaker and that the son of Triarius was assembling his tribes and collecting his forces. He, therefore, thought it better to resolve the enmity with the latter on reasonable terms, if he were willing to make an agreement. He sent envoys and proposed that the son of Triarius hand over his son as a hostage, as he had earlier offered,<sup>32</sup> live as a private citizen amongst his own people causing no disturbances (as at the time he had requested), enjoy the possession of whatever he had seized, and otherwise live in peace, being harmed by no one and harming no one. The son of Triarius replied that he would not now hand over his son as hostage, nor could he still live off his own possessions alone. While he was on his own and did not have so many tribes with him, his own property alone would perhaps have been sufficient, if he lived very frugally. But now, since they had brought him to the necessity of gathering the tribes, out of this necessity he either had to feed those who had come to him or fight alongside them until, either defeated or victorious, he should bring the whole business to a clear and definite conclusion.

When this reply was delivered, it seemed best to make careful preparations for war. Zeno speedily summoned all the legions, both those stationed near to the Black Sea and those throughout Asia and the eastern districts. A large force assembled from all quarters; baggage wagons were prepared, cattle and grain were purchased, and all things of use to an army were made ready, since Illus himself was going to march out.

2. (*Exc. de Leg. Rom. 8*)

When Zeno appointed Martinianus general, the army fell into disorder. Since it seemed a good course of action, the Emperor immediately sent men to the son of Valamir, saying that he should put off battle no longer but take action now and fulfil the hopes for which he had been judged worthy of a Roman generalship. When the son of Valamir received this message, in reply he himself sent envoys saying that he would not take action before the Emperor and the whole senate had sworn that they would never make a treaty with the son of Triarius. The senators and the high officials swore, therefore, that they would



θέλοι, αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς μηδὲν ἀποστήσασθαι τῶν ἤδη συγκει- 10  
μένων, εἰ μὴ πρῶτον ἐκεῖνον παραβαίνοντα ἴδοι.

Τούτων δὲ ὁμοθέντων, αὐτὸν μὲν Θεοδέριχον ἔδοξε κινήσαντα 15  
τὴν αὐτοῦ δύναμιν ἐν Μαρκιανοῦ πόλει τὴν πᾶσαν ἰδρυμένην εἰς τὸ  
εἶσω ἐλαύνειν· ἐπειδὴν δὲ γένηται πρὸς ταῖς πύλας τοῦ Αἰμου, τότε  
τὸν τῆς Θράκης στρατηγὸν δισχυλίοις ἵππεῦσι καὶ ὀπλίταις μυρίοις 20  
ἀπαντῶντα συμμίξει· ὑπερβάντι δὲ Αἶμον ἄλλην ἀπαντήσεσθαι  
δύναμιν πρὸς τῷ Ἑβρω καὶ Ἀδριανουπόλει, πεζοὺς μὲν δισχυρίους,  
ἑξακισχιλίους δὲ μετὰ τούτων ἱππέας, ἀπὸ δὲ Ἑρακλείας καὶ τῶν  
πρὸς Βυζαντίῳ πόλεων καὶ φρουρίων ἄλλην ἔλεγον εἶναι δύναμιν, εἰ 25  
δεήσει, ὥστε μηδὲν ἐλλείπεω τῶν εἰς ἐλπίδα χρηστήν συντελούντων  
τῷ ἔργῳ· ταῦτα ὑποσχόμενος ὁ Ζήνων τοῖς πρέσβεσι κατὰ τάχος  
ἐκπέμπει.

Ἄρας δὲ Θεοδέριχος τῷ αὐτοῦ στρατεύματι ἦει ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας,  
καθάπερ συνέκειτο. ἐρχομένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ οὔτε ὁ στρατηγὸς τῆς 30  
Θράκης ἀπήντα οὔτε οἱ πρὸς τῷ Ἑβρω ὑποκαθῆσθαι λεγόμενοι,  
ἀλλὰ δι' ἐρημίας διελθὼν τὰ ἐν μέσῳ εἰς τοὺς περὶ Σόνδιν παρα-  
γίνεται χώρους· ὁρος δὲ ἐστὶ τοῦτο ὑψηλὸν τε καὶ μέγα καὶ ἄπορον  
ἐπελθεῖν, εἴ τις ἄνω κωλύοι· ἐν ᾧ στρατοπεδεύων ὁ Τριαρίου  
ἐτύγχανεν, κἀντεῦθεν προσβάλλοντες ἐξ ἐφόδων ἀλλήλοισι ποίμνιά 35  
τε καὶ ἵππους καὶ λεῖαν ἄλλην ἀνήρπαζον. ὁ δὲ τοῦ Τριαρίου  
συνεχῶς προσιππεύων ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ ἐκεῖνον ὕβριζε καὶ  
ὠνείδιζε πλεῖστα ἐπίορκόν τε καλῶν καὶ παῖδα καὶ ἄφρονα καὶ τοῦ  
γένους τοῦ κοινοῦ ἐχθρόν τε καὶ προδότην, ὅστις οὐ συνήσει τῆς  
γνώμης τῆς Ῥωμαίων μηδὲ ὁρᾷ τὴν σκέψιν, ὅτι αὐτοὶ βούλονται 40  
καθήμενοι ἡσυχῇ αὐτοὺς περὶ ἑαυτοὺς κατατρῖψαι τοὺς Γότθους.  
κἀκεῖνοι μὲν τὴν νίκην ἀκονιτὶ ἔχουσιν, ὅποτεροι πέσοιμεν, ἡμῶν δὲ  
ὅποτεροι τοὺς ἐτέρους φθείρουσι τὴν τοῦ λόγου Καδμείαν ἀποφέρου-  
ται νίκην ἐλάττους λειπόμενοι πρὸς τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐπιβουλήν. νῦν  
γούνη σὲ καλέσαντες καὶ ἐπαγγελάμενοι παρέσεσθαι καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ 45  
κοινῇ συστρατεύειν οὔτε ἐνταῦθα πάρεσιν οὔτε ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας  
ἀπήντησαν, ὥς εἶπον, μόνον τε ἀπέλειπον ἀπολέσθαι κάκιστα καὶ  
τῆς γε θρασυτήτος δοῦναι δίκην ἀξίαν ᾧ προδέδωκας γένει.

Ταῦτα ἐπακούσαντες πολλοὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πλήθους συνῆδον τοῖς  
λόγοις καὶ τῷ σφετέρῳ αὐτῶν στρατηγῷ προσιδόντες ἔλεγον ὥς  
εἰκότα ὀνειδίζοι ἐκεῖνος, καὶ ὅτι οὐ προσήκοι φθείρεσθαι περαιτέρω 45

not make an agreement unless the Emperor wished it, and the Emperor  
himself swore that he would not abandon the agreements currently in  
force, unless he observed that the son of Valamir was breaking them  
first.

When these oaths had been sworn, it was decided that Theoderic  
should move his own force, which was concentrated around Mar-  
cianople, and bring it closer in. When he reached the gates of the  
Haemus range, the master of the soldiers of Thrace would come to join  
him with two thousand cavalry and ten thousand infantry. When he had  
crossed the Haemus range, another force of twenty thousand infantry  
and six thousand cavalry would meet him at the river Hebrus near to  
Adrianople. If he should need it, they said, there would be more men  
available from Heraclea and the towns and forts close to Byzantium, in  
order that nothing be lacking for the realisation of their high hopes.  
Zeno, having made these promises to the envoys, quickly dismissed  
them.

Theoderic set out and arrived with his army at the gates, as had  
been agreed. When he arrived he was met neither by the master of the  
soldiers of Thrace nor by the forces said to be stationed at the Hebrus.  
As he was crossing the central wildernesses he came to the area around  
Sondis, which is a huge, high mountain, impossible to cross if anyone  
on top should bar the way. The son of Triarius was encamped upon it.  
There the two sides attacked one another on the approaches and  
carried off herds, horses and other plunder. But the son of Triarius kept  
riding up to the other's camp, insulting and reproaching him and calling  
him a swearer of useless oaths, a child and a madman, an enemy and  
betrayer of his own race, who did not know the mind of the Romans  
nor recognise their intentions. "For they, while remaining at peace,  
wish the Goths to wear each other down. Whichever of us falls, they  
will be the winners with none of the effort, and whichever of us de-  
stroys the other side will enjoy a Cadmean victory (as they say), since  
he will be left in diminished numbers to face Roman treachery. Now,  
having summoned you and having announced that they would come  
and campaign along with you, they are not here nor did they meet you  
at the gates as they promised. They have left you alone to be destroyed  
most disgracefully and to pay to the people whom you have betrayed  
a just penalty for your rashness."

When they heard these words, many of those amongst the son of  
Valamir's followers agreed with them. They went to their own leader  
and said that the other's reproaches were just, that he should cause no

17 Ἑβρω Valesius [εὐρω codd. (item v.25)]

26 ἡρεμίας Valesius Σοῦκιν Valesius

37 Καδμείαν Valesius [καὶ ἐς μίαν codd.]

42 προδέδωκας EM [προσέδωκας codd.]

τοῦ F. (corr. ex τῶν αὐτοῦ) de Boor τῶν αὐτοῦ B codd.

20 δεήσει BE [δεήσει MP

36 ἡμῶν Niebuhr [ἡμῖν codd.]

39 αὐτοὶ Valesius [αὐτῷ codd.]

43 τοῦ αὐτοῦ MP edd. [τῶν ἐκ

44 αὐτῶν Niebuhr [αὐτῷ

οὐδὲ τῆς συγγενείας τῆς κοινῆς ἀμελοῦντα τοῖς προδοῦσι προσέχεω.

Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ πάλιν ἀναβάς Θεοδέρικος ἐπὶ τινα γῆλαφον  
ὑπὲρ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τοῦ ἐκείνων ἐβόα· τί τοὺς ἐμοὺς συγγενεῖς, ὧ  
κάκιστε, ἀπόλλυς; τί τοσαύτας γυναῖκας ἐποίησας χηρεῦν; ποῦ δὲ οἱ  
τούτων ἄνδρες; ἢ πῶς ἐξαπόλωλε πάντων ἡ εὐπορία, ἣν ἔχοντες  
οὐκοθεν συνεστράτευσάν σοι; καὶ σύνδυο καὶ σύντρεις ἕκαστος ἵππους  
ἔχων νῦν ἀνιπποὶ χωροῦσι καὶ πεζοὶ καὶ διὰ Θράκης ὥσπερ ἐν  
ἀνδραπόδων ἐπόμενοι μερίδι· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐλευθεροὶ τε καὶ γένους οὐ  
χείριονος· ἢ μεδίμνῳ χρυσίον ἐλθόντες ἀπομετρήσονται.

Ταῦτα ὡς ἐπήκουσε τὸ στρατόπεδον ἅπαν ἄνδρες τε καὶ  
γυναῖκες ὁμοῦ πάντες ἦσαν ἐπὶ τὸν Θεοδέρικον τὸν αὐτῶν ἡγεμόνα  
κραυγῇ τε καὶ θορύβῳ ἀξιοῦντες συμβαίνειν, εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἀπολείψειν  
αὐτὸν ἔφασαν πάντες ἐς τὸ συμφέρον χωρήσαντες. ἐνταῦθα ἀπο-  
στέλλει πρὸς Θεοδέρικον πρέσβεις, καὶ συνέρχονται ἄμφω παρὰ  
ποταμὸν τινα ἐφ' ἑκατέρας ὁχθῆς. μέσον δὲ ποιησάμενοι τὸν ποταμὸν  
διελέγοντο, καὶ ποιοῦνται συνθήκας μὴ πολεμεῖν ἀλλήλους, <ἄλλως  
δὲ πράττειν> ὅσα ἡγοῦντο συμφέροντα. καὶ ταῦτα ὁμόσαντες πέμ-  
πουσιν ἄμφω πρέσβεις ἐπὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον.

53 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐλευθεροὶ Müller [ἀλλὰ κελευθεροὶ codd., ἀλλὰ κ' ἐλευθεροὶ  
Hoeschel 54 ἢ scripsi [ol P ἢ oī M ἢ edd., χρυσίον scripsi sec. Hoeschel qui  
conī. χρυσίον ... ἀπομετρήσαντο [χρυσίον codd. 61-62 ἄλλως δὲ πράττειν  
addidi [καὶ add. Niebuhr ἀλλὰ κοινῇ συμπράττειν ἀλλήλους add. de Boor  
62 ἡγνῆτο Hoeschel

### 3. (Exc. de Leg. Gent. 6)

Ὅτι συνθήκας πρὸς ἀλλήλους ποιησάμενοι Θεοδέρικος καὶ ὁ  
Τριαρίου οἱ Γότθοι μὴ πολεμεῖν ἀλλήλους πέμπουσιν ἄμφω πρέσβεις  
ἐπὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον, ὁ μὲν τοῦ Βαλαμείου τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐγκαλῶν ὅτι  
προδοδόμενος ὑπ' ἐκείνου τυγχάνει, καὶ ὡς τῶν συντεθέντων οὐδέν  
εὐρὼν ἀληθὲς Θεοδερὶχῷ συμβαίη, αἰτῶν δὲ χώρων αὐτῷ, ἐν ᾗ  
μένει, δοθῆναι καὶ σίτον, ὅστις αὐτῷ καὶ μέχρι καρποῦ τὸν στρατὸν  
ἐξαρκέσει διάγειν, καὶ τοὺς προαγωγέας τῶν λημμάτων τῆς ἀρχῆς,  
οὓς δομεστικούς καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐκπέμπειν ὡς τάχιστα, λόγον  
διδόντας ὡς ἔλαβον· ἢ μὴ ταῦτα ποιουμένων πρὸς αὐτὸν τῶν Ῥω-  
μαίων οὐ δυνήσεσθαι αὐτὸς πολλὴν ὁχλὸν κατέχευε τοῦ μὴ ὅθεν  
δύναντο δι' ἀρπαγῆς ἑαυτοῖς ἐπανορθοῦσθαι τὴν ἔνδειαν.

Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ ἕτερος Θεοδέρικος ἔλεγεν· ὁ μὲντοι Τριαρίου τὰ  
τε ἐπὶ Λέοντος συντεθέντα ἡξίου αὐτῷ πάντως γενέσθαι, καὶ τῶν  
προτέρων χρόνων τὰς συντάξεις λαμβάνειν, τοὺς τε κηδεστὰς αὐτῷ  
ζῶντας ἀποδοθῆναι· εἰ δὲ καὶ ἄρα τεθνήκασι, τὸν Ἰλλοῦν περὶ τού-  
των ἐπομόσαι καὶ ἄλλους, οἷς αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῶν Ἰσαύρων πιστεύει.

9 ἢ Valesius [εἰ A 10 τοῦ Niebuhr [τῷ A

more destruction and that he should not ignore their common origin and side with their betrayers.

On the following day Theoderic the son of Triarius went to a hill overlooking their camp and shouted, "Why, you criminal, are you destroying people of my race? Why have you widowed so many wives? Where are their men? How has the wealth of all been lost, which they had when they set out from home with you on campaign? Each of them had two or three horses. Now they are horseless and go on foot, following you through Thrace like slaves. Yet they, too, are free men and of origin no worse than yours. Or now that they have arrived, will they measure gold by the bushel?"<sup>33</sup>

When the whole army heard this, all the men and women went to their leader Theoderic and with shouting and uproar demanded that he make an agreement. They said that if he did not do so they would desert him and follow the course advantageous to themselves. Thereupon he sent envoys to Theoderic the son of Triarius, and both leaders met by a river, each standing on the opposite bank. Keeping the river between them they parlayed and made an agreement not to fight against each other <but otherwise to do><sup>34</sup> whatever they thought advantageous. When they had sworn to these agreements, they both sent envoys to Byzantium.

### 3. (Exc. de Leg. Gent. 6)

When the Goths, Theoderic and the son of Triarius, had made an agreement not to war with one another, they both sent envoys to Byzantium. The son of Valamir accused the Emperor of betraying him and said that since he had found none of the things which had been promised, he had made a genuine agreement with the son of Triarius. He demanded that he be given land upon which to settle and sufficient grain to support his army until the next harvest and that the disbursers of the state revenues (whom the Romans call *domestici*) be sent to him as quickly as possible to render account of what they received.<sup>35</sup> But if the Romans did not do this for him, he himself would not be able to prevent his large force from meeting its needs by plundering wherever it could.

These were the demands of Theoderic the son of Valamir. The son of Triarius demanded that the agreements made in the reign of Leo be fulfilled to the letter, that he receive the payments of the previous years and that those of his relatives who were alive should be handed over to him. If they had actually died, Illus and others of the Isaurians whom he trusted in this matter should swear an oath concerning them.<sup>36</sup>

Ζήνων δὲ πυθόμενος πρὸς μὲν τὸν Βαλαμείου ἀπεκρίνατο, ὅτι αὐτὸς εἶη προδότης καὶ πάντα ἐναντία οἷς ὑπέσχετο δράσας, ὅστις διαπολεμῶν ὑποσχόμενος μόνος εἶτα καὶ βοήθειαν προσκαλέσεται ἄλλην, πάλω δὲ τὴν δύναμιν τῶν Ῥωμαίων καλέσας κρύφα πρὸς 20 Θεοδέριχον πράττει περὶ φιλίας· οὐ δὴ καὶ αἰσθόμενον τὸν στρατηγὸν τῆς Θράκης καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ὅποσοι τὰ Ῥωμαίων φρονοῦσι, μήτε ἀπηντηκέναι μήτε συμβάλλειν αὐτῷ τὰς δυνάμεις θαρσῆσαι φοβουμένους ἐνέδραν. νῦν τε, εἰ θελήσαι πρὸς αὐτὸν πολεμῆσαι, ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι αὐτῷ ταῦτα δώσειν νικῶντι, χρυσίου λίτρας χιλίας, 25 μυριάδας δ' ἀργυρίου, πρόσδοδόν τε πρὸς τοῦτοις νομισμάτων μυρίων· καὶ γάμον αὐτῷ δώσειν τῆς Ὀλυβρίου παιδὸς ἢ ἄλλης τῶν ἐνδόξων γυναικῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει.

Ταῦτά τε ἅμα λέγων τῶν τε ἀποσταλέντων παρ' αὐτοῦ τοὺς πλείονας ἀξίαις ἐτίμησε καὶ πρέσβεις ἀπέστειλε πρῶτον μὲν Φιλό- 30 ξενον, εἶτα Ἰουλιανόν, εἴ πως ἄρα δύναιντο μεταπεῖσαι ξυρραγῆναι ἐκείνῳ. ὥς δὲ οὐδὲν ἔπειθεν, πέμψας τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ὥρμα καὶ παρεκάλει θαρσεῖν ὥς αὐτὸς ἐκστρατεύσων καὶ κουνῇ σὺν ἐκείναις ὃ τι ἂν δέοι πεισόμενος. οἱ δὲ ὥς ἐπήκουσαν ὅτι αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς ἐξάγειν ἐθέλοι, οὕτως ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἠπειγέτο 35 ἑαυτὸν ἐπιδειξάμενος βασιλεῖ πολλοῦ ἄξιον ὄντα, ὥστε καὶ οἱ πρότερον τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν αὐτῶν ἐφ' ᾧ μὴ στρατεύοντο ἀργύριον διδόντες πάλιν εἰς τὸ μετέχευ τῆς ἐξόδου παρείχον.

Καὶ πάντες ἀνθήπτοντο τούτου τοῦ πολέμου ὀργῶντες, καὶ τοὺς τε κατασκόπους τοὺς παρὰ Θεοδερίχου πεμφθέντας ἐξώγησαν, καὶ 40 τῆς τοῦ Βαλαμείου φυλακῆς μοῖραν ἐλθοῦσαν ἐπὶ τὸ Μακρὸν τεῖχος οἱ ἐκεῖ φυλάττοντες διαπρεπῶς ἀπεκρούσαντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ φερόμενος ὁ Ζήνων ἀνεχώρησε φύσιν καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς συμφύτου ἀπεσβέσθη δειλία, ἐνταῦθα ὀργίζονται καὶ χαλεπῶς ἔφερον κατὰ 45 συστάσεις τε γινόμενοι ἐμέμνοντο ἀλλήλους τῆς ὅλης ἀτολμίας, εἰ χειράς τε ἔχοντες καὶ βαστάζοντες ὅπλα μαλακίας τοιαύτης ἀκούειν ἀνέχονται, δι' ἧς πόλεις ἅπασαι καὶ ἡ πᾶσα Ῥωμαίων ἰσχύς ἐξαπό- λωλε, πάντων ἐπ' ἐξουσίας περικυπτόντων ἃ βούλονται.

Τούτων ὁ Μαρτινιανὸς συναισθόμενος τὸν θροῦν πέμπει Ζήνωνι λέγων ὅτι δεῖ τὸ στρατόπεδον ὥς τάχιστα διαλύειν, μή τι καὶ νεώ- 50 τερον συνεστηκότες ἐργάσωνται. πέμψας οὖν ἐκέλευεν ἀπιέναι ἑκάστους ἐπὶ τὰ χειμάδια, ὥς πρὸς τὸν Θεοδέριχον ἐσομένης εἰρήνης. οἱ <δε> τὸν χάρακα ἔλυσαν· καὶ ἀπῆλθον οἱ πλείους τῇ διαλύσει ἀχθόμενοι, καὶ ὅτι θᾶπτον αὐτοῖς χωρισθῆναι συνέβη, πρὶν

When Zeno heard these demands, he replied to the son of Valamir that he was a traitor and had acted completely contrary to his promises. He had promised to fight the war on his own, then he had asked for further help, and again, when he had summoned the Roman forces, he had made secret overtures of friendship to Theoderic the son of Triarius. When they learned this, the general of Thrace and the others who were friendly to the Roman cause did not dare to meet him or combine their forces with his, since they feared a trap. But now, Zeno promised, if he were willing to make war on the son of Triarius, the Emperor would give him, if he were victorious, one thousand pounds of gold, forty thousand pounds of silver and an income of ten thousand *nomismata*. He would also give him as his wife the daughter of Olybrius<sup>37</sup> or another of the noblewomen in the city.

When he had said this, Zeno bestowed honours upon most of those sent by the son of Valamir and himself sent as envoys first Philoxenus and then Julianus to see if they could persuade him to break with the son of Triarius. When they did not succeed, Zeno sent and urged the soldiers on to war, telling the men to be in good spirits since he himself would take part in the campaign and endure along with them whatever was necessary. When they heard that the Emperor himself wished to lead the army, every man was so eager to show the Emperor his mettle that even those who had paid money to their leaders to avoid fighting now paid a second time to take part in the campaign.

All entered this war with great enthusiasm. They captured alive the scouts sent by Theoderic, and the guards on the Long Wall made a magnificent defence against a part of the son of Valamir's bodyguard which advanced against it.<sup>38</sup> Then Zeno's character re-asserted itself and, overcome by his innate cowardice, he withdrew from the campaign. At this the soldiers became disgusted and angry, and, gathering in groups, blamed each other for their complete lack of courage, if, while having hands and wielding weapons, they endured to hear of such feebleness, as a result of which all the cities and all the power of the Romans were being destroyed; for everyone was cutting away from their resources whatever he wished.

When Martinianus learned of these mutterings, he sent to Zeno telling him that he must disband the army as soon as possible lest they unite and start a revolt. Zeno, therefore, sent and ordered each regiment to depart to its winter quarters, since peace would be made with Theoderic the son of Triarius. They broke camp, and the majority went away angry at the disbanding, especially because they happened to be split up too quickly for them to be able to seek out and set over the

19 προσκαλέσαιο Dindorf 39 τούτου τοῦ scripsi [τοῦτο A τοῦ de Boor τοῦ  
te Hoeschel 45 ei Niebuhr [eis A 53 δε add. Niebuhr

ἄνδρα σκεψαμένους τοῖς κωοῖς ἐπιστῆσαι, ὃς τῆς παρούσης λύμης 55  
ἀνακτᾶσθαι τὴν πολιτείαν ὅπως οὖν δυνήσεται.

4. (*Exc. de Leg. Rom. 9*)

Ὅτι Ζήνων, ἐπεὶ διέλυσε τὴν στρατιάν, πέμπει πρὸς Θεοδέ-  
ριχον τὴν εἰρήνην συνθέσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅπως καὶ δύναωτο. ἐν δὲ  
τούτῳ συστρέψας τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν ὁ παῖς ὁ Βαλαμήρου ἐπὶ τὰ  
πρὸς Ῥοδόπην παραγίνεται μέρη, καὶ κατατευνάμενος τὰ κάλλιστα 5  
τῆς χώρας τῶν Θρακῶν ἅπαντα [καὶ] εἴ τι ἦν κτηνικὸν ἀφαρπάξει,  
ἐξέτριψε δὲ ἅπαν τὸ αὐτόθι γεωργούν, κτείνων τε καὶ εἰσπράττων  
ὅσα μὴ φέρεω ἡδύνατο. Θεοδέριχος δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούων γινώμενα  
ἡδεσθαι μὲν ἔλεγεν ὅτι φίλος αὐτῶν καὶ υἱὸς λεγόμενος ταῦτα  
αὐτοὺς δρῶν, ἄχθεσθαι μέντοι ὅτι τῆς ἐκείνων ἀνοίας ἐν τοῖς  
γεωργοῖς βλέπει γνωμένην τὴν δίκην, ὣν οὐδὲν φειδομένων Ζή- 10  
νωνά γε ἢ Βηρίαν οὐδ' ὅπως οὖν ἐπιστρέφουσιν.

Ὡς δὲ ἦλθον οἱ πρέσβεις, τίθενται τὴν εἰρήνην ἐφ' ᾧ τε  
μυρίας μὲν καὶ τρισχιλίοις ἀνδράσιν οἷς θέλοι Θεοδέριχος συντάξεις  
τε καὶ τροφὴν χορηγεῖν βασιλέα, δυοῖν δὲ αὐτὸν σχολῶν προβάλλ- 15  
εσθαι ἄρχοντα, ἀπολαβεῖν δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν οὐσίαν, ὅσην πρότερον  
εἶχεν, λαβεῖν δὲ τὴν ἑτέραν τῶν δύο στρατηγιῶν τῶν περὶ βασιλέα,  
καὶ ἔχειν τὰς ἀξίας, εἰς ἃς ἦδη προῆκτο ὑπὸ τοῦ Βασιλίσκου. περὶ δὲ  
τῶν κηδεστών, εἰ μὲν ἐτελεύτησαν, ὡς ἔλεγεν ὁ Ζήνων, μηδὲν εἶναι  
οἱ πρᾶγμα· εἰ δὲ ζῶσι, λαβόντας ἡνπερ εἶχον οὐσίαν οἰκεῖν πόλιν, ἣν 20  
αὐτὸς δοκιμάσειε Ζήνων. ταῦτα ὡς συνέδοξε, παύσας τὸν Βαλαμήρου  
τῆς ἀρχῆς ὁ βασιλεὺς στρατηγὸν ἀντ' ἐκείνου Θεοδέριχον ποιεῖται  
καὶ χρήματα ἐπεμψεν, ὅσα εἶδει αὐτίκα διανεῖμαι τοῖς Γότθοις.

4 κατασπώμενος Valesius [κατατέμνει μὲν de Boor 5 καὶ exrupxi 6  
σπαράττων Bekker 7 ἡδύνατο edd. [ἡδύναωτο codd. ἡδύνατο Bekker  
10 οὐδὲν codd. [ὥδε Valesius οὐδὲ Bekker οὐδ' ἐκφειδομένων de Boor  
11 γε Bekker [δὲ codd.

19

(Photius *Bibl. Cod.* 78 = T.1)

20

(*Exc. de Leg. Rom. 1*)

Ὅτι ὁ Βαλάμηρος ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατηγῶν πολλοὺς  
τῶν ἰδίων ἀποβαλὼν, οὐ μικρὰν ἔχων ὀργὴν τῷ πάθει ἀπέδραμεν,  
ἀφειδῶς ὅτι ἐν ποσὶν εὖροι καίων τε καὶ φονεύων· καὶ τὴν πρώτην  
τῆς Μακεδονίας πόλιν τοὺς Στόβους ἐπόρθησε καὶ τῶν γε στρατι- 5  
ωτῶν τῶν ταύτῃ ἐμψυχομένων τοὺς ἀντιστάνας ἀπέκτευνεν. ὡς

state a man who could, by some means or other, save the empire from  
the present outrages.

4. (*Exc. de Leg. Rom. 9*)

When Zeno had disbanded the army, he sent envoys to Theoderic  
the son of Triarius to make peace with him on whatever terms they  
could. Meanwhile, the son of Valamir formed up his forces and moved  
to the area near Rhodope. Spreading out over the best of all the land of  
Thrace, he drove off all the herds and ruined all the farmers, killing  
them and plundering what they could not carry off.<sup>39</sup> When he heard of  
this Theoderic the son of Triarius said that he was pleased at what was  
happening insofar as one who was called the 'friend' and 'son'<sup>40</sup> of the  
rulers was doing this to them, but he grieved because he observed that  
the punishment for their stupidity fell upon the farmers. Neither Zeno  
nor Verina cared a whit for them, even if they were dying.

When the envoys arrived, Theoderic the son of Triarius made  
peace on condition that the Emperor supply pay and food for thirteen  
thousand men chosen by Theoderic; that he be made commander of  
two *scholae*;<sup>41</sup> that he receive back such of his property as he had  
formerly held;<sup>42</sup> that he receive one of the two generalships in the  
presence; and that he enjoy the honours to which he had been already  
advanced by Basiliscus. Concerning his relatives, if they were dead, as  
Zeno alleged, that was the end of the matter; but if they were alive,  
they should take whatever property they had and live in whatever city  
Zeno thought best. When the Emperor had ratified this agreement, he  
removed the son of Valamir from office, appointed the son of Triarius  
in his stead, and sent the money which had to be distributed immedi-  
ately to the Goths.

19

(Photius *Bibl. Cod.* 78 = T.1)

20

(*Exc. de Leg. Rom. 1*)

The son of Valamir, having lost many of his men at the hands of  
the Roman generals, retreated in great rage at his plight, mercilessly  
burning and killing whatever he encountered. He sacked Stobi, the first  
city of Macedonia, and slaughtered those of the garrison there who

δὲ τῇ Θεσσαλονίκῃ ἐγγύθεν ἐφεδρεύων ἡγγέλθη ὁ βάρβαρος, αὐτίκα οἱ πολῖται νομίσαντες ἐκ δόλου τὰ ἐν τῇ προτεραίᾳ ἀνεγνώσθαι γράμματα καὶ τὴν πόλιν βούλεσθαι Ζήνωνά τε καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκείνῳ παραδοῦναι, συστραφέντες ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τὰς τοῦ Ζήνωνος στήλας καταβάλλουσι πάσας καὶ αὐτὸν ὀρμήσαντες τὸν ὑπαρχον ἔτοιμοι διασπάσαι ἦσαν. οἱ δὲ κομισάμενοι πῦρ ἐπὶ τὸ ἀρχεῖον ἐμπιπράναι ἔμελλον, εἰ μὴ ὑπορδάσαντες τὰ τε ἱερὰ γένη καὶ οἱ ἐν ταῖς ἀξίαις ἐξήρπασάν τε αὐτὸν τῆς ὀργῆς τῆς τοῦ δήμου καὶ τὸ ἀτακτοῦν λόγους πρᾶσι κατέστειλαν, λέγοντες οὔτε αὐτὸν αἴτιον εἶναι τοῦτου οὔτε τὸν βασιλέα τῇ πόλει τι δυσχερὲς ἢ κακὸν βεβουλεῦσθαι, τῆς τε πόλεως χρῆναι ποιήσασθαι φυλακὴν, ὅτῳ ἂν ἐθέλωσι καὶ ὃν ἡγοῦνται πιστὸν ἐπιτρέποντες ταύτην. οἱ δὲ τὰς κλεῖς τῶν πυλῶν ἐκ τοῦ ὑπάρχου λαβόντες τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ ἔδωκαν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐνότων φρουρὰν ἐπέ- νόησαν ὥς ἡδύνατο πλείστην καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν ἔστεργον.

Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ ὁ Ζήνων πυθόμενος τὸν κατέχοντα κίνδυνον καὶ ἰδὼν ὥς οὐδενὸς βουλομένου μάχεσθαι ἀριστον εἶη σπονδαῖς ὥς ἐν κακοῖς μετρίαις τῆς τῶν πόλεων φθορᾶς ἐπισχεῖν τὸν βάρβαρον, Ἀρτεμίδωρον πέμπει καὶ Φωκᾶν τὸν ὅτε ἦν στρατηγὸς γραμματέα αὐτῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὄντα. οἱ ἐλθόντες ἔλεγον ὅτι· σὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς φίλον ἐποίησας καὶ ἀξίαις, αἱ εἰσι λαμπρόταται Ῥωμαίοις, σεμνῶς ἐπέ- κόσμησε καὶ ἄρχων τῶν μεγίστων ταγμάτων ἐποίησεν οὐδὲν ὁλίπερ ἀνδρὶ ἀπιστήσας βαρβάρῳ. σὺ δὲ οὐκ ἴσμεν ὥπως ταῖς τῶν κοινῶν δυσμενῶν ἀπάταις ὑπαχθεῖς τὰ τε ὑπάρχοντά σοι ἀγαθὰ διέρθειρας καὶ τῆς εὐδαμονίας τῆς σῆς ἄλλον ἐποίησας ὥς οὐκ ἦδεις κύριον. οὐκ ἂν δίκαιος εἴης τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐγκαλῶν ὧν εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἅμα καὶ εἰς ἐκεῖνον ἐξήμαρτες. νῦν οὖν, ἐπειδὴ σαυτὸν εἰς τοῦτο κατέστησας, ὑπόλοπόν σοι ἔστιν ἐκ τῆς παρούσης τύχης τῆς τε κατὰ τῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ τῶν πόλεων βλάβης ἐπισχεῖν ὥς οἶόν τε, πέμποντα δὲ πρεσβείαν πειρᾶσθαι τι μέτριον παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀγαθοῦ ὄντος εὐρίσκεσθαι.

Ὁ δὲ πεισθεὶς ἄνδρας μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀποπέμ- πει, αὐτὸς δὲ τοῦ μὲν καίειν ἢ φονεύειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀνείργει τὸ στράτευμα, οὐ μέντοι ἐδύνατο πάντων ὄντας ἀπόρους τὰ γοῦν ἐπιτή- δεα ἐκπορίσαι κωλύειν. καὶ δὴ προῖων ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἡράκλειαν τὴν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ καί, τοῦ ἀρχιερέως τοῦ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει πολλὰ καὶ παντοδαπὰ τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ αὐτῷ ἀποστειλαντος δῶρα, τὴν τε χώραν ἀπαθὴ πᾶσαν διεφύλαξε καὶ οὐδὲν τοὺς οἰκοῦντας ἐνταῦθα παρα- λυπῶν ἐκ τῶν ταύτῃ μοίρων τὸ πλῆθος ἐπιεκῶς ἐπεφάτο διάγειν.

resisted him. When it was reported that the barbarian was lying in wait near to Thessalonika, the citizens immediately suspected that the letter read out on the previous day was a trick and that Zeno and he<sup>43</sup> wished to hand over the city to the son of Valamir. They gathered together, overthrew all Zeno's statues, made an attack on the prefect and were ready to tear him to pieces. They had brought fire to the prefect's palace and were intending to burn it down. But the clergy and the officials acted first, snatching the prefect away from the anger of the mob and quelling the disorder with calming words. They said that the prefect was not the cause of the trouble and that the Emperor had arranged nothing disadvantageous or harmful for the city; but they should arrange the guarding of the city for themselves, entrusting it to whomsoever they wished and considered trustworthy. The people took the keys of the gates from the prefect and handed them to the archbishop, organised as strong a guard as possible from the inhabitants and were content with the general.<sup>44</sup>

Meanwhile Zeno learned of the immediate danger and realised that since no one was willing to fight, it would be best to keep the barbarian from destroying the cities by offering moderate terms in view of the present difficulties. He sent Artemidorus and Phocas, who had been secretary of his office when he was general. They came to the son of Valamir and said, "The Emperor made you his friend, solemnly honoured you with the highest offices amongst the Romans and placed you in command of the greatest armies. Although you were a barbarian, he trusted you entirely. Yet somehow you were deceived by the wiles of our common enemies and, ruining your present advantages, have, as you did not know,<sup>45</sup> made another master of your good fortune. It would not be right to accuse the Emperor over wrongs which you have done both to yourself and to him. Now, since you have brought yourself to this state, all that remains for you in your present circumstances is to refrain as best you can from harming the provincials and the cities and by sending an embassy to try to moderate the Emperor, who is a kindly man."

The son of Valamir was persuaded and sent men with the envoys to Byzantium. He himself restrained his army from arson and murder, although he was unable to prevent them from carrying off necessities, since they were completely destitute. In his advance he came to Heraclea in Macedonia. Since the bishop of the city sent him and his army many and various gifts, he kept all the countryside unravaged, caused no grief to the inhabitants there, and supported his force modestly from the estates<sup>46</sup> of the area.

10 ὑπαρχον Niebuhr [ἐπαρχον codd. 29 ἡδεις de Boor ex ἡδεις M [ἡδεις BEP εἰδώς Hoeschel ἔδεις Valesius ἔδει σε Bekker 37 μέντοι MP [μέν τι alii codd. 41-42 παραλυπῶν Hoeschel [παραλυπῶν codd. 42 μοίρων scripsi [μόρων codd. μερῶν Hoeschel φόρων Niebuhr ὁμῶν de Boor

Εἰς δὲ τὸ Βυζάντιον ὡς ἤλθον οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ σταλέντες πρέσβεις, ἔλεγον ὅτι δέοι ταχέως περὶ πάντων αὐτοκράτορα αὐτῷ πρεσβευτὴν ἀποστεῖλαι, ὡς οὐχ οἱοί τε εἰσι πληθὺς ἡπειρον εἰργεῖν ἐπὶ πλείονα χρόνον τῆς ἐφ' ὧν ἂν δύναντο βλάβης. ὁ δὲ Ἀδαμάντιον τὸν Βιβιανοῦ παῖδα πατρίκιον τε ὄντα καὶ πολιαρχήσαντα προσθεὶς αὐτῷ καὶ τιμὴν ὑπατικὴν ἔπεμψε παραγγείλας, χώραν μὲν αὐτῷ δοῦναι ἐν Πανταλία, ἣ τῆς μὲν Ἰλλυρικῆς μοῖρα ἐστὶν ἐπαρχίας, οὐ πολὺ δὲ ἀπέχουσα τῶν εἰσβολῶν τῆς Θράκης, ὅπως, εἴτε Θεοδέριχος ὁ Τριαρίου ἐγγχειροίη τι κωεῖν, ἔφεδρον ἔχοι αὐτὸν ἐγγύθεν κατ' ἐκείνου, εἴτε αὐτὸς ταραττεῖ τὰ συγκείμενα θέλοι, ἐν μέσῳ αὐτὸν ἔχων τῶν τε Ἰλλυρικῶν καὶ τῶν Θρακίων δυνάμεων εὐκολώτερον αὐτοῦ περιεῖναι δύναιτο. εἰ δὲ τροφῶν ἀπορεῖν τῷ στρατεύματι λέγοι τὸν παρόντα ἐνιαυτόν, ἅτε μήτε ἐνσπείρας μήτε καρποῦ ἐλπὶδα ἔχων ἐν Πανταλία, ἔδωκε λίτρας χρυσοῦ ἀπὸντι διακοσίας, ἃς ἐκέλευε δόντα τῷ ὑπάρχῳ τῷ ἐκεῖ ποιῆσαι τὴν δαπάνην αὐτοῖς εἰς Πανταλίαν χορηγήσαι τὴν ἐπαρκοῦσαν.

Ἐτι δὲ τοῦ πρεσβευτοῦ ὄντος ἐν Βυζαντίῳ, στρατιῶται συστάντες ἐν τῇ Θεσσαλονίκῃ τὸν ὑπαρχον Ἰωάννην προϊόντα φυλάξαντες ξυρήρεις ὥρμησαν· καὶ ὥρισθη παρὰ τοῦ Ζήνωνος Ἀδαμάντιος, καὶ ταῦτα κατέστησεν.

Ὁ δὲ [τὸν] Βαλαμήρου, ἐν ᾧ τὰ τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης ἐγένετο, περὶ Ἡράκλειαν ἔμενεν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἡπειρον πέμπει πρὸς Σιδιμοῦνον, ἐκ μὲν τῆς αὐτῆς φυλῆς τὸ ἀνέκαθεν ὄντα, δοκοῦντα δὲ τότε εἶναι Ῥωμαίους ὑπόσπονδον καὶ ἐν τῇ κατ' Ἐπίδαμνον ἡπειρῶν χώραν τε νεμόμενον καὶ εὐδαίμονα κληρὸν καὶ παρὰ βασιλέως δεχόμενον συντάξεις. ἀνεψιὸς δὲ ἦν οὗτος Αἰδοῦγγου Βηρόνης τε μάλιστα ὄντος οἰκειοτάτου καὶ τὴν τῶν λεγομένων δομεστικῶν ἀρχὴν ἄρχοντος μεγάλῃν τιμὰ οὖσαν τῶν περὶ βασιλέα. πρὸς τοῦτον οὖν ἔπεμπε τῆς τε παλαιᾶς αὐτὸν συγγενείας ἀναμνησκῶν καὶ ἀξιῶν ἐξυρεῖν καὶ συμπράξει τρόπον, δι' οὗ τῆς τε Ἐπιδάμνου καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἡπειροῦς δυνηθεῖν κρατήσας στήναι τῆς πολλῆς πλάνης, καὶ ἰδρύσας ἑαυτὸν ἐν πόλει καὶ τείχεσιν ἐντεῦθεν ὡς ἂν διδῶ δέχεσθαι τὸ συμβαῖνον. Σιδιμοῦνδος δὲ ταῦτα παρ' αὐτοῦ δεξάμενος καὶ βάρβαρον βαρβάρῳ συνοικεῖν ἢ Ῥωμαίους ἡγησάμενος κρεῖττον, ἐλθὼν εἰς Ἐπίδαμνον καὶ ἰδίᾳ μετιῶν τῶν πολιτῶν ἕκαστον ὡς δῆθεν κατ' εὖνοιαν συνεβούλευεν αὐτοῖς, ἃ τε ἕκαστος ἔχει θάττον ὑπεκτίθεσθαι καὶ αὐτοὺς ἢ εἰς νήσους ἢ πόλιν ποιῶν σῶζεσθαι, λέγων

When the envoys despatched by the son of Valamir reached Byzantium, they said that the Emperor must quickly send an ambassador to him to deal with everything, since they could not for long restrain a very large force from causing damage on whatever occasion it could. Zeno sent Vivianus' son, Adamantius, a patrician and ex-prefect of the city, upon whom he also conferred consular rank. He announced that he was giving Theoderic land in Pautalia, a district of the prefecture of Illyricum,<sup>47</sup> not far from the entrance to Thrace. His purpose was that if Theoderic the son of Triarius should attempt any disturbance, he would have the son of Valamir stationed nearby to use against him, and if the son of Valamir wished to break the agreements, he would have him between the forces of Illyricum and Thrace and be more easily able to hold him at a disadvantage. In case the son of Valamir should say that, since he had sown no seed and had no hope of a harvest in Pautalia, he lacked food for his army for the current year, Zeno gave to Adamantius as he was leaving two hundred pounds of gold, which he told him to hand over to the prefect there to cover the cost of bringing in adequate supplies to Pautalia for the Goths.

While the envoys were still at Byzantium, some soldiers stationed at Thessalonika lay in wait for the prefect John to appear in public and attacked him with drawn swords. Adamantius was told by Zeno to settle the matter, and did so.

While this was happening in Thessalonika, the son of Valamir was waiting near to Heraclea. He sent to Epirus to Sidimund, a man descended from the same tribe and apparently an ally of the Romans. He received a fertile estate and a regular stipend from the Emperor, and he lived on his lands in Epirus near to Epidamnus. He was a cousin of Aedoinus, who was a very close associate of Verina and held the command of the so-called *domestici*, which is an important position at court. The son of Valamir sent to Sidimund reminding him of their old relationship and asking him to look around and find a means whereby he could gain control of Epidamnus and the rest of Epirus and, thus, settling himself in a city with fortifications, face whatever chance might bring. Sidimund received this message from the son of Valamir and, as a barbarian, thinking it preferable to live with a barbarian than with Romans, went to Epidamnus. There he went around to each of the citizens individually and, pretending to be well-disposed to them, advised them each to gather up quickly his possessions and to take refuge on the islands or in some other city. He said that the

46 ἐφ' scripsi [ἀφ' codd. ὠφελείσθαι ante βλάβης add. Niebuhr et βασιλεὺς post ὁ δὲ 49 μοῖρα . . . ἐπαρχίας scripsi [μοίρας . . . ἐπαρχία codd. 61 τοῦ Bekker [τῶν codd. 63 τὸν exp. Valesius [τοῦ de Boor 72 τε Bekker [τοῦ codd. 73 κρατῆσαι M

ὥς ὁ βάρβαρος ἐπὶ ταύτην ὥρμηται, καὶ ὅτι τῷ βασιλεῖ ταῦτα 80  
δοκοῦντά ἐστιν, καὶ ὥς Ἀδαμάντιος ἐπὶ ταῦτα πεμφορθεῖ· κρεῖττον οὖν  
εἶναι αὐτοῖς, ἕως ἔτι ἄπεστω, κατὰ πλείονα σχολὴν τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς  
διοικήσασθαι. ταῦτα καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις τοῖς ἐκεῖ φυλάττουσιν  
οὕσιν ὡς δισχιλίους, οἱ καὶ ἀμύνασθαι ἐπιόντα πρὸς γε τὸ παραχρῆμα 85  
ῥαδίως ἠδύναντο, ἔπεισεν ὁμοῦ πάντας ἐκλιπεῖν Ἐπίδαμνον καὶ  
λέγων καὶ ταράττων καὶ φήμην αἰεὶ καυὴν περὶ ὧν ἐμβάλλειν,  
καὶ ὅτι βασιλεῖ ἀπεχθῆσονται μᾶλλον ἀντιστῆναι θέλοντες· καὶ πρὸς  
τὸν Βαλαμήρου εὐθέως ἐπέστελλεν ὥς τάχος ἐπείγεσθαι.

Ὁ δὲ τὸ τοῦ Σιδιμούνδου ἐπέμενε δῆλωμα καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ 90  
ἀδελφὴν νόσῳ κατεχομένην, ἐξ ἧς ἐτελεύτησεν. φανερὰν μέντοι τῆς  
καθέδρας πρόρασιν ἐποιεῖτο τὴν τοῦ πρεσβευτοῦ παρὰ Ζήνωνος  
ἄφιξιν καὶ τὸ βούλεσθαι μαθεῖν, ὅπως πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχει τὰ ἐκ τοῦ  
βασιλείως. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν μὲν ἀδελφὴν ἀποθανοῦσαν ἔθαψεν, τὰ δὲ  
παρὰ Σιδιμούνδου ἀπήντησε καλοῦντα, πρὸς τοὺς Ἡρακλεώτας 95  
ἐκλιπόντας μὲν τὴν πόλιν, ἐς φρούριον δὲ ἰσχυρὸν ἀνασκευασμένους  
πέμπσας ἀπῆτει σῖτον πολὺν τῶν καὶ οἶνον, ὅπως τῷ στρατῷ ἔχοι  
ἀπὸ τῶν ἐφοδίων. οἱ δὲ οὐδὲν ἔφασαν αὐτῷ δύνασθαι δοῦναι ἐν  
τοσαύταις ἡμέραις λέγοντες ὅσον εἶχον ἐπὶ φρουρίῳ γε μικρῷ  
δεδαπανῆσθαι. ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὀργὴν τὰ πλείστα τῆς πόλεως ἐμπρήσας 100  
ἀνδρῶν οὐσῆς ἐρήμου εὐθὺς ἀπανίσταται, καὶ κατὰ τὴν δύσοδον καὶ  
στενὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐπὶ τὴν Νέαν λεγομένην Ἠπειρον ἀπάγουσαν  
ἀναστῆσας ἤλαυνεν, καὶ προπέμπει τοὺς ἱππεῖς τὰ ἄκρα τῇ στρατιᾷ  
προκαταληψομένους, καί, ἕως ἀνέλπιστοί εἰσιν, κατ' ἐκείνων χω- 105  
ρήσεν ἐξ ἐφοδίου ἀθρόας ἐκκρούουσιν τὴν φυλακὴν, ἥτις ἦν αὐτόθι.  
οἱ δὲ ὡς ἀνέβησαν, οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ τειχεῖ φρουροῦντες στρατιῶται τὸ τε  
πλήθος ἰδόντες καὶ πρὸς τὸ αἰνιδίον αὐτῶν καταπλαγέντες οὔτε εἰς  
ἀλκὴν ἔτι τραπέσθαι ὑπέμεναν οὔτε λογισμὸν ἔσχον ἀποξυῖσαι τὸ  
τείχος, ἀλλ' ὥρμησαν φεύγειν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκπλήξεως ἀπερίσπτοι 110  
πάντων τῶν εἰς τὸν τότε καιρὸν ὠφελῆσαι δυναμένων.

Οἱ δὲ κατὰ πολλὴν ἐρμήϊαν προσιώντες ἐχώρουν, ἐπὶ τοῦ 110  
στόματος αὐτοῦ ὁ Θεοδέριχος, Σόας δὲ ὁ μέγιστος τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸν  
στρατιγῶν τὸ μέσον εἶχεν, Θεοδιμούνδος δὲ ὁ ἕτερος τῶν Βαλα-  
μήρου παίδων ἐπὶ τῆς οὐραγίας. Θεοδέριχος μὲν οὖν προκαταβάς καὶ  
θαρσύν, ὥς οὐδεὶς ἦν αὐτοῖς ἐρεπόμενος, τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀμαξῶν καὶ 115  
τοῖς ἄλλοις σκευαφόροις εἶπε ἐπὶ σχολῆς προχωρεῖν· αὐτὸς δὲ  
ῥηίετο φθάσαι προκαταλαβὼν ἢ ἂν δύνατο πόλιν, καὶ πρὸς μὲν

barbarian was moving into this area, that the Emperor approved of this, 80  
and that Adamantius had been sent for this purpose; it would, there-  
fore, be best for them to arrange their affairs at greater leisure, while he  
had not yet arrived.<sup>48</sup> He persuaded the soldiers garrisoning the place,  
who were two thousand in number and well able to hold off the son of  
Valamir's immediate assault, all to leave Epidamnus together. He told 85  
them the same story,<sup>49</sup> raised doubts in their minds and continually  
tried to add new rumours to support his contention that if they wished  
to resist they would anger the Emperor more. Then he immediately  
sent to the son of Valamir to come as quickly as possible.

The latter was waiting upon the signal from Sidimund and upon 90  
his sister, who was suffering from an illness, which proved fatal. But he  
gave as the excuse for his delay that he was awaiting the arrival of the  
Emperor's envoy and wished to learn the Emperor's arrangements  
regarding himself.<sup>50</sup> When he had buried his deceased sister and the  
summons from Sidimund reached him, he sent to the people of Hera- 95  
clea, who had abandoned their city and taken themselves off to a strong  
fortress. He demanded a large supply of grain and wine so that when he  
left he should be able to feed his army on the journey. They claimed  
that what they had in the tiny fortress had been consumed and said  
that in such circumstances they could give nothing. In anger he burned 100  
most of the city, which was deserted, and left immediately. Upon his  
departure he took the difficult and narrow road<sup>51</sup> which led to New  
Epirus, so-called. He sent ahead the cavalry to secure the heights for  
the army and, while they had surprise on their side, to descend from  
there and drive out by a sudden attack whatever garrison was at the  
place. As they approached, the soldiers guarding the wall, when they  
saw the force, were panicked by their unexpected appearance. They did  
not dare to put up a resistance and did not think to close the gates, but  
in their panic took to their heels reckless of all measures<sup>52</sup> which could  
have been of help at that time.

The Goths advanced through a great wasteland.<sup>53</sup> Theoderic 110  
himself was at the head, Soas, the greatest of the generals under him,  
commanded the centre, and Theodimund, the other son of Valamir,  
was at the rear. When he had come down from the mountains, Theo-  
deric, confident that no one was following them, told those in charge of  
the wagons and the other baggage animals to proceed at their leisure.  
He himself hurried on to take by surprise whatever city he could. When 115

82 ἕως Valesius [εὖ X 83 λέγων post στρατιώταις add Niebuhr 97 δοῦναι  
om. X et edd. 103 ἐκεῖνων Niebuhr [ἐκεῖνων X 107 ἀλκὴν Niebuhr [ἀλλήν  
codd. 110 πολλὴν Valesius [πολλὴ codd. ἡρέμα de Boor 112 κατὰ  
ante τὸ X

τὴν Λυχνιδὸν ἐπελθὼν ἀπεκρούσθη ἐπὶ ὄχρου κεκλήνην καὶ πηγῶν  
ἐνδον πλήρη, καὶ οἴτου προενόντος. ἀναστὰς δὲ ἐκείθεν τὴν τε Σκαμ-  
πίαν αἶρει, τῶν οἰκητόρων αὐτὴν πάλαι ἐκλελοιπότες, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς  
ὁρμήσας Ἐπίδαμνον λαμβάνει.

Ἀδαμάντιος δὲ ταῦτα πυθόμενος προπέμπει τῶν ἱππέων τῶν  
βασιλείων τινα, οὓς μαγιστριανοὺς καλοῦσι, μεμφόμενός τε αὐτῷ  
παρὰ τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν τῆς πρεσβείας ποιῶντι καὶ κελεύων ἡρεμεῖν καὶ  
μήτε πλοῖα λαβεῖν μήτ' ἄλλο τι τῶν παρόντων πλέον νεωτερίσαι,  
ἕως ἂν αὐτὸς ἔλθῃ· ἀποστεῖλαι δὲ καὶ ἄνδρα, ὅστις τὰ πιστὰ δώσει  
τῆς μετὰ τὴν πρεσβείαν αὐτοῦ ἀναχωρήσεως καὶ τῆς ὅλης ἀδείας.

Ταῦτά τε πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἐπέστελλε καὶ αὐτὸς ἄρας ἀπὸ Θεσσα-  
λονίκης ἔρχεται εἰς Ἑδεσσαν, ὅπου ἦν Σαβινιανός, σὺν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ  
Φιλόξενος· καὶ τὰς τε δέλτους αὐτῷ παρέχουσι καὶ στρατηγὸν ἀπο-  
φαίνουσι, καὶ περὶ τῶν παρόντων εὖ διεβουλεύοντο. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐπι-  
χειρεῖν τοῖς βαρβάρους πορευομένους οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἐδόκει, ὀλίγων μὲν  
συνόντων αὐτῷ Σαβινιανῷ μισθοφόρων οἰκείων· τῆς δὲ δημοσίας  
στρατιᾶς καὶ τῶν κοινῶν ταγμάτων τῶν μὲν διεσπαρμένων κατὰ  
πόλεις, τῶν δὲ μετὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Ὀνούλφου ἀκολουθοῦντων,  
ἐδόκει πέμπειν ἀπανταχοῦ προστάγματα συγκαλοῦντα τοὺς στρατι-  
ώτας καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν δηλοῦντα προπέμπειν τὸν πρεσβευτήν.

Ἦδη δὲ ὁρμωμένοις ὁ παρὰ τοῦ Ἀδαμαντίου προαπεσταλμένος  
ἱππεὺς ἀπαντᾷ τὸν τῶν βαρβάρων ἔχων ἱερέα, ὃν οἱ Χριστιανοὶ  
καλοῦσι πρεσβύτερον, ὡς πίστιν τῆς ἀδείας αὐτῷ ἐπιθήσουντα.  
ἄγοντες οὖν αὐτὸν σὺν αὐτοῖς ἡπείγοντο καὶ ἀρκνύονται εἰς Λυχ-  
νιδόν. τῶν δὲ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀξίαις (παλαιόπλουτος τε  
γὰρ αὕτη καὶ εὐδαίμων ἡ πόλις) καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπαντησάντων,  
εἰσέρχονται ἐνταῦθα. καὶ ἀποστέλλει πάλιν Ἀδαμάντιος εἰς Ἐπί-  
δαμνον κελεύων ἢ αὐτὸν τὸν Θεοδέριχον εἰς τι τῶν περὶ Λυχνιδὸν  
χωρίων ἀπαντῆσαι μετ' ὀλίγων διαλεξόμενον αὐτῷ περὶ ὧν ἀπέ-  
σταλτο, ἢ, εἰ βούλοιο αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν εἰς Ἐπίδαμνον, πέμψαι ὁμήρους  
εἰς Λυχνιδὸν Σόαν τε τὸν αὐτοῦ στρατηγὸν καὶ Δαγίσθεον φυλαχ-  
θισμένους, ἕως ἂν αὐτὸς ἐπανέλθῃ. ὁ δὲ πέμπει μὲν τοὺς,  
ἐκέλευσε δὲ αὐτοὺς περιμεῖναι ἐν Σκαμπία καὶ προαποστεῖλαι ἄνδρα,  
ὃς τὸν Σαβινιανὸν ὀρκώσει ἢ μὴν ἐπανιώντος σώφους τοῦ Ἀδαμαντίου  
καὶ αὐτὸν τοὺς ὁμήρους ἀπαθεῖς ἀποπέμψαι. ὁ δὲ Σαβινιανός οὐκ ἂν  
ἔφη ὁμείσθαι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ ὁμωμοκέναι ἐπ' οὐδενὶ  
πράγματι, καὶ τὸ πάλαι αὐτῷ δόξαν οὐκ ἂν νῦν καταλύσειν. καὶ τοῦ  
Ἀδαμαντίου λέγοντος ὡς ἀνάγκη συγχωρήσῃ τῷ καιρῷ ἢ ἀπρακτον

he made an attempt on Lychnidus, he was repulsed, for the city lies in a  
strong position, it has many springs inside, and the grain had already  
been gathered in.<sup>54</sup> Advancing from there he took Scampia, whose  
inhabitants had earlier evacuated it. Then he pressed on from that place  
and occupied Epidamnus.

When Adamantius learned of this, he sent ahead one of the  
imperial mounted couriers (whom they call *magistriani*) complaining  
to Theoderic that he was acting contrary to the promise of the embassy  
and ordering him to stay where he was, seize no ships and make no  
further change in the present situation until he himself should arrive.  
He also told Theoderic to send a man to give pledges for his own  
complete safety and his immediate return after the embassy.

Adamantius sent these instructions to Theoderic and himself  
left Thessalonika and came to Edessa, where Sabinianus was. Philo-  
xenus travelled with him. They handed to Sabinianus the codicils  
appointing him general and took careful counsel about the present  
circumstances. It did not seem safe to attack the barbarians while they  
were on the march,<sup>55</sup> since Sabinianus had with him only a few of his  
own mercenaries, and of the imperial army and the legions part was  
dispersed through the cities and part was away with the general Onulf.  
It, therefore, seemed best to send orders to all points summoning the  
soldiers and to send the envoy forward to announce the appointment  
of the general.<sup>56</sup>

As they were setting out, the courier whom Adamantius had sent  
ahead met them with a priest of the barbarians (whom the Christians  
call a 'presbyter') to give him a guarantee of safe conduct. Taking him  
with them, they hurried on and came to Lychnidus. The men of rank –  
for the city is fertile and full of old wealth – and the other inhabitants  
came out to greet them, and they entered the place. Adamantius again  
sent to Epidamnus bidding Theoderic, in order to discuss with him the  
matters about which he had sent the message, either to come with a few  
men to a place close to Lychnidus or, if he wished Adamantius to come  
to Epidamnus, to send Soas, his general, and Dagistheus to Lychnidus  
as hostages, to be detained there until he returned. Theoderic sent these  
men, but ordered them to remain at Scampia and send forward some-  
one to take an oath from Sabinianus that, when Adamantius had  
returned safely, he would send back the hostages unharmed. Sabinianus  
refused to swear, saying that he had never before sworn an oath for  
anything and he would not now change his old practice. Adamantius  
argued that it was necessary to accommodate himself to the situation or

118 παρόντος Hoeschel [προσενόντος de Boor 124 πλοῖα [πόλεις vel πλείω  
de Boor 134 Ὀνούλφου Valesius [Εὐούλφου codd. 140 ἄγοντες Valesius  
[λέγοντες codd. ἔχοντες Niebuhr



εἶναι τὴν πρεσβείαν· οὐ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀπελθεῖν μή τι καὶ ἐνέχυρον τοῦ σώ- 155  
ματος λαβόντα· οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐπείσθη, ἀλλ' ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἔφη εἰδέναι  
τὸ ἑαυτῷ πρακτέον, αὐτὸν δὲ οὐδὲν ποιήσῃ παρὰ τὸν αὐτοῦ νόμον.

Ἐνταῦθα Ἀδαμάντιος καταστὰς εἰς ἄσπερον, λαβὼν στρατι-  
ώτας σ' δι' ὄχθων τε ἀβάτων καὶ ὁδοῦ ἀδήλου μὲν τοῖς πολλοῖς, 160  
στενῆς δὲ καὶ ἀτριβοῦς καὶ τότε πρῶτον ἵππους, ὡς ἐλέγετο, δεξα-  
μένης, ἅφ' ἑσπέρας ὁρμήσας καὶ κύκλῳ περιελθὼν ἔρχεται εἰς  
φρούριον Ἐπιδάμνου πλησίον ἐπὶ λόφῳ ὑψηλοῦ κείμενον καὶ ἄλλως  
ἄμαχον, ὥ φάραγξ ὑπέκειτο βαθεῖα, καὶ παρὰ τὴν φάραγγα ποταμὸς  
βαθὺς ἔρρει. ἐνταῦθα μεταπέμπεται τὸν Θεοδέριχον, καὶ ὁ μὲν 165  
ὑπακούσας ἔρχεται καὶ τὴν ἄλλην στρατιὰν πόρρω καταστήσας σὺν  
ὀλίγοις ἵππευσί πρὸς τὸν ποταμὸν ἀρκεῖται. Ἀδαμάντιος δὲ κύκλῳ  
περὶ τὸν λόφον τάξας στρατιώτας, ὅπως μή τις κύκλωσις παρ'  
ἐκείνου γένηται, ὑποκαταβάς εἰς πέτρην, ἅφ' ἧς ἦν ἀκουστόν, καὶ  
κελεύσας κάκῃ τούς ἄλλους ἀποπέμψαι, μόνος διελέγετο μόνῳ, 170  
καὶ καταστὰς ὁ Θεοδέριχος κατηγόρει Ῥωμαίων, ὡς ἐδόκει, δίκαια,  
λέγων ὅτι· ἐγὼ μὲν ἔξω τῆς ὅλης Θράκης διατριβέω ἡρούμην  
πόρρω πρὸς τὴν Σκυθίαν, ὅπου μένων οὔτε ἐνοχλεῖν ἐνόμιζον οὐδένα,  
ἐτοίμως δὲ βασιλεῖ ὑπακούσεσθαι ἐντεῦθεν ἐς ὃ τι προστάξειεν.  
ὑμεῖς δὲ καλέσαντες ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Θεοδέριχον 175  
πρῶτον μὲν ὑπέσχεσθε τὸν τῆς Θράκης στρατηγὸν μετὰ τῆς δυνά-  
μεως εὐθύς μοι παρέσεσθαι, ὃς οὐδαμῶς ἐράνη, ἔπειτα καὶ Κλαύδιον  
τὸν τοῦ Γοτθικοῦ ταμίαν σὺν τῷ ξενικῷ ἤξεω, ὃν οὐδὲ αὐτὸν εἶδον,  
τρίτον καὶ ἡγεμόνας ὁδῶν μοι δεδώκατε, οἱ τὰς εὐπωροτέρας τῶν  
ὁδῶν ἑάσαντες τὰς εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους φερούσας ἀπήγαγον δι' ὀρθίας  
ἀτραπῶν καὶ κρημνῶν ἀμυρρόπων, ἐν οἷς παρὰ μικρὸν ἤλθον σὺν 180  
ἵππευσί τε ἰών, ὡς εἰκός, καὶ ἀμάξαις καὶ στρατοπέδων κατασκευῇ,  
ἐπιθεμένων ἡμῖν ἀφ' ὧν τῶν πολεμίων, ἅμα τῷ ἐμῷ πληθύνει παντὶ  
ἀπολέσθαι καθάπαξ. ἐνταῦθα ἀναγκαίαν ἐβιάσθην σύμβασιν πρὸς  
αὐτοὺς ποιήσασθαι· οἷς χρή πολλὴν χάριν ἔχῃ, ὅτι ὑφ' ὑμῶν προ-  
δοθέντα δυνάμενοι καὶ διαφθεῖραι διέσωσάν γε ὅμως. 185

Ἀδαμάντιος δὲ τῶν τε τοῦ βασιλέως τιμῶν αὐτὸν ἀνεμίμησε  
καὶ ὅτι πατρίκιον καὶ στρατηγὸν ποιήσας, ἃ τοῖς πλείοστα καμῶσι  
παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις γέρα ἐστί, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δωρεῶν καὶ πλοῦτον  
ἐνέπλησεν, ἀνθ' ὧν ἔδει μηδέποτε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄλλως πῶς ἢ πρὸς  
πατέρα φρονεῖν τε καὶ διατίθεσθαι· καὶ τὰ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐγκλη- 190  
σεων (ἦν γὰρ οἶμαι ἀληθῆ) διακρούεσθαι ἐπειρᾶτο· καὶ ὅτι οὐκ  
ἀνεκτὰ ποιήσειεν ἐν πρεσβείᾳς ἐλπίδι καταλαβὼν τὰ Ῥωμαίων, οἱ

the embassy would be a failure, since he would not go unless he re-  
ceived some guarantee of his own safety. Nevertheless, Sabinianus was  
not persuaded and he said that he knew what he had to do and he  
would do nothing contrary to his own principles.

At this point Adamantius was at an impasse. Taking two hundred  
soldiers, he set out at nightfall through the deserted hills along a  
narrow, unused path, known to few and on that occasion traversed by  
horses for the first time, as it was claimed. By this circuitous route he  
came to a guard tower near to Epidamnus. It was built upon a high hill  
and was otherwise impregnable. Beneath it lay a deep ravine, and  
through the ravine flowed a deep river. To this place he summoned  
Theoderic, who obediently came. Stationing the rest of his army at a  
distance, he approached the river with a few horsemen. Adamantius  
posted his troops in a circle around the hill so that Theoderic should  
not encircle him and, descending to a rock from which he could be  
heard, told the other to send away the rest of his men, and they con-  
versed alone. When Theoderic had come up, he accused the Romans,  
justly, as it seemed, saying, "I chose to live completely outside Thrace,  
far away towards Scythia. Staying there I thought that I should trouble  
no one, yet from there I should be ready to obey whatever the Emperor  
commanded. You summoned me as if to war against Theoderic the son  
of Triarius. First, you promised that the general of Thrace would im-  
mediately join me with his forces. He never appeared. Then you pro-  
mised that Claudius, the paymaster of the Gothic soldiery, would come  
with the mercenaries' pay. I never saw him. Thirdly, you gave me guides  
who left the easier way towards the enemy and led me aside over a  
steep path with sheer cliffs on both sides. Here, since I was naturally  
travelling with the cavalry, wagons and all the army's baggage, I was not  
far from complete destruction with all my force, had the enemy  
suddenly attacked. Then I was compelled to make an agreement with  
them, and for this I must be very thankful. For when you had aban-  
doned me, they could have destroyed me. Yet they spared me."

Adamantius reminded Theoderic of the honours which the Em-  
peror had bestowed upon him: he had made him consul and patrician,  
which are a reward for those of the Romans who have laboured  
particularly hard, and had loaded him with wealth and other gifts;  
and for this he should never have thought and acted towards him  
otherwise than as to a father.<sup>57</sup> Adamantius also tried to refute the  
complaints against the Emperor (which in my view were justified). He  
said that Theoderic had acted intolerably in seizing the possessions of  
the Romans while awaiting an embassy. They had had him confined in

157 αὐτὸν Hoeschel [αὐτοῦ codd. αὐτοῦ Niebuhr [αὐτοῦ codd. 167 περὶ  
Niebuhr [παρὰ codd. 192 καταλαβὼν τὰ Valesius [καταλαβόντα X κατα-  
λαβόντας E

καὶ ἀποκεκλεισμένον ἐν Θράκῃ ἔχοντες ὄρεσι καὶ ποταμοῖς καὶ περι-  
βολῇ στρατοπέδων ὁμῶς συνεχώρησαν ἐκόντες διεξελθεῖν· οὐ γὰρ  
ἂν μὴ βουλομένων αὐτὸν ἐκείθεν κωηθῆναι, οὐδὲ εἰ δεκαπλάσιαν  
εἶχε δύναμιν τῆς παρούσης. νῦν τε συμβουλευέμενος αὐτῷ μετριώτερον  
ἑαυτὸν τῷ βασιλεῖ παρέχεω· οὐ γὰρ ἂν δυνηθῆναι τὴν Ῥωμαίων εἰς  
τέλος ὑπερβαλεῖν χεῖρα πανταχόθεν ἐφεισθηκότων, δεῦν οὖν, εἰ αὐτῷ  
πείδοιτο, ἐκλιπεῖν μὲν τὴν Ἥπειρον καὶ τὰς αὐτόθι πόλεις (οὐδενὶ  
γὰρ εἶναι φορητὸν πόλεις οὕτω μεγάλας, τῶν οἰκητόρων ἐκβλη-  
θέντων, ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατέχεσθαι), ἐλθεῖν δὲ εἰς τὴν Δαρδανίαν, ἐν ἣ  
χώραν εἶναι πολλὴν παρὰ τὰ οἰκούμενα καλὴν μὲν καὶ εὐγειον, ἐνδεῶ  
δὲ οἰκητόρων, ἣν δύναται γεωργῶν ἐν πᾶσι ἀφρόνοις αὐτοῦ τὴν  
στρατιάν διατρεῖν.

Ὁ δὲ Θεοδέρικος αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπώμνε ταῦτα βούλεσθαι, οὐ  
μέντοι ἀνέξεσθαι αὐτοῦ τὸ πλῆθος πολλὰ μὲν προτεταλαιπωρηκός,  
μόλις δὲ ἀναπαύσεως νῦν ἐπιλαβόμενος· οὐδὲ οὐ δύνασθαι μήπω  
ἀναπνεύσαντας ἄγεω μακρὰν οὕτω πορείαν, ἀλλὰ νῦν μὲν αὐτοὺς ἔαν  
αὐτοῦ ἐπιχειμάσαι, μήτε πρόσω χωροῦντας <ὧν> ἔχουσι πόλεων  
μήτε ἐπιφειρόντας· συνθέμενος δὲ περὶ πάντων ἐπὶ τούτοις ἅμα τῷ  
ἥρι πέμψαι τὸν ἔξοντα ἐπὶ τὴν Δαρδανίαν ἀσμένως ἐπακολουθή-  
σοντας. ἔλεγε δὲ ὡς ἔτοιμος εἶη τὴν αὐτοῦ κατασκευὴν καὶ τὸ  
ἄμαχον πλῆθος καταθέμενος ἐν πόλει, ἣ βούλοιτο βασιλεῖς, καὶ  
ὁμήρους παρασχῶν τῆς ἀπάσης πίστεως τὴν τε μητέρα καὶ τὴν  
ἀδελφὴν, μετὰ ἑξακισχιλίων τῶν μάλιστα μαχίμων ἐλθεῖν ὡς  
τάχιστα εἰς Θράκην· καὶ ὑπισχνεῖσθαι οὖν τούτοις καὶ τοῖς Ἰλλυριοῖς  
στρατιώταις καὶ ἄλλοις, ὁπόσους ἂν βασιλεὺς ἀποστελῇ, τοὺς ἐν τῇ  
Θράκῃ Γότθους ἀναλώσειν ἅπαντας, ἐφ' ᾧ τε, εἰ τοῦτο ποιήσῃ, αὐτὸν  
τε ἀντὶ Θεοδέρικου στρατηγὸν γενέσθαι καὶ εἰσδεχθῆναι εἰς τὴν  
πόλιν τὸν Ῥωμαϊκὸν πολιτεύοντα τρόπον· ἔτοιμος δὲ, εἰ προστάξει  
βασιλεὺς, καὶ εἰς Δαλματίαν ἀπελθεῖν ὡς Νέπων καταξύν.

Ἀδαμάντιος δὲ οὐκ ἔφη κύριος εἶναι οὐδὲν αὐτῷ συνθέσθαι μέ-  
νοντι ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, ἀλλὰ δεῖν βασιλέα πρῶτον περὶ τούτων πυθέσθαι.  
ἀνοίσειν οὖν ἐκεῖν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπιμενεῖν, ἕως τὴν τοῦ κρατοῦντος  
διαπύθηται γνώμην, ἐπὶ τούτοις διελύθησαν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων.

Ἐν ὅσῳ δὲ Ἀδαμάντιος ἀμφὶ ταῦτα ἦν, συνεληλύθει μὲν  
πολλὰ τῶν ταγμάτων εἰς τὴν Λυχνιδὸν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ  
ἀγγελίαν, λέγει δὲ τις τῷ Σαβινιανῷ, ὡς οἱ βάρβαροι καταφρονή-  
σαντες σχολαίτερον κατῴσων ἀπὸ τῆς Κανδαβείας, οἳ τε σκευοφόροι  
αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἁμαξῶν αἱ πλείους καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς οὐραγίας, ἐν οἷς καὶ

Thrace by mountains, rivers and a cordon of troops. Nevertheless, they  
had willingly allowed him to leave, although, had they not wished it, he  
would never have broken out of there, even if he had a force ten-fold  
greater than his present one. Under the circumstances he advised him to  
act more reasonably towards the Emperor, since he would ultimately  
be unable to overcome the might of the Romans, who were poised  
against him on every side. If Theoderic would listen to him, he should  
leave Epirus and the cities there (since it was intolerable to all that such  
great cities should be occupied by him, their inhabitants having been  
ejected) and go to Dardania, where, compared with their current  
homes, there was much land, beautiful, fertile and depopulated. This he  
could farm and support his army with an abundance of everything.

Theoderic swore that he himself was willing to do this, but that  
his army, which had already suffered many hardships and had now  
barely gained a respite from them, would not stand for it. They could  
not make such a long journey when they had not yet rested. Under the  
circumstances he would allow them to winter here, and they would go  
no further than the cities which they already occupied and cause no  
additional damage. When he had reached agreement on all matters in  
addition to these, in spring he would allow the Romans to send some-  
one to guide them to Dardania, and they would gladly follow. He  
also said that he was ready to place his own baggage and all the non-  
combatants in any city of the Emperor's choosing, give his mother and  
sister as hostages for his complete trustworthiness, and with six thousand  
of his best soldiers go as quickly as possible to Thrace. He promised  
that with these and the Illyrian troops and whatever others the Em-  
peror should send he would destroy all the Goths in Thrace, on  
condition that, if he did this, he would become general in place of  
Theoderic and be received into Byzantium to live as a citizen in the  
Roman manner.<sup>58</sup> He was even willing, if the Emperor commanded it,  
to go to Dalmatia to restore Nepos.

Adamantius replied that he had no authority to make an agree-  
ment with him while he remained in that land, and that the Emperor  
must first be informed. He would, therefore, send a report to the  
Emperor and himself wait until he learned the ruler's will. Upon these  
terms they departed.

While Adamantius was busy on this matter, many of the Roman  
forces had assembled at Lychnidus at the order of the general. Someone  
reported to Sabinianus that the barbarians, both those conveying the  
baggage and the majority of the wagons and the rearguard, which

Θευδιμουῖνδος ἦν ὁ τοῦ Θεουδερίχου ἀδελφὸς καὶ ἡ μήτηρ ἡ τούτων, καὶ ὅτι ἔστω ἐλπίς τῶν πλειόνων κρατήσῃ. ὁ δὲ τό τε ἱππικὸν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ συντάξας καὶ πεζοὺς οὐκ ὀλίγους κύκλῳ διὰ τῶν ὄρων περιπέμψας καὶ προειπὼν, ὅποτε δεῖ καὶ πόθεν ἐκφανῆναι, δειπνήσας καὶ ἀναλαβὼν τὸ στράτευμα ἀφ' ἐσπέρας ἐχώρει, καὶ ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ αὐτοῖς ἐπιτίθεται ἤδη πορευομένοις. καὶ ὁ μὲν Θεουδιμουῖνδος καὶ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ, ὡς εἶδον τὴν ἔφοδον, ταχὺ διεκπεσόντες ὑπέφυγον εἰς τὸ πεδῖον καὶ τὴν γέφυραν, καθ' ἣν ὑπερέβησαν, εὐθέως ἀνελόντες, ἡ φάραγγι βαθείᾳ ἐπέξενκτο μέσῃ οὕσῃ τῆς ὁδοῦ, τὴν δίκωξεν ἐκείνους ἐπὶ τοὺς καταβάνας ἐποίησαν ἄπορον καὶ μέντοι καὶ τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ἀδύνατον τὴν φυγὴν, ὥστε πρὸς ἀπόνοιαν ὀλίγοι ὄντες ὁμοσε τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἐχώρουν. ὡς δὲ ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς οἱ πεζοὶ ἐφάνησαν κατὰ τὸ συγκεκμημένον, οὕτω δὴ ἐτράποντο, καὶ οἱ μὲν εἰς τοὺς ἱππεῖς, οἱ δὲ εἰς τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἐμπύπτοντες ἔθνησκον. καὶ τὰς ἀμάξας αὐτῶν λαβὼν Σαβινιανὸς οὕσας ὡς δισχιλίας αἰχμαλώτους <τε> πλείους ἢ πεντακισχιλίους καὶ λείαν οὐκ ὀλίγην, τῶας δὲ τῶν ἀμαξίων καὶ κατακαύσας ἐν τῷ ὄρει, ἃς ἦν ἔργον ἐλκύσαι διὰ κρημνῶν τοσοῦτων, εἰς τὴν Λυχνιδὸν ἀφικνεῖται.

Καὶ εὐρίσκει Ἀδαμάντιον ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Θεουδερίχον συνουσίας ἐπαυελθόντα· οὐ γάρ πω Θεουδερίχος ἐπέπυστο οὐδὲν τῶν ὑπὸ Σαβινιανοῦ ἐν τῷ ὄρει πραχθέντων. τοὺς μὲν οὖν αἰχμαλώτους τοὺς μὲν εὐ γεγονότας ἐν φυλακῇ ποιεῖται, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους μετὰ τῆς λείας διέδωκε τοῖς στρατιώταις. ἀμάξας μὲντοι πολλὰς κελεύσας ταῖς πόλεσι πρὸς τὰς τοῦ στρατοπέδου κατασκευάσαι χρείας, ὡς ἐλήθησαν αὐταί, ἀπέειπε ταῖς πόλεσι μηδὲν ἐνοχλεῖσθαι, ὡς τὰς ἀρκούσας ἔχων.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα γράφει μὲν Ἀδαμάντιος τῷ βασιλεῖ, ὡς ὑπέσχετο, τὰ πρὸς Θεουδερίχον αὐτῷ διελεγμένα, γράφει δὲ καὶ Σαβινιανὸς καὶ Ἰωάννης ὁ ὑπαρχος τὰ γεγενημένα, ἐπὶ μείζον ὀγκοῦντες καὶ λέγοντες μὴ χρῆναί τι τῷ βαρβάρῳ συνθέσθαι, ὡς ἐλπίδος οὕσης ἡ κατὰ κράτος αὐτὸν ἐξελάσειεν τῆς χώρας ἢ αὐτοῦ μένοντα κατατρίψεν.

Ταῦτα δεξάμενος βασιλεὺς καὶ νομίσας πόλεμον εἰρήνης αἰσχροῦς εἶναι βελτίῳ, πέμψας ἀνεκάλεσε τὸν πρεσβευτὴν ἐκεῖθεν, κελεύσας μηδὲν ἐπὶ πρὸς ἐκείνων συνθέσθαι, ἀλλ' εἰπεῖν Σαβινιανῷ καὶ Γέντονι, Γότθῳ μὲν ὄντι ἀνδρὶ, γυναῖκα δὲ Ῥωμαίων τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἠπειρον γεγαμηκότι καὶ δυνάμει ἔχοντι, ἔχουσθαι τοῦ πολέμου πάσῃ χειρὶ, ὡς οὐδὲν βασιλέως πρὸς ἐκείνους συνθησομένου. καὶ συγκαλέσας τοὺς στρατιώτας ὁ Ἀδαμάντιος ἐπήνεσεν αὐτοὺς τῆς

included Theoderic's brother, Theodimund, and their mother, were overconfidently making a very leisurely descent from Candavia, and that the Romans could hope to overwhelm most of them. Sabinianus himself took command of the cavalry and sent a considerable body of infantry on a roundabout route through the mountains, telling them when and where to put in their appearance. Then he dined, assembled his army and set out at nightfall. He attacked the Goths at daybreak when they were already on the move. When Theodimund and his mother observed the attack, they quickly slipped away and fled down to the plain, immediately breaking the bridge which they had crossed and which spanned a deep ravine that crossed the road. This made it impossible for the Romans to attack them after their descent, but it also cut off the escape of their own men. They, therefore, although few, closed with the cavalry out of desperation. When the infantry appeared over their heads according to plan, they were routed. Some died attacking the cavalry, some the infantry. Sabinianus captured their wagons, two thousand in number, more than five thousand prisoners, and considerable booty. Some of the wagons, which would have been too difficult to drag through such rugged country, he also burned in the mountains. Then he returned to Lychnidus.

There he found Adamantius, who had returned from his meeting with Theoderic. For the latter had not yet learned of what Sabinianus had done in the mountains. The well-born prisoners he placed under guard, the others he handed over with the booty to the soldiers. He had ordered the cities to prepare wagons for the use of his army, but because he had those of the Goths, he told the cities not to trouble themselves, since he now had sufficient.

After this Adamantius, as he had promised, wrote to inform the Emperor of his discussion with Theoderic. Sabinianus and John, the prefect, also wrote about what had happened. They magnified the exploit and declared that there was no need to come to terms with the barbarian, since they could hope either to drive him out of the land by force or, if he remained, to wear him down.

When he received these messages, the Emperor thought that war was better than a shameful peace and he sent and recalled the ambassador from Lychnidus, ordering that no agreement be yet made with Theoderic. He told Sabinianus and Gento,<sup>59</sup> who was a Goth married to a Roman woman from the area of Epirus and who had a force of men, to turn all their efforts to the war, since the Emperor would make no agreement with the enemy. Adamantius assembled the troops, praised

προθυμίας καὶ ἐκέλευσε γενναίως ὥσπερ πάτριον αὐτοῖς ἔχουσιν 270  
τῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ τὸ ἐκ βασιλέως ἐπανεγνώ πρόσταγμα. ταῖς τε  
ἐλπίσιν αὐτοὺς μετεώρους ποιήσας, ὡς βασιλέως ἀεὶ πᾶσι τὴν προ-  
θυμίαν οὐκ ἄκαρπον ἐκόντος, εὐφημίας ἔτυχεν καὶ μετὰ τιμῆς παρε-  
πέμφθη. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀπηλλάγη μηδὲν πλέον ποιήσας.

## 21

(Exc. de Leg. Rom. 2 = Fr. 22; Photius Bibl. Cod. 78 = T.1; Suda II  
137 = Fr. 23; scholion to Evagrius HE 3,26)

## 22

(Exc. de Leg. Rom. 2)

Ὅτι ἐπὶ Ζήνωνος τοῦ βασιλέως στάσεως γενομένης παρὰ  
Μαρκιανοῦ καὶ ἄλλων τῶν, Θεοδέρχης ὁ Τριαρίου μαθὼν τὰ  
γεγονότα καὶ ὑπολαβὼν καιρὸν νῦν αὐτῷ παρεστάναι τῇ πόλει  
ἐπιθέσθαι καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ αὐτῷ, πᾶν εὐθὺς ἀναστήσας τὸ βαρ-  
βαρικὸν ἦκε, δῆθεν μὲν ὡς βουλόμενος αὐτῷ τε τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ τῇ  
5 πόλει ἀμύναι, πρόδηλος δὲ ὢν πᾶσιν ἐφ' ὅτῳ ἡπείγετο. βασιλεὺς δὲ  
ἀκούσας ἰππέα ἐξέπεμψε καὶ βασιλείᾳ γράμματα τῆς μὲν προθυμίας  
αὐτὸν ἐπαυῶν, κελεύων δὲ ἀπελθεῖν, ὡς οὐκ ἔτι οὔσης χρείας, μὴ  
μόλις ἐκστᾶσαν ἐκ σάλου τοιοῦτου τὴν πόλιν αὖθις εἰς ὑπόνοιαν  
ἐμβαλόντες ἐτέραν τὸ θορυβεῖσθαι φιλοῦν εἰς χεῖρῳ καὶ μείζονα 10  
ἐκταράξωσι στάσιν. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν ἔφη τῷ βασιλεῖ πείθεσθαι, τὸ δὲ  
πλήθος οὐκ ἔτι δύνασθαι ἀναστρέφειν τοσοῦτόν τε συλλεγὲν καὶ  
μέρος τι <κάμνον> οὐ βραχὺ διαναπαύων. ὑπὲρ γὰρ τειχῶν  
οὐδένα ἐνόμιζεν αὐτῷ ἀντιστήσεσθαι, μήτε ἐπάλλεως μηδεμιᾶς μήτε  
15 πύργου ἐστῶτος, καὶ εἰσελθόντι πάντα τὸν δῆμον προσέσεσθαι τῇ  
τῶν Ἰσαυρῶν ἀπεχθεῖα. ἃ δὲ καὶ φοβούμενος Ζήνων ἐκπέμπει  
Πελάγιον χρήματα ἔχοντα πολλά, τὰ μὲν αὐτῷ Θεοδέρχῳ, τὰ δὲ καὶ  
τῷ Γοτθικῷ τῷ παντὶ δίδοναι, καὶ ἄλλας ὑποσχέσεις δωρεῶν οὐκ  
ὀλίγας. ἐλθὼν δὲ Πελάγιος καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀπειλήσας, τὰ δὲ ὑποσχό-  
20 μενος, τὰ δὲ καὶ τοῖς χρήμασιν οὐκ ὀλίγους γε οὖσι τὸ φύσει φιλάρ-  
γυρον τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ τρόπου μετελθὼν, διαπέμπει.

Καὶ ἔδοξε δὴ τοῦτο τοῦ φόβου τοῦ πλείονος ἀναφέρειν τὴν  
πόλιν· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἦν ἐλπίζειν εἰσιόντος ἢ πόλεμόν τε ἔνδον καὶ τοῦ  
παντὸς ἔμπρησιν. οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ Ἰσαυροὶ ἀπλῶς ἀναχωρῆσαι βια-  
ζόμενοι ἐπενόουν, ἀλλὰ κοντοὺς ὑψηλοὺς προπαρασκευάσαντες, λῶν 25

6 ὑπήγετο M 13 κάμνον addidi [lacunam post βραχὺ indicat de Boor δι-  
αναπαύων [διὰν ἀπειθές Niebuhr 18 δίδοναι Niebuhr [διδόσιν codd. 20 γε  
Dindorf ]te codd.

their zeal, ordered them to apply themselves nobly to their task, as was  
their custom, and read out the Emperor's commands. When he had  
raised their hopes that the Emperor allowed no-one's zeal to go un-  
rewarded, he won acclaim and was sent off with honour. Doing nothing  
more, he left.

## 21

(Exc. de Leg. Rom. 2 = Fr. 22; Photius Bibl. Cod. 78 = T.1; Suda II  
137 = Fr. 23; scholion to Evagrius HE 3,26)

## 22

(Exc. de Leg. Rom. 2)

During the reign of Zeno, Marcian and some others broke out in  
revolt. When Theoderic the son of Triarius learned what had happened,  
he thought that now was the time for him to attack the city and the  
Emperor himself. He immediately raised his whole force of barbarians  
and came to Byzantium pretending that he wished to defend the Em-  
peror and the city, although it was clear to all what was his real in-  
tention. When the Emperor heard of this, he sent a mounted courier  
and a royal letter praising his zeal but ordering him to depart (since he  
was no longer needed) lest they plunge the city, which had just calmed  
down after a considerable disturbance, into another bout of suspicion  
and stir up the usual restlessness into an outbreak worse and more  
widespread. The son of Triarius said that he would obey the Emperor,  
but he could not yet turn around the force which he had collected  
without giving it a brief rest, since a part of it was <exhausted>.<sup>60</sup> He  
thought that, since no ramparts and towers had been set up, no one  
would resist him from the walls and, when he entered, the whole  
populace would side with him out of hatred for the Isaurians. This is  
what Zeno feared and he sent Pelagius bearing a large sum of money,  
some to give to Theoderic, the rest to the whole Gothic force, as well  
as lavish promises of other gifts. Pelagius arrived and persuaded them to  
leave by a combination of threats, promises and large sums of money  
which worked on the greedy nature of the barbarian mind.

It appeared that this saved the city from a very serious threat,  
since, had Theoderic entered, fighting and a general conflagration were  
inevitable. For the Isaurians, who did not intend to be driven out  
easily, had prepared beforehand long poles with linen and brimstone

ἐπ' ἄκροις αὐτοῖς προσδήσαντες καὶ θεῖον, πολλοὺς εἶχον ἐτοίμους, εἴ ποτε βιασθεῖεν, ἅπασαν ὑράψαι τὴν πόλιν.

Καὶ ὁ μὲν Θεοδέριχος οὕτως ἀπεχώρησεν. τοὺς δὲ περὶ Προκόπιον καὶ Βούσαλβον πολλὰκις ἀποστέλλων παρὰ Θεοδερίχου ἐξῆτει ἐνδειγμα τῆς εὐνοίας καὶ εὐπειθείας αὐτὸν τοῦτο ἀξίων παρασχέσθαι. ὁ δὲ πάντα μὲν ἔλεγε πείθεσθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ, μὴ μέντοι ὅσιον Γότθοις, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις, ἱκέτας καὶ σωτηρίας δεομένους ἀνθρώπους τοῖς λαβεῖν βουλομένοις ἐκδιδόναι προχείρως. εἴαν οὖν αὐτοὺς ἡξίου μηδενὶ πλὴν ἢ ὅσα ζῆν ὀχληροὺς ἐσομένους. καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτω βραχὺ τι γῆδιον νεμόμενοι παρὰ Θεοδερίχῳ διῆγον.

## 23

(Suda Π 137)

Παμπρέπιος· οὗτος μέγα παρὰ Ζήνωνι ἐδυνήθη· γένος μὲν ὦν Θηβαῖος τῶν κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον, φύσει δὲ πρὸς ἅπαντα δεξιᾷ χρησάμενος ἔρχεται εἰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ παρὰ τῆς πόλεως γραμματικὸς αἰρεθεὶς συχνά τε ἐπαίδευσεν ἔτη καὶ ἐπαιδεύθη ὁμοῦ, ὅσα ἦν σοφώτερα, ὑπὸ τῷ μεγάλῳ Πρόκλῳ. διαβολῆς δὲ αὐτῷ πρὸς Θεαγένην τινὰ τῶν ἐκεῖ δυναμένων συστάσης, ὕβρισθαις ὑπ' ἐκείνου καὶ μείζονος ἢ ἐχρῆν διδάσκαλον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πειραθεὶς σκευωρίας ἦλθεν ἐς Βυζάντιον, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἀγαθὸς καὶ χρηστὸς φανόμενος, ὥς δὲ ἐν Χριστιανοὺς πάντας ἐχούσῃ πόλει τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν αὐτοῦ τῆς θρησκείας οὐκ ἔχον ὑπόκρισιν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ παρρησίας προδήλως δευκνύμενον, εἰς τὴν τοῦ καὶ ἕτερα τῆς ἀρρήτου σοφίας εἰδέναι ὑπόνοιαν ἤγε. συσταθέντα δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἴλλους μάγιστρος ἡδέως δέχεται, καὶ τι καὶ δημοσίᾳ ποιήματα ἀναγνόντα λαμπρῶς τε ἐτίμησε καὶ σύνταξιν ἔδωκε, τὴν μὲν αὐτὸς ἰδίᾳ, τὴν δὲ ὥς διδασκάλῳ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου. καὶ ἀπελθόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰσαυρίαν, οἱ βασκαίνοντες αὐτῷ συνθέντες διαβολὴν τὴν τε ἐκ τῆς θρησκείας καὶ ὅτι μαγικανεύει καὶ μαντεύοιτο τῷ Ἴλλου κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, πείθουσι τὸν Ζήνωνα καὶ τὴν Βηρίαν τότε μέγιστα δυναμένην τῆς πόλεως ἐκπέμψαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐς Πέργαμον ἔρχεται τῆς Μυσίας· Ἴλλους δὲ πυθόμενος κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ πρόφασιν ἐληλάσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα, πέμψας ἀναλαμβάνει αὐτὸν ἐς Ἰσαυρίαν καὶ σύμβουλόν τε αὐτὸν καὶ σύνοικον ποιεῖται, καί, ἦν γὰρ πολιτικῆς συνέσεως ἔμπλεως, καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῷ πρὸς ἃ μὴ σχολὴν ἤγε διοικεῖν ἐπέτρεπεν, ἐλθὼν τε ἐς Βυζάντιον συμπαρέλαβεν αὐτόν. καὶ ὅτε ἐγένετο ἡ Μαρκιανοῦ σύστασις, ἀποροῦντα τὸν

tied to the ends and kept a large supply of these in readiness to set fire to the whole city, if they were attacked.

Thus Theoderic departed. Zeno sent frequent messages to him demanding the followers of Procopius and Busalbus and asking that in this way he demonstrate his good will and obedience. Theoderic replied that he would obey the Emperor in everything, but it would not be right for the Goths, any more than it would be for other men, to hand over readily to those who wished to arrest them persons who were suppliants seeking refuge. He, therefore, asked the Emperor to leave them alone, since they would trouble no one except insofar as they were alive. And so they lived with Theoderic farming a small plot of land.<sup>61</sup>

## 23

(Suda Π 137)

Pamprepius: he had great power with Zeno. He came from Thebes in Egypt and showed skill in all he attempted. He came to Athens, was appointed a teacher of grammar by the city and taught there for many years,<sup>62</sup> while he himself was instructed in the higher learning by the great Proclus. When an accusation was made against him before Theagenes, one of the authorities there, he was manhandled by him and because he had gained more recondite knowledge than was necessary for a teacher, he went to Byzantium. Although in other respects he proved himself a good and successful man, in a city that was full of Christians he did not hide that he was a Hellene by religion but declared it openly and freely, and thus caused people to suspect that he had other knowledge of secret wisdom. The master Illus received him gladly when they met, and when Pamprepius read a poem in public he rewarded him magnificently and gave him a stipend, partly from his private funds and partly, since he was a teacher, from the public monies. When Illus went off to Isauria, Pamprepius' disparagers contrived a charge against him both that he was a pagan and that he was practising witchcraft and prophecy against the Emperor on behalf of Illus' party, and they persuaded Zeno and Verina, who was then at the height of her power, to expel him from the city.

Pamprepius went off to Pergamum in Mysia. But when Illus learned that he had been driven out on account of himself, he sent and brought him to Isauria and made him his advisor and a member of his household. Moreover, since he had great political intelligence, Illus entrusted him with the administration of those duties of his office for which he did not have time, and when he returned to Byzantium took him along. When, during the revolt of Marcian, Illus was at a loss,

1 ὦν GM [ἦν V 6 δυναμένων Bekker [ἐκεῖ γενομένων VM ἐγκειμένων G ἐκεῖ ἐλλογίμων Bernhardt ἐκεῖ εὐγενῶν M. Schmidt 17 τοῦ Ἴλλου G [τῷ Ἴλλῳ edd. 21 τε αὐτὸν om. V 22 καὶ exp. edd.

Ἰλλουν αὐτὸς ἐπεθάρσυνε, καὶ τοσοῦτόν γε εἰπὼν ὅτι τὰ τῆς προ- 25  
νοίας μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐστὶ τεταγμένα, παρέσχεον ὑποψίαν τοῖς τότε  
ὑπακούουσιν ὡς ἔκ τινος ἀδήλου ταῦτα θειάζει προγνώσεως, καὶ  
ἐκβάντος, ὡς περ δὴ καὶ ἐξέβη, τοῦ τέλους, πρὸς τὴν τύχην τὸν λόγον  
ἐκείνου συμβάλλοντες, αὐτὸν πάντων αἴτιον, οἷα φιλεῖ ὁμιλος, μόνον 30  
ὑπελάμβανον τῶν παραδόξως αὐτοῖς ἀποβαίνειν δοκούντων.  
(Cf. Σ 1263\*)

26 τεταγμένα om. V 27 ἀκούσασιν V 28 ὡς περ . . . ἐξέβη om. V

## 24

(Photius *Bibl. Cod.* 78 = T.1)

## Sedis Incertae

## 25

(Suda E 2096)

Ἐπετίμα· ἐπηύξει τὴν τιμὴν. οἱ δὲ κερδαίνειν οἰόμενοι ἐπε-  
τίμων ὡς λιμῶττοντι τὸν σῖτον. ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν ἤττον ἡγόραζε. Μάλχος  
φησὶν.

## 26

(Suda Λ 287)

Λέπρα· εἶδος νόσου. Μάλχος· λέπρα δὲ ἐπήνθει τῷ προσώπῳ  
αὐτοῦ.

## 27

(Suda Σ 1623)

Καὶ Μάλχος· τῶν συντάξεων στερηθέντες πολλάκις οἱ στρατι-  
ῶται καὶ παρακοπτόμενοι τῆς τροφῆς τῆς συνήθους ἐς ἀπόνοιαν  
ἦλθον.

## 28

[(Suda Τ 534)

Τοὺς δὲ ἀντιστῆναι οἱ τολμήσαντας ὑπολαμβάνων, ὡς ἐκάσ-  
τους διέφθειρε, καὶ Μάλχος . . .]

Pamphrepius encouraged him by saying, "The decrees of Providence are  
on our side", and this led those who heard him to suspect that he was  
divining this from some secret foreknowledge. When a thing turned out  
as it did, they compared his words with the outcome and considered,  
after the manner of the common herd, that he was the sole cause of  
what seemed to have happened contrary to their expectations.<sup>63</sup>  
(Cf. Σ 1623\*)

## 24

(Photius *Bibl. Cod.* 78 = T.1)

## Unplaced Fragments

## 25

(Suda E 2096)

Thinking to profit thereby, they raised the price of the grain  
for him because he was starving. He none the less bought it.

## 26

(Suda Λ 287)

Leprosy broke out on his face.

## 27

(Suda Σ 1623)

Since they were frequently robbed of their pay and defrauded  
of their regular rations, the soldiers become desperate.

## 28

[(Suda Τ 534)

"He descended suddenly upon those who dared to resist him  
and killed them one by one." And Malchus . . .]<sup>64</sup>

## NOTES TO MALCHUS

1. More usually Theoderic the son of Triarius (or Theoderic Strabo) and Theoderic the son of Valamir.

2. Theoderic Strabo was reconciled with Zeno in 478 but revolted again in support of Marcian in the next year.

3. Henry (*ad loc.*) takes "perpetual exile" to refer to that of Marcian after the failure of his revolt, though it could equally well indicate the earlier imprisonment of Verina by Illus, which was one of the causes of Marcian's revolt. The Greek seems to support the latter, but it is then hard to identify the subsequently mentioned "earlier plot" of Verina. Perhaps Photius has simply produced a doublet of the same plot which was noted twice by Malchus in two contexts (the revolt of Marcian and relations between Zeno and Illus).

4. On the Arab Amorkesos (Amir-al-Kais) and Jotaba, at the mouth of the Gulf of Aqaba, see vol. I p.152 n.36.

5. I have restored the MS reading *ὑπὸ Πετραίων*, even though it is rather awkwardly followed by a second *ὑπὸ*, since the reading makes better sense than the proposed emendations. (For *ὑπὸ* + acc. = "on the borders of" cf. Isocrates *Paneg.* 108: *ὑποκειμένης τῆς Εὐβοίας ὑπὸ τὴν Ἀττικὴν*). It is hardly likely that Leo would have readily ceded effective control of the area around Petra to Amorkesos (which would be the case with the usually-accepted emendation *κατὰ*), since the only Roman holding which he controlled was Jotaba. It is much more likely that, as the MS reading says, Leo merely gave official recognition to Amorkesos as ruler of the allied Saracens outside the Empire.

6. Niebuhr's emendation of *λαβῶν* to *λαβόντα* is unnecessary. Amorkesos gave Leo a picture as a private gift, probably an ikon to signify his conversion to Christianity. He was rewarded from public funds and others' purses. Leo is thus implicitly accused of personal profiteering at others' expense (cf. *Fr.* 3).

7. These are a part of the Ostrogoths led by Theoderic the son of Triarius, the rival of Theoderic the son of Theodemir (usually called the son of Valamir, his uncle). The second Theoderic was of the Amal royal family and could thus claim legitimacy as ruler of the Ostrogoths. The son of Triarius was a nephew of Aspar's wife. *PLRE* II 'Telogius' remarks that the name of the Roman envoy is strange and suggests an error for 'Pelagius' (2).

8. I follow *PLRE* II 'Theodericus' 5 in regarding this appointment as *magister utriusque militiae praesentalis*, despite John of Antioch *Fr.* 210, which seems to make him master of the soldiers in Thrace. (As *PLRE loc.cit.* notes, the emendation of *διέπων* to *διέποντα* in John would remove the difficulty by making Heracleius master of the soldiers in Thrace, a post which he is known to have held.)

9. In this respect Theoderic declared himself the successor of Aspar, who, after his debacle of 431-34 against Gaiseric, avoided fighting against the Vandals (Clover 1966 pp.40ff.).

10. A peace was apparently made on this occasion which lasted until Justinian's reign (Procopius *Wars* 3,7,26-28).

11. Both Gordon (1960 p.125) and the translator in Müller seem to misunderstand this last sentence. Severus did not sell his clothes and equipment, add the cash raised to that which he had and ransom the prisoners. The Greek seems to indicate that he offered to buy the prisoners for the cash, clothes and equipment which he had.

12. This imitates Thucydides 3,82,4: *τὸ δ' ἐμπλήκτως δὲ ἀνδρὸς μοῖρα προσετέθη*, from the discussion of the *stasis* that swept Greece.

13. That the act of buying back the prisoner and freeing him are separate is clear also from *Fr.* 5. Even a temporary dependence would presumably have been intolerable for the high-spirited Heracleius.

14. The non-Malchan *Fr.* 210 of John of Antioch claims that Theoderic Strabo had Heracleius killed.

15. This presumably refers to tax remittances and the refusal to force the payment of taxes owing.

16. The MS reading *βίου* is clearly wrong and I have followed Müller in emending it to *ἰουλίου*. I have placed the passage with the fragments of Malchus solely on the very weak ground that, although it recounts the same anecdote as the non-Malchan Z 84 (printed on p.479), it avoids the name 'Constantinople'.

17. Almost certainly from a communication of Zeno's in which he lamented his expulsion from Constantinople. Its inclusion in the *Exc. de Leg. Rom.* suggests that it was from an embassy, perhaps part of the negotiations that brought Illus back to his side.

18. Although this article is usually attributed to Malchus, the style and the name Constantinople suggest otherwise. The form of the name Harmatus (Adler reports no variant) might indicate association with A 3970, printed on p.477.

19. It is clear from *CJ* 5,5,8 that Epinicus had been Zeno's praetorian prefect before Basiliscus' usurpation, and the activity described in the present passage is that of the praetorian prefect. John of Antioch (*Fr.* 201,2) says that in 478 he was removed by Zeno from the prefectural throne. This suggests, as *PLRE* II 'Epinicus' points out, that after his deposition by Basiliscus he was appointed urban prefect (a lower-ranking position, hence, perhaps, the point of *ἀπώμας*), which he

remained until his second removal in 478.

20. Malchus, whose name does not appear in Cedrenus, seems to be mentioned only as an alternative source for the fire.

21. In preference to the usual reading *ἐκπέμψω*, I have written *ἐκπέμψαν* which is based upon *ἐκπέμψαν*, which is the reading of the best MS. I have done so because *τιμήσαντα* below then makes better sense: i.e. Zeno is pretending that Nepos has already conferred the patriciate upon Odovacer. If my emendation is correct, then Zeno is making a genuine attempt to aid Nepos (which seems to have been Malchus' view, to judge from the rest of the passage) and not (as Gordon 1960 p.128) "showing typical vacillation or duplicity".

22. I take *τό γε κοινόν τῆς τύχης* to refer to the fact that they were both Roman Emperors, so that mutual support was in order.

23. *Συνεποτρύνω* is very rare and probably taken from Sophocles *Electra* 299. It is a good example of Malchus' tragic manner noted by the *Suda* (M 120).

24. Theoderic the son of Triarius had rebelled against Zeno (cf. *Fr.* 6,2) and had supported Basiliscus, although he had become estranged from him also (Bury 1958, II pp.391f.). Although Theoderic had signed a treaty with Leo (and presumably with Basiliscus), since treaties were personal agreements between rulers, he needed to make one with Zeno to regularise his position.

25. Cf. *Suda* A 3968 = *Fr.* 9,4, where Harmatius is said to have done this in the reign of Leo, presumably after the peace with Theoderic Strabo at the end of the reign.

26. *PLRE* II 'Theodericus' 5 takes this to indicate suspicions that Strabo was intending to substitute Gothic for Roman rule. But since it comes from a propaganda speech by Zeno to his troops, many of whom would have been Isaurian, it is more likely that he is referring to the massacre and expulsion of the Isaurians under Basiliscus.

27. From this and what follows it appears that Strabo was camped very close to the city.

28. The subject of *ἀπέστειλεν* is usually taken to be Zeno, but it could equally well be the praetorian prefect Sebastianus, notorious for his selling of offices (*Fr.* 16,2).

29. I take *ἐπιστήμην* to stand in contrast with "practical experience" and to be a comment on Zeno's lack of education.

30. For *καθίσταμαι* = "commence" cf. Thucydides 1,1.

31. Gordon's interpretation of this fragment (1960 pp.125f.) is erroneous. Alexander had been sent by Zeno to Huneric to win concessions for the Catholics in Africa (Victor of Vita *Hist. Pers.* 2,2). Upon his return he escorted (but did not lead) the Vandal embassy; thus there was no question of his returning with the embassy to Africa, as Gordon suggests. Huneric was clearly seeking a renewal of the treaty

of 475, which could be held to have lapsed on Gaiseric's death (a position which Gaiseric had taken upon the death of western Roman Emperors [cf. Priscus *Fr.* 38]), and to this end was seeking to disassociate himself from his father's policies. Not only did he make concessions on the Catholics (Victor of Vita *loc.cit.*), but in the present passage he proposes to drop all outstanding claims against the Emperor and the Roman treasury. These claims, which Gaiseric had apparently still pursued after the treaty of 475 and which Alexander was probably sent to negotiate (hence his financial background and his connection with the sister of Huneric's wife), included the property of Huneric's wife, Eudocia, which Leo had apparently taken back, having earlier granted it to her (Priscus *Fr.* 39), and the property of the Carthaginian merchants plying between Roman ports, which would have been seized near to the beginning of the hostilities of 467-8.

32. *Προκαλέομαι* = "propose" is a common Thucydidean usage (e.g. 1,39; 5,37). Zeno is now apparently signifying acceptance of the proposals which he had earlier rejected (*Fr.* 15).

33. The MS reading is corrupt. Hoeschel's emendation is too radical. Malchus' phraseology appears to be imitating Xenophon *Hellenica* 3,2,27: *μεδμνῶ ἀπομετρήσασθαι τὸ ἀργύριον*, and my emendation follows the sense of that passage.

34. De Boor marks a lacuna here. His own suggestion to fill it, which has the two leaders making an agreement to work together for their advantage, does not seem appropriate, since it seems from *Fr.* 18,3 that they only agreed not to fight each other, but otherwise acted independently. Thus, there is no firm evidence for an alliance, as is usually assumed.

35. I take this to refer to those in charge of issuing the supplies stored in the depots (*horrea*) of the area. Thus, Theoderic would know what was conveniently available.

36. Presumably these relatives were not Aspar and his sons (as Gordon 1960 p.167), whose deaths Strabo had already recognised by claiming his inheritance (*Fr.* 2), but other members of Aspar's family who might still be alive (cf. *Fr.* 18,4).

37. This was probably Juliana, who later married Fl. Areobindus (*PLRE* II 'Ariobindus' 1). Zeno is offering Theoderic an alliance with the imperial family.

38. Croke (1982 pp.66-68) plausibly argues that this wall is the defensive wall of the Chersonese, and not the Long Wall of Thrace which protected Constantinople.

39. The general sense of this sentence is clear, the precise meaning less so. The emendations proposed do not help much, and I suspect clumsy condensation. One would expect that after Zeno's rebuff, Theoderic would set about systematically collecting supplies for his people; and thus the general sense of *κατατεωράμενος* ("spreading oneself out over") seems appropriate, although I am unaware of a



precise parallel for the usage. In the case of *εἰσπράττων*, it seems nonsensical to have Theoderic "exacting" what he could not carry, and so I take the subject of *ἡδύναντο* to be the farmers.

40. Jordanes (*Get.* 57,289) says that Zeno adopted Theoderic in the German manner.

41. Presumably two of the *scholae palatinae*.

42. In the account of Strabo's settlement with Leo (*Fr.* 2) the delivery of Theoderic's property (inherited from Aspar) was requested but not, apparently, granted. Perhaps Basiliscus handed over whatever could be recovered.

43. I.e. the praetorian prefect of Illyricum, John (*PLRE* II 'Ioannes' 29). He was later attacked again, this time by the soldiers (below lines 59-61).

44. The course of events is not fully clear. I take it to be that a proclamation of Zeno, perhaps entrusting the guarding of the city to a contingent of non-Roman troops, caused a riot against his chief representative. To calm the riot the authorities permitted the people to guard the city themselves and to choose their own leader. They organised their own guard but accepted the regular Roman commander.

45. The implication would be that Theoderic did not know that Strabo had made an alliance with the Romans. This is more to the point than the rather feeble emendation, *ἔδει σε*, accepted by the older editors.

46. The MS reading *μόρων* makes no sense, and suggested emendations do not seem satisfactory. The sentence can be viewed as a variant of the one which precedes it, in that *τὴν δὲ χώραν ἀπαθῆ πασαν διεφύλαξε* answers *τοῦ μὲν καίειν . . . ἀνείργει* and *οὐδὲν τοὺς οἰκοῦντας ἐνταῦθα παραλυπῶν* answers *τοῦ μὲν . . . ἡ φονεῦεν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀνείργει*. If this is so, then the final part should correspond to the statement that Theoderic could not prevent the Goths from obtaining supplies and should indicate that he took a fair measure of supplies from the area. This line of approach suggests that *μοίρων*, which is regularly used of portions of land (cf. just below), could be read here, perhaps in the sense of "estates" (though I know of no exact parallel). In this case, perhaps Malchus is indicating that Theoderic followed the Roman rules for billeting of troops (cf. *CTh.* 7,8,5). The compliance of the people of Heraclea, compared with their refusal of supplies later, is probably to be explained by the fact that they had not yet completed their harvest (cf. line 118 and n.54).

47. Pautalia was on the road between Stobi and Serdica and in the province of Dardania (Procopius *De Aed.* 4,1,31). Since Pautalia was not itself a province, probably *μοίρας . . . ἐπαρχία* should be emended to *μοῖρα . . . ἐπαρχίας*.

48. Sidimund is not claiming, as Gordon's translation indicates (1960 p.172), that the barbarian is attacking Epidamnus, but he alleges

that Zeno has permitted him to settle there and that Adamantius has been sent to arrange the settlement. Presumably, in any such settlement the inhabitants of the city could expect to lose at least a portion of their movables.

49. Niebuhr, followed by subsequent editors, adds *λέγων* after *τοῖς στρατιώταις*, which can, however, easily be understood.

50. Clearly Theoderic had already been informed that he was to be settled in Pautalia, disliked the arrangements and then proposed to take Epidamnus. The delay of Adamantius in Thessalonika was, therefore, vital since it enabled Theoderic to stall long enough for Sidimund to ensure that Epidamnus would not be defended.

51. This was the *via Egnatia* across the Scardus mountains.

52. The phrase *ἀπερίσπτοι πάντων* imitates Thucydides 1,41.

53. Despite the doubts of de Boor, the reading *ἐρημίων* seems to be confirmed by *Fr.* 18,2 line 26, where *ἐρημίας* is used of passage through barren mountains.

54. Thus, this journey can be dated to around harvest time (early/middle summer), and Theoderic went forward to attempt to seize badly needed supplies.

55. Thus, it is clear that Theoderic had not reached Epidamnus when this discussion was held.

56. As often in Malchus, the second sentence addresses in order the points raised in the first. Thus, the muster call was sent to the cities (*ἀπανταχοῦ*), while Philoxenus (who had actually brought the codicils of appointment for Sabinianus) was sent to announce to Onulf that he had been superseded and to recall the forces with him. Adamantius, of course, and Sabinianus would advance to Lychnidus.

57. See n.40.

58. He would be a Roman citizen by virtue of his adoption by Zeno (see n.40).

59. Presumably the leader of a band of Gothic federates (*PLRE* II 'Gento' 2).

60. De Boor suspects, rightly in my view, that something has fallen out of the text. I have supplied *κάμων* which is suggested by *διαναπαύων* and the fact that Strabo is clearly making an excuse to stay near to the city for a while.

61. Malchus is noted as an alternative source for the revolt of Marcian by the scholiast on Evagrius *HE* 3,26, ed. Bidez-Parmentier p.244.

62. Four years, in fact, 473-76 (*PLRE* II 'Pamprépius').

63. The next few lines of this article are usually included as Malchan. I have printed them separately on p.481 for the reasons given in n.9 on p.482. Bernhardt would assign either to Malchus or to

Damascius *Suda* A 1707: ὁ δὲ Παμπρέπιος τούτοις ἀμφίβολος ὄφθεις βραχὺ παρεωρᾶτο (“For these reasons Pamprepus appeared unreliable and was for a short while ignored”).

64. The reference to Malchus is attached to the words that follow. But they are from Xenophon *Anab.* 1,1,7, and, therefore, Bernhardt suggested that what precedes the name is from Malchus and that *καί* should be changed to *φησὶ* or *ὥς*. *Suda* A 1489 names Malchus as the author of a passage actually from Xenophon *Anab.* 1,2,21.

CANDIDUS  
ANONYMA E *SUDA*

Text and Translation

## CANDIDUS

### FRAGMENTA

#### 1

(Photius *Bibl. Cod.* 79, I pp.161-66)

Ἀνεγνώσθη Κανδίδου ἱστορίας λόγοι τρεῖς. ἄρχεται μὲν τῆς ἱστορίας ἀπὸ τῆς Λέοντος ἀναρρήσεως, ὃς ἦν ἐκ Δακίας μὲν τῆς ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς στρατιωτικῶ παραγγείλας τάγματι καὶ τελῶν ἄρχας τῶν ἐν Σηλυμβρία, τὴν βασιλείαν σπουδῇ Ἀσπαρος ἐγχειρισθείς, ὃς ἦν Ἀλανὸς μὲν γένος, ἐκ νεαρᾶς δὲ στρατευσάμενος ἡλικίας, καὶ παιδοποιησάμενος ἐκ τριῶν γάμων Ἀρδαβούριον, Πατρίκιον, Ἑρμενάριχον, καὶ θηλείας δύο.

Ποιεῖται μὲν ὁ συγγραφεὺς, ὡς εἴρηται, ἀρχὴν τῆς ἱστορίας τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς Λέοντος βασιλείας, τελευτᾷ δὲ εἰς τὴν ἀναγόρευσιν Ἀναστασίου. ἔστι δὲ πατρίδος μὲν Ἰσαυρίας, ὡς αὐτὸς φησι, τῆς Τραχείας, ἐπιτήδευμα δὲ ἔσχεν ὑπογραφεὺς τῶν ἐν Ἰσαύροις πλεῖστον ἰσχυσάντων. τὴν δὲ θρησκείαν χριστιανὸς ἦν καὶ ὀρθόδοξος· τὴν τε γὰρ τετάρτην σύνοδον ἐπαίνους στέφει, καὶ τοὺς κατ' αὐτῆς καωστομοῦντας καθάπτεται δικαίως.

Τὴν δὲ φράσιν οὐκ ἔχει πρέπουσαν λόγῳ ἱστορικῷ· ταῖς τε γὰρ ποιητικαῖς λέξεσιν ἀπειροκάλως τε κέχρηται καὶ μειρακιωδῶς, καὶ ἡ συνθήκη αὐτῶ εἰς τὸ τραχύτερον καὶ δύσσηχον ἐκδιθυραμβοῦται, ὥσπερ αὖ πάλιν εἰς τὸ ἐκκελυμένον τε καὶ ἐκμελὲς ὑπτιάζει. νεωτερίζει δὲ καὶ ταῖς συντάξεσιν, οὐκ εἰς τὸ γλαφυρὸν μᾶλλον καὶ ἐπαρρόδιτον, ὥσπερ ἕτεροι, ἀλλ' ὥστε δυσχερὲς ἀκοῦσαι καὶ τοῦ ἡδέος ὑπερόριος. πλὴν αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ πολὺ βελτίων ἐνιαχοῦ τοῖς λόγοις πάντα γενόμενος, συμμιγῇ τὴν ἱστορίαν καὶ ἐξ ἀνομοιοτάτων ἀρμόζων ἀλίσκεται. οὗτος ἰσχυρίζεται τὴν Ἰσαυρίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἡσαῦ λαβεῖν τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν.

Διέρχεται δὲ ἐν μὲν τῷ πρώτῳ λόγῳ τὴν Ἀσπαρος καὶ τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ δυναστείαν, τὴν ἀνάρρησιν διὰ τοῦ Ἀσπαρος Λέοντος,

## CANDIDUS

### FRAGMENTS

#### 1

(Photius *Bibl. Cod.* 79, I pp.161-66)

Read three books of the History of Candidus. He begins his History from the proclamation of Leo, a native of Dacia in Illyricum, who was a legionary tribune and commander of the troops in Selymbria. He became Emperor with the support of Aspar, an Alan by race and a soldier from his youth, who had three sons by three marriages, Ardabur, Patricius and Ermenaric, as well as two daughters.

As I have said, the historian begins his History with the beginning of Leo's reign and he ends with the proclamation of Anastasius. Candidus was, as he himself says, a native of Isauria, from Tracheia. By profession he was secretary to the most powerful men in Isauria. He was an orthodox Christian by religion, for he heaps praises upon the fourth synod<sup>1</sup> and justly censures those who brought in innovations contrary to it.

He does not have a style appropriate for history. He uses poetic vocabulary in a tasteless and immature manner, and his forays into compound sentences are cruder and harsher-sounding than when he falls back into his loose and dissonant style of writing. He also innovates with his syntax, which, however, does not contribute to charm and elegance in the writing, as in other authors, but makes it harsh and unpleasant to the ear. Except for some places where his writing vastly improves, we find that he has written a history that is a mixture of disparate elements. He insists that Isauria takes its name from Esau.

In his first book he describes the power of Aspar and his sons, the proclamation of Leo through Aspar's agency, the fire which damaged

τὸν συμβάντα τῇ πόλει ἐμπρησμόν, καὶ ὅσα Ἄσπαρι περὶ τούτου ἐπὶ  
τὸ κωμῇ συμφέρον διαπέπρακται. καὶ περὶ Τιτιανοῦ καὶ Βιβιανοῦ καὶ  
ὡς περὶ αὐτῶν διηρέχθη Ἄσπαρ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς, καὶ οἷα εἰς ἀλλή-  
λους ἀπεφθέγγαντο. καὶ ὡς ὁ βασιλεὺς διὰ τοῦτο ἡταιρίσατο τὸ  
Ἰσαύρων γένος διὰ Ταρασκοδίσσα Ῥουσσυμβλαδεώτου, ὃν καὶ  
Ζήνωνα μετονομάσας γαμβρὸν ἐποίησατο, τὴν προτέραν γυναῖκα  
θανάτου νόμῳ ἀποβαλόντα. καὶ ὡς Ἀρδαβούριος ἐς τὸ ἐναντίον  
μελετῶν τῷ βασιλεῖ, καὶ αὐτὸς οἰκειοποιήσασθαι τοὺς Ἰσαύρους  
διενοήθη· καὶ ὅτι Μαρτῖνος, οἰκεῖος ὢν Ἀρδαβουρίου, μὲν νύει Ταρα-  
σκοδίσσα ἅπερ Ἀρδαβούριω κατὰ βασιλέως ἐτυρεύετο· καὶ ὡς  
ἐντεῦθεν εἰς τὸ τραχύτερον τῆς ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐπινοίας προοιούσης  
ἀναίρει Λέων ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἄσπαρ καὶ τοὺς παῖδας Ἀρδαβούριον καὶ  
Πατρίκιον τὸν Καῖσαρ. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Καῖσαρ τῶν πλεονέκων ἀνεγκλόντων  
παραδόξως διεσώθη καὶ διέζησεν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ ἕτερος τῶν παίδων  
Ἀρμενέριχος οὐ συμπαρὼν τῷ φόνῳ τὸν φόνον τότε διέφυγε.

Ταρασκοδίσσαν δὲ γαμβρὸν ἐπὶ θυγατρὶ Ἀριάδνῃ Λέων ὁ  
βασιλεὺς ποιεῖται, καὶ μετονομάζει Ζήνωνα, στρατηγὸν τῆς Ἑω  
χειροτονήσας. καὶ τὰ κατὰ Ἀφρικὴν Βασιλίσκου εὐτυχήματα καὶ  
δυστυχήματα. καὶ ὡς Λέων πολλὰ βουλευθεὶς καὶ διαμνηχανθῶν  
Ζήνωνα τὸν γαμβρὸν ἀνείπειν βασιλέα, τῶν ὑπηκόων μὴ παραδεχο-  
μένων οὐκ ἴσχυσε, καὶ ὡς πρὸ τελευτῆς αὐτοῦ τὸν ἕγγονον μὲν αὐτοῦ  
ἐκ Ζήνωνος φόντα τῇ Ἀριάδνῃ· καὶ ὡς μετὰ τελευτῆν Λέοντος ὁ παῖς  
Λέων Ζήνωνα τὸν πατέρα, συνανώσει τῆς βουλῆς, βασιλέα ἔστησε.

Λεπτομερὲς τε τῆς Ἰσαύρων γενεαλογίας ἀφήγησις· καὶ ὡς  
εἴησαν ἀπόγονοι τοῦ Ἡσαῦ, πολλὰ σπουδὴ καὶ διήγησις.

Ὅπως τε Ζήνων ὑπὸ Βηρίνης ἀπατηθεὶς φεύγει γυναῖκα ἅμα  
καὶ μητρί τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς βασιλείας· καὶ ὡς Βηρίνα, ἐλπίδι τοῦ  
συναφθῆναι Πατρικίῳ τῷ μαγίστρῳ καὶ βασιλεύειν αὐτόν, τὸν γαμ-  
βρὸν αὐτῆς φυγαδεύσασα ἐξ ἀπάτης, καὶ αὐτῇ τῆς ἐλπίδος ἐσφάλη,  
τῶν ἐν τέλει Βασιλίσκου τὸν αὐτῆς ἀδελφὸν ἀνείποντων βασιλέα.  
περὶ τε τῆς Ἰσαύρων ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει ἀμνηστῆτος σφαγῆς. καὶ  
ὡς μετὰ Νέπωτα βασιλέα Ῥώμης Αὐγούστουλον ὁ πατὴρ Ὀρέστης  
Ῥώμης κατεπράξατο βασιλεύειν. ταῦτα ὁ πρῶτος λόγος.

Ὁ δὲ δεῦτερος, ὅπως Πατρίκιος ὁ μαγίστρος, ὁ Βηρίνῃ συμ-  
φθειρόμενος, ἐπαγανακτήσας αὐτῷ Βασιλίσκου ἀπεβίω, καὶ διὰ  
τοῦτο Βηρίνα δι' ἔχθρας πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν καταστῶσα καὶ Ζήνωνι  
διὰ χρημάτων τὴν τῆς βασιλείας ἀνάληψιν συμπράττουσα, τὰ ἔσ-  
χματα ἐπασχεν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, καὶ εἰ μὴ διέκλεψεν αὐτὴν Ἀρμάτος

the city,<sup>2</sup> and the measures which Aspar took for the public good on  
this occasion. He mentions Titianus and Vivianus and relates how Aspar  
and the Emperor disagreed over them and what they said to one  
another.<sup>3</sup> He tells how, as a result of this, the Emperor allied himself  
with the Isaurian people through Tarasicodissa the son of Rusumbla-  
deotus, whose name he changed to Zeno and whom he made his son-in-  
law after Zeno's former wife had died; how Ardabur, who was himself  
plotting to oppose the Emperor, planned to bring the Isaurians over  
to his side;<sup>4</sup> how Martinus, an attendant of Ardabur, told Tarasicodissa  
what Ardabur was contriving against the Emperor; and how, their  
intentions against one another having for this reason grown more  
savage, the Emperor Leo destroyed Aspar and his sons Ardabur and the  
Caesar Patricius. But the Caesar unexpectedly survived his injuries and  
lived on.<sup>5</sup> The third son, Ermenaric, was not present with his father  
and so at this time escaped the massacre. The Emperor Leo married  
Tarasicodissa to his daughter Ariadne, changed his name to Zeno and  
made him general of the East.

Candidus also describes the successes and failures of Basiliscus  
in Africa,<sup>6</sup> and he tells how Leo greatly desired to proclaim his son-in-  
law, Zeno, Emperor and plotted to that end, although he did not  
succeed, since his subjects would not accept him. But before his death  
he did elevate his grandson by Zeno and Ariadne, and after his death  
Zeno, with the approval of the senate, was crowned Emperor by his  
son Leo.

Then follow a detailed digression upon the genealogy of the  
Isaurians and much earnest argument to prove that they were the  
descendants of Esau.

Candidus describes how Zeno, deceived by Verina, fled with his  
wife and his mother from the city and his throne; how Verina tricked  
her son-in-law into flight hoping that she would marry Patricius, the  
master of the offices, and that he would become Emperor; and how she  
herself was disappointed in her hopes when the high officials pro-  
claimed Basiliscus, her brother, Emperor. Candidus also tells of the  
enormous slaughter of the Isaurians at Constantinople and how after  
Nepos, the Emperor of Rome, Augustulus was made Emperor by his  
father Orestes. These are the contents of the first book.

The second book tells how the master Patricius, Verina's  
adulterer, angered Basiliscus and lost his life. As a result Verina came  
to hate her brother and gave financial aid to Zeno in his attempts  
to regain his throne. She suffered very badly at her brother's hands  
and would probably have been killed if Armatus<sup>7</sup> had not stolen her

37 ὑπονοίας M 41 φύσαντι scripsi sec. Gordon (1960 p.206 n.4) [φόντι  
codd. 48 φόντα M [φόντι A φύντας A<sup>2</sup> 54 αὐτόν A<sup>1</sup> [αὐτῶν AM 55  
αὐτὴ A [αὐτῆς M 64 ὑπερ M

ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ, τάχα ἂν καὶ διεφθάρη. ὡς Ἀρμάτος τῇ γαμετῇ συν-  
 διαφθειρόμενος Βασιλίσκου ἐπὶ μέγα δυναστείας ἤρθη, καὶ ὡς  
 ὕστερον τὸν κατὰ Ζήνωνος πιστευθεὶς πόλεμον, ἀπέκλινεν ἐπὶ συν-  
 θήκαις δι' Ἰλλου πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ εὐδοκίμων ἐπὶ Ζήνωνος, ὡς καὶ τὸν  
 υἱὸν Βασιλίσκου Καίσαρα ἰδεῖν, ὕστερον ἐκρεουργήθη, καὶ ὁ παῖς ἐκ  
 τοῦ Καίσαρος εἰς τοὺς ἐν Βλαχέρναις ἀναγνώστας ἐτέλεσεν. ὡς πρὸ  
 τούτων Βασιλίσκος Μάρκον τὸν ἴδιον υἱὸν Καίσαρα ἀνείπεν, εἴτα καὶ  
 βασιλεῖα. καὶ ὡς Ἰλλους συνέβη Ζήνωνι εἰς φιλίαν, καὶ πάλιν ἀνα-  
 λαβεῖν παρεσκεύασε τὴν βασιλείαν· καὶ ὡς καταστασιασθεὶς βασι-  
 λεὺς σὺν τῇ γυναικὶ Ζηνωνίδι καὶ τέκνοις καταφεύγει εἰς τὴν  
 ἐκκλησίαν, κἀκεῖθεν ἀπάτη Ἀρμάτου ἐκβληθεὶς ἐξορίζεται εἰς  
 Καππαδοκίαν, εἴτα παγγενεὶ κατασφάζεται.

Ὡς Πέτρου τοῦ δυσσεβοῦς τὰς τῆς ἀνατολῆς ταρασσόντος  
 ἐκκλησίας Καλανδίανα Ζήνων ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὸ ἱερᾶσθαι Ἀντιο-  
 χείας ἀπέστειλε, καὶ δεόμενος χρημάτων ἐκ μνηυμάτων ἐπέτυχε,  
 καὶ πολλοὶ νεωτερίσαντες κατ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐαλωκότες δίκην ἔδοσαν.  
 ὡς Ἰλλους πολλὰ τῇ Ῥωμαίων συνήνεγκε πολιτεία ταῖς τε κατὰ  
 πόλεμον ἀνδραγαθίαις καὶ ταῖς κατὰ πόλιν φιλοτιμίαις τε καὶ δικαιο-  
 πραγίαις.

Ὡς μετὰ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τοῦ βασιλέως Νέπωτος Ῥώμης καὶ  
 τὸν διωγμὸν τοῦ μετ' αὐτὸν Αὐγουστούλου Ὀδοάκρου Ἰταλίας καὶ  
 αὐτῆς ἐκράτησε Ῥώμης· καὶ στασιασάντων αὐτῷ τῶν δυσμικῶν  
 Γαλατῶν, διαπρεσβευσάμενων τε αὐτῶν καὶ Ὀδοάκρου πρὸς Ζή-  
 νωνα, Ὀδοάκρῳ μᾶλλον ὁ Ζήνων ἀπέκλινεν.

Ὡς Ἀλανός τις Ἰλλουν ἀνελεῖν βουλευθεὶς καὶ πλήξας Ἐπι-  
 νίκιον εἶπεν, ὅς ἦν οἰκεῖος Βηρίνῃ, τὴν ἀναίρεσιν ὑποδέσθαι· καὶ ὡς  
 ἐξεδόθη Ἐπινίκιος Ἰλλῳ καὶ ὡς ὑποσχέσει καὶ ἀμνηστίας καὶ εὐ-  
 εργεσιῶν ἐξείπε πάντα Ἐπινίκιος ὅσα ἐπεβούλευε Βηρίνῃ κατὰ  
 Ἰλλου καὶ ὡς Ζήνων διὰ τοῦτο Βηρίναν ἐκδίδωσιν, ὁ δὲ αὐτὴν εἰς  
 φρούριον Κιλικίας ὑπερορίσας ἡσφαλίσατο. ὡς Παμπρεπίῳ τῷ  
 δυσσεβεῖ διὰ Μάρσου Ἰλλους φιλωθεὶς ἅπαντα κατὰ μικρὸν συνέχει  
 τὰ αὐτοῦ. ὡς ἐμρῦλος συνέστη Ζήνωνι πόλεμος ἐξάρχοντος Μαρ-  
 κιανοῦ καὶ Προκοπίου υἱῶν τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος Ῥώμης Ἀνθεμίου·  
 καὶ κρατήσαντος Ζήνωνος δι' Ἰλλου πρεσβύτερος μὲν Μαρκιανὸς  
 ἐχειροτονήθη, ὁ δὲ Προκόπιος πρὸς Θεοδώριχον τὸν ἐν Θράκῃ  
 διέφυγε. καὶ ὡς ὑπερορισθεὶς Μαρκιανὸς ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ καὶ δια-  
 φυγῶν ἐτάραξε τὴν κατὰ Ἀγκυραν Γαλατίαν, εἴτα συλληφθεὶς εἰς  
 Ἰσαυρίαν διωκίσθη. καὶ ὡς ἡ πρὸς Ἰλλουν ἔχθρα τῷ βασιλεῖ

away from the church. Armatus seduced the wife of Basiliscus and was  
 raised to the height of power.<sup>8</sup> But when he was entrusted with the war  
 against Zeno, he defected and came to terms with him through the  
 mediation of Illus. Being high in Zeno's favour, he saw his son, Basi-  
 liscus, named Caesar. But later he was butchered, and his son was  
 deposed and enrolled as a reader at Blachernae. Before this Basiliscus  
 had proclaimed his own son, Marcus, Caesar and then Emperor. Illus  
 sided with Zeno and prepared to restore him to his throne. The Em-  
 peror, beaten in battle, fled to the church with his wife, Zenonis, and  
 their children. Armatus lured him out of there by a trick,<sup>9</sup> and he was  
 exiled to Cappadocia and then killed along with his whole family.

When the impious Peter was troubling the churches of the East,  
 Zeno sent Calandion to be bishop of Antioch.<sup>10</sup> When Zeno needed  
 money, he obtained it through the laying of charges by informers.  
 Many rebelled against him, were captured and paid the penalty. Illus  
 rendered many services to the Roman state both through his bravery in  
 war and through acts of generosity and justice in the city.

After the assassination of Nepos and the expulsion of Augustulus,  
 Odovacer in his own person ruled Italy and Rome.<sup>11</sup> When the Gauls of  
 the West revolted against Odovacer, both they and Odovacer sent an  
 embassy to Zeno.<sup>12</sup> He preferred to support Odovacer.

A certain Alan attempted to kill Illus and, when he had struck  
 him, said that Epinicius, a dependent of Verina, had instigated the  
 attempt.<sup>13</sup> Epinicius was handed over to Illus and, upon a promise of  
 amnesty and rewards, revealed all of Verina's plotting against Illus. As  
 a result Zeno handed over Verina, and Illus exiled her to a fortress in  
 Cilicia, thus ensuring his own safety. Through the agency of Marsus he  
 became friendly with the impious Pamprepus and gradually caused all  
 his own affairs to deteriorate. Zeno was faced with a civil war waged  
 against him by Marcian and Procopius, sons of Anthemius, who had  
 been Emperor at Rome. Zeno prevailed through Illus, and Marcian, the  
 elder, was made a priest, while Procopius fled to Theoderic in Thrace.<sup>14</sup>  
 Marcian was exiled to Cappadocia where he escaped from custody and  
 caused disturbances in Galatia around Ancyra. Then he was recaptured  
 and removed to Isauria. The Emperor began to regard Illus with

65 γαμετῇ A [γυναικὶ M 69-70 ἐκ τοῦ A [ἀπὸ M 71 ἀνείπεν M [εἶπεν A  
 73-74 Βασιλίσκος A<sup>2</sup> 75 Ἀρμάτου edd. [Ἀρμάτος AM 76 παγγενεὶ edd.  
 79 ἀπέσταλκε M



συνέστη καὶ ἡὺξήθη. οὕτω καὶ ὁ δεῦτερος.

Ὁ δὲ τρίτος ἄλλα τε περιέχει καὶ ὡς εἰς τὸ ἐμφανές Ἰλλους  
ἐπαναστὰς Ζήνωνι βασιλέα Λεόντιον σὺν Βηρίῳ ἀνείπεν, ὅπως τε 105  
δυσπραγήσαντες ἐπολιορκήθησαν καὶ ἀλόντες ἀπετμήθησαν, καὶ  
τᾶλλα ἕως τῆς Ζήνωνος τελευτῆς.

## 2

(*Suda* X 245)

Κάνδιδος ἱστοριογράφος φησὶν ὅτι ὁ Λέων ὁ Μακέλλης, ὁ μετὰ  
Μαρκιανὸν βασιλεύσας, περὶ τὴν ἐκοστρατείαν τὴν κατὰ Βανδήλων  
ἄπειρα χρήματα δεδαπάνηκεν. ἦσαν γάρ, ὡς οἱ ταῦτα ἐφάνέρωσαν  
κεχειρικότες, διὰ μὲν τῶν ὑπάρχων χρυσίου λίτραι τετρακισμύριαι  
πρὸς ἑπτακισχίλιας· διὰ δὲ τοῦ κόμητος τῶν θησαυρῶν ἑπτακισ- 5  
χίλια πρὸς μυρίας καὶ ὀργυρίου λίτραι ἑπτακόσiai χιλιάδες, ἄτερ  
τῶν ἀνηλωμένων ἐκ τῶν δημευσίμων ἀρχόντων καὶ ἐκ τοῦ βασι-  
λέως Ἀνθεμίου.

6 ἄτερ Α [ἄτε rel. codd.]

growing hatred. These are the contents of the second book.

The third book describes, among other things, how Illus broke  
into open revolt against Zeno and, together with Verina, declared  
Leontius Emperor. They failed, were placed under siege, captured and  
beheaded.<sup>15</sup> This book deals with other events up to the death of Zeno.

## 2

(*Suda* X 245)

Candidus the historian says that Leo the Butcher, the Emperor  
after Marcian, spent an enormous sum of money on the expedition  
against the Vandals. For the officials in charge of these matters revealed  
that 47,000 pounds of gold came through the prefects, and through the  
count of the treasuries an additional 17,000 pounds of gold and  
700,000 pounds of silver, as well as<sup>16</sup> monies raised through confis-  
cations and from the Emperor Anthemius.

## NOTES TO CANDIDUS

1. The Council of Chalcedon of 451, which condemned the monophysite teachings of the Alexandrian bishop, Dioscurus.
2. See Priscus *Fr.* 42.
3. Titianus is more usually Tatianus. The cause of the quarrel between Leo and Aspar is not clear. Henry (*ad Photii loc.*) suggests a dispute over policy towards the Vandals, but this is no more than a possibility. He also remarks Cedrenus' report (I p.607) of a quarrel over the appointment of an urban prefect, but this could not have been over Tatianus, who had been prefect 450-52.
4. On further involvement by Ardabur in plotting against Leo see Priscus *Fr.* 56.
5. Priscus (*Fr.* 61) and most other sources say that he was killed. In fact, Candidus first seems to indicate that he was killed. Is this careless condensation by Photius, or is it an example of *συμμιγῇ τὴν ἱστορίαν καὶ ἐξ ἀνομοιοτάτων* of which he has just complained? In the second case Photius would be accusing Candidus not only of stylistic heterogeneity but also of clumsily fitting together his discrepant sources.
6. See Priscus *Fr.* 53.
7. This seems to be the correct form of his name (see *PLRE* II 'Armatus'), although Malchus and others call him Harmatius.
8. See *Suda* A 3970, printed on p.476.
9. The trick being a promise that his and his family's blood would not be shed (Anon. Val. 9,43, who says that to keep the promise Zeno had them walled up in a dry cistern where they died of cold).
10. Peter the Fuller, a monophysite, was first consecrated bishop of Antioch in 371. He was exiled three times. Calandion was sent to replace him in 481, not by Zeno but by Acacius, the patriarch of Constantinople. Calandion was deposed in 485, and Peter returned again to his throne which he occupied until 488.
11. This is probably careless condensation by Photius. Nepos was not assassinated until 480, whereas Odovacer deposed Augustulus in 476.
12. These embassies seem to be distinct from those of the Italians, of Odovacer and of Nepos remarked by Malchus *Fr.* 14.

13. On Epinicius see *Suda* E 2494 (= Malchus *Fr.* 10). *PLRE* II has separate entries for Epinicius, the *οἰκείος* of Verina, and Epinicus, the praetorian prefect of 475 and the subject of the *Suda* article cited, although it admits that the two are probably identical.

14. Theoderic the son of Triarius (cf. Malchus *Fr.* 22).

15. The rebellion lasted from 484 until the capture in 488 of the fortress of Papirius (or Cherris) to which they had fled.

16. Adler's reading of *ἀτερ* on the authority of one MS seems preferable to *ἀτε*, read by older editors. All four sources of revenue are thus clearly specified: the chests of the praetorian prefects (of the East and Illyricum); of the count of the largesses (*κόμητος τῶν θησαυρῶν*); of the count of the privy purse (*ἐκ τῶν δημευσίμων* = confiscated estates); and Anthemius' contributions.

## ANONYMA E SUDA

1

(A 783)

Ἀκάκιος· ὁ πατριάρχης Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, αἰδέσιμος ἦν  
ὥς οὐκ ἄλλος τις. ὀρφανοτρόφος γὰρ γεγωνὼς καὶ καλῶς τὰ τῶν  
ὀρφανῶν διοικῶν πᾶσιν ἐφαίνετο καθ' ἡδονήν. καὶ δὴ καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ  
Λέοντι συνήθης γεγωνὼς ὑπερφυῶς ἤρεσκε καὶ τούτῳ πρώτῳ αἰ  
πάντα ἀνεκωοῦτο τὰ τε κοινὰ καὶ τὰ ἴδια. καὶ ὅτε τὴν βουλὴν  
ἤθροιζε, συνεκάλει καὶ τοῦτον καὶ τῆς σκέψεως ἀρχὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ  
πάσης ἐτίθετο. ὃς Ἀκάκιος τὴν τοῦ Λέοντος τοῦ Μακέλλη ὠμότητα  
συνιδῶν πρὸς τοὺς τι λυπήσαντας καὶ τὸ ἦθος ἀκριβῶς τὸ ἐκείνου  
φωράσας, ὅτι τοῖς ἐπαυοῦσι μόνον ὑπάρχει εὐάλωτον, ἐπετήδευε  
πάντα τὰ ἐκείνου θαυμάζειν. τοιγαροῦν πειθῆνιον αὐτὸν εἶχεν ἐτοί-  
μως τὸν τε θυμὸν αὐτοῦ ῥαδίως κατέστελλε καὶ πολλοῖς προσκε-  
κρουκόσι τὴν σωτηρίαν ἐπραγματεύετο καὶ τοὺς ἐξορίαν αἰδίου  
ἔχοντας ἀνεκαλεῖτο πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα. οὗτος μετὰ θάνατον Γεννα-  
δίου, πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, σπουδῇ Ζήνωνος ἱεραῖσθαι  
προεβλήθη. ὃς ὢν ἀρχικὸς καὶ πάσας τὰς ἐκκλησίας ὑφ' ἑαυτὸν  
ποιήσας πεφροντισμένως τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς κεκληρωμένων ἐποιεῖτο τὴν  
κηδεμονίαν, οἱ εὐχαριστοῦντες ἐν γραφαῖς ἀνέθηκαν αὐτὸν κατὰ τοὺς  
εὐκτηρίους οἴκους. ἐπεὶ οὖν ἀθρόον ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις  
ἐδείχθησαν αὐτοῦ εἰκόνες, ζήτηθσαν τινας κενοδοξοῦντα τὴν ἀνά-  
θεσιν προστεταχέναι οὐ μικρὰν ἔχοντες τῆς ὑπονοίας πίστωσιν, τὴν  
ἐκ ψηφίδων γραφὴν δημιουργηθεῖσαν ἐν τῇ πρὸς τῷ νεωρίῳ  
ἐκκλησίᾳ. τοῦ γὰρ ἔργου παντὸς ἐπὶ Γενναδίου τελεσθέντος εἰς τὸν  
ἐπιφανῆ τόπον ἐξετύπωσαν αὐτὸν τοῦ νεῶ καὶ μεταξὺ τοῦδε τὸν  
Σωτῆρα λέγοντα τῷ Γενναδίῳ, λῦσον τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ,  
μετὰ σε ἐγερῶ αὐτόν. ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων οὖν εἰκόνων Ἀκάκιος, εἰ καὶ  
εὐμετάδοτος ἦν καὶ προστατικός, ἀλλὰ δοξομανῆς πᾶσιν ἔδοξεν  
ὑπάρχειν. ζητεῖ περὶ τοῦτον ἐν τῷ Βασιλίσκῳ.

## ANONYMOUS ARTICLES FROM THE SUDA

1

(A 783)

Acacius, the patriarch of Constantinople. He was the most  
venerable of all. He cared for orphans, and all observed with pleasure  
how well he arranged their affairs. He became acquainted with the  
Emperor Leo and so greatly pleased him that he discussed his private  
and public business with him first of all.<sup>1</sup> When he convened the senate,  
he invited Acacius and had him begin every discussion. When Acacius  
observed the savagery of Leo the Butcher towards those who annoyed  
him at all, he studied his character carefully, learned that it was swayed  
only by praise and was careful to do everything to hold the Emperor's  
admiration. Thus he readily kept Leo docile and easily restrained his  
anger, ensured the safety of many who had offended him and recalled  
to their homeland those who had been sentenced to perpetual exile.  
After the death of Gennadius, the patriarch of Constantinople, with  
the support of Zeno he was advanced to the patriarchate. Since he was  
a man fit for office and gave thought for the churches under him, he  
took care of those holding positions in these churches, and they, out of  
gratitude, set up paintings of him in their oratories. When a large  
number of images of him had appeared in all the churches, some men  
thought that out of vainglory he had ordered them to be set up, and  
they had not a small confirmation of their suspicion in the mosaic  
constructed in the church by the dockyard. Although this whole  
building was completed during the patriarchate of Gennadius, in the  
most visible point in the nave they worked in a figure of Acacius and  
next to him the Saviour saying to Gennadius, "Free this church", and  
above him, "After you I shall raise up him". As a result of such de-  
pictions Acacius seemed to all to crave fame, even if he was a generous  
man and a champion. (You will find more on him under 'Basiliscus'.)



(A 3970)

Ἀρμάτος· ὅτι Βασιλίσκος ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἐπεὶ περ ὡς συγγενεῖ τῷ Ἀρμάτῳ ἀδεῶς ἐπέτρεπεν ἐντυγχάνειν Ζηνωνίδι τῇ βασιλίδι, τριβομένης σφίσι τῆς ὁμιλίας καὶ τοῦ κάλλους αὐτῶν οὐκ εὐπαροδεύτου ὄντος, ἄμφω ἀλλήλων ἐκτόπως ἦρων. ῥίψεις οὖν ὁμμάτων ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ἐγίνοντο καὶ παρεκτροφαὶ συνεχεῖς προσώπων καὶ μειδιαμάτων μεταδόσεις· πόνος τε μετὰ ταῦτα ἔρωτος ὑπ' ὧν στεγομένου. ἐπεὶ δὲ κωινωσάμενοι τὸ πάθος Δανιὴλ εὐνούχῳ καὶ Μαρίας μαιῖα ἰάσαντο τοῦτο μόλις τῇ τῆς μίξεως ἰατρείᾳ, Ζηνωνὶς Βασιλίσκον διὰ θωπείας ἔγχε τοῦ τὸν ἐραστὴν ἔχειν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ τὰ πρωτεῖα. ὁρῶν δὲ Θεοδώριχος τιμώμενον ἐκ πάντων Ἀρμάτον ἡσχαλλεν ὡς παρηνδοκίμουμένος ἐκ νέου τριχῶν μόνον καὶ τῆς ἄλλης φροντίζοντος σωμασκίας. ὁ δ' Ἀρμάτος ἐκ τε φορᾶς χρημάτων καὶ τιμῆς ἀπλέτου τυφωθείς οὐδένα αὐτοῦ ᾤετο διοίσειν ἐπ' ἀνδρεία. καὶ τοσοῦτον αὐτοῦ ἦδε ἡ ἀλὴ ἐκράτει, ὡς σκευὴν ἀναλαμβάνειν Ἀχιλλέως, οὕτω τε περιβαίνειν ἐς ἵππον καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἵπποδρομον φρυάττεισθαι τοῦ οἴκου. ἐξῆρε δὲ τοῦτον πλείω πρὸς τοιαύτην δόξαν μαῶεσθαι τὸ ὑπὸ δήμου σύρφακος ἐν εὐφημίαις ἀνακαλεῖσθαι Πύρρον· ὅς εἰ μὲν οὕτως ἐβόα διὰ τὸ ἐρυθροπρόσωπον εἶναι, ἔλεγεν εἰκότα, εἰ δ' ὡς πρὸς ἔπαυον ἀνδρείας, ἔθειλεν ὡς νέον. οὐ γὰρ ἦρωας ἔβαλλεν ὡς Πύρρος, ἀλλὰ γυναιμανῆς ἦν ὡς Πάρις. (Cf. A 1167, 4301, Σ 838, 1671)

13 ἐπ' [ἐν A 14 ἐπεκράτει GIM 16 οἴκου [ἵππου V ἵππου τρόπου Port.  
δχλου Τουρ 18 ἐρυθροπρεπῆς G

(E 3770)

Εὐτόκιος, ἀπὸ Θράκης ἐλθὼν οὔτε γνώμην ἐπιεικῆς τις ἦν οὔτε γένους εὖ ἦκων, ἀλλὰ στρατιώτης μὲν ὁ τυχὼν, πολλὰ δὲ χρήματα κοινὰ τοῦ ἰδίου τάγματος ὑποκλέψας ᾤχετο φεύγων εἰς τὴν Παλαιστίνην. ἐπεχείρησε μὲν οὖν Ἐλευθεροπολίταις ἑαυτὸν ἐγκαταλέξαι, τῆς βουλῆς μετασχὼν ἐπὶ χρήμασι μεγάλοις. καὶ γὰρ ἐγλίχετο τὴν τύχην μεταβαλεῖν ἐς τὸ εὐγενέστερον. καίτοι ἔδει πρότερον μετατίθεσθαι τὴν προαίρεσιν εἰς τὸ κρεῖττον, ἀλλ' ὅμως οἱ Ἐλευθεροπολίταις τὸ πλῆθος ὑπειδόμενοι τῶν χρημάτων οὐ προσεδέξαντο τὸν Εὐτόκιον. ὁ δὲ μετεχώρησεν ἐς τὴν Ἀσκάλωνα. καὶ ὁ τότε πρωτεύων Κρατερὸς εὐμενῶς αὐτὸν ὑπεδέξατο μετὰ τῶν χρημάτων

1 γνώμης GIFVM 2 ἀλλὰ [οὔτος V 4-5 καταλέξαι GIVM

(A 3970)

Harmatus. Since the Emperor Basiliscus confidently allowed Harmatus, as a relative, to meet with the Empress Zenonis, they spent much time in one another's company. Since the beauty of both of them was not negligible, they fell exceedingly<sup>2</sup> in love. They traded glances, then continually looked at each other and exchanged smiles. After this came disease — love kept hidden from view. They told Daniel, an eunuch, and Maria, a midwife, of their suffering and at last they cured it by the medicine of copulation. Thereafter, by flattery Zenonis persuaded Basiliscus to make her lover the most powerful man in the state. Theoderic<sup>3</sup> took it hard that Harmatus was courted by all and that he was surpassed in honour by a young man who thought only of his hair and attending to his body. Harmatus, deluded by the wealth that he was amassing and his never-ending honours, thought that no one surpassed him in manliness. This obsession so gripped him that dressed up like Achilles he would mount a horse and parade about the hippodrome of his house. When the rabble acclaimed him, calling him "Pyrrhus", this all the more aroused his craving for such glory. If the mob shouted this because of his ruddy complexion, it spoke the truth, but if it were praising his manliness, it cozened him like a boy. For he did not slay heroes like Pyrrhus, but lusted after women like Paris. (Cf. A 1167, 4301, Σ 838, 1671)

(E 3770)

Eutocius, a native of Thrace, had no capacity for wisdom, nor was he of a good family. He was a soldier, who, having stolen a large sum of money belonging to his regiment, took to his heels and came to Palestine. He tried to persuade the people of Eleutheropolis to enrol him as a citizen since he had as much money as a town-councillor. For he longed to become a nobleman. Although they had first to change their decision for the better, the people of Eleutheropolis, being suspicious of the size of his fortune, would not enrol him. He, therefore, went off to Ascalon. The current chief magistrate, Craterus, gave a friendly reception to Eutocius and his money and made him a citizen.

πολιτικῆς τε μετέδωκεν ἐλευθερίας, οἱ δὲ Θράκες ὑστέρω χρόνῳ  
κατὰ πύστω ἦγοντες ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐτόκιον ἀπῆλθον τὸν Κρατερὸν αὐτὸν  
τε καὶ τὰ χρήματα. ὁ δὲ οὐ μεδίει τὸν ἄνδρα. τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν  
ἐπὶ δύκην τὸ πρᾶγμα φερόντων, ὁ Κρατερὸς ὑπεραγωνίζεται τοῦ  
Εὐτοκίου καὶ περιγίνεται τῶν Θρακῶν· ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ χρησμὸς ἐξέπεσεν, 15  
ἔχων ὥδε . . . (Cf. E 566)

14 τὸ πρᾶγμα φερόντων A [ἐλθόντων GIVM]

## 4

(Z 84)

Ὅτι Ζήνων ὁ βασιλεὺς, πυθόμενος τῶν οἰκείων τὴν ἦτταν ἐς  
φρούριον καταφεύγει ἐπὶ λόφου κείμενον, ὃ Κωνσταντινούπολιν οἱ  
πρόσχωροι ἐκάλουν. ὅπερ γνούς, τοῖς συνοῦσι στενάξας, θεοῦ  
παίγνιον, εἶπεν, ἄρα ὁ ἄνθρωπος· εἶγε καὶ ἐμὲ οὕτω παίζων φιλεῖ τὸ  
δαμόνιον. ἐμοὶ γὰρ δὴ οἱ μάντιες τὸν Ἰούλιον μῆνα ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐν 5  
Κωνσταντινουπόλει διατεωρόμενοι προῦλεγον. καγὼ μὲν ἐνόμιζον ἐς  
Κωνσταντινούπολιν ἀναβήσεσθαι· νῦν δὲ πάντων ἔρημος καὶ φυγὰς  
ἐς λόφον ἦλθον, εὐρηκῶς ὁ δειλαιὸς προσηγορίαν ὁμώνυμον.

1 πειθόμενος A 5 ἐμὲ A (infin. desid. coni. Bernhardy)

## 5

(I 368)

Ἰνδακος· ὄνομα κύριον. ἤκμαζε δὲ ἐπὶ Λέοντος τοῦ μετὰ Μαρ-  
κιανὸν βασιλέως, λαμπρὸς τὴν τόλμαν καὶ τοῖς ποσὶ χρήσασθαι  
δυνατώτατος, τῶν χειρῶν τὴν ἀριστερὰν ἀμείνων, ταχύτητι ποδῶν  
διαφέρων. Εὐχίδου γὰρ καὶ Ἀσσάπου καὶ Χρυσομάζου καὶ Ἐχίονος 5  
καὶ εἴ τις ἕτερος ἐπὶ ποδῶν ὠκύτητι διεβοήθη, ὀξύτατος ἦν. οὗτος  
γὰρ ἐξεφαίνετο ὀδεύων καὶ ἠφανίζετο αὖθις, οἷά τις ἀστραπή, κατὰ  
κρημνῶν οὐ τρέχοντι μᾶλλον ἀλλὰ πετομένῳ ἐοικώς. ἦν γὰρ  
κέλευσθον ἀνὴρ δι' ἵππων ἀμοιβῆς αὐθημερὸν οὐκ ἔσθene δρᾶσαι, τοῖς  
ιδίοις αὐτὸν ποσὶν ἰσχυρίζοντο ἀναλγήτως διατρέχων. ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ 10  
ἐρύματος Χέρεως διὰ μιᾶς ἐφοίτα ἐς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν, καὶ πάλιν τῇ  
ἐξῆς ἐς τὸ ῥηθὲν εὐρίσκετο φρούριον· ἐκ δὲ τούτου αὖθις μὴ ἀνα-  
παύλης δεόμενος διὰ μιᾶς ἡμέρας εἰς Νεάπολιν ἐγίνετο Ἰσαυρίας.  
(Cf. E 3827, 4014, X 200)

## 6

(Λ 646)

Λογγῖνος· οὗτος ὁ Λογγῖνος καὶ Κόνων ἀδελφοὶ Ζήνωνος τοῦ

Later, the Thracians, acting on information received, came against Eu-  
tocius and demanded that Craterus hand over both him and the money.  
He refused to hand over the man. When the Thracians took the matter  
to court, Craterus defended Eutocius and prevailed over the Thracians.  
Upon this matter an oracle was given, as follows: . . .<sup>4</sup>  
(Cf. E 566)

## 4

(Z 84)

When the Emperor Zeno learned of the defeat of his own forces,  
he fled to a fortress on a hill which the people living nearby called  
Constantinople. When he learned this, lamenting he said to his com-  
panions, "Man is indeed a plaything of God, if the divinity enjoys  
toying even with me in this way. For the prophets insisted that I should  
of necessity be in Constantinople in the month of July, and I thought  
that I should return to Constantinople. Now, a fugitive and completely  
destitute, I have come to a hill which I learn in my misery bears the  
same name."

## 5

(I 368)

Indacus, a personal name. He flourished during the reign of Leo,  
Marcian's successor. He was famed for his daring and his great ability  
with his feet. He was better with his left hand and outstandingly fleet  
of foot. For he was swifter than Euchidus, Assapus, Chrysomazus,  
Echion and all others who were celebrated for their speed.<sup>5</sup> On his  
travels he appeared and then disappeared like a flash of lightning,  
coming down the cliffs like a bird rather than a man running. A journey  
which a man with a change of horses could not complete in a day, he  
could cover without any difficulty on his own feet. From the walls of  
Cherris he could reach Antioch<sup>6</sup> in one day, and on the next he would  
be back again at the fortress, and from here without needing a rest he  
could reach Neapolis in Isauria in a day.  
(Cf. E 3827, 4014, X 200)

## 6

(Λ 646)

Longinus: this Longinus and Conon were brothers of the Emperor

βασιλέως. οἱ παραδυναστεύοντες ἀθέσμως οἶον ἐν πάσαις ταῖς  
 πόλεσιν ἐπὶ κτήμασιν ἀλλοτρίοις ὅρους ἐτίθεισαν καὶ τοῖς γε τὰ  
 ἔσχατα πλημμελοῦσιν ἐνεμον τὰς βοηθείας ἐπὶ μισθῷ. Λογγῖνος δὲ  
 καὶ πάσης ἀκρασίας ἦν πλήρης, αἰεὶ μὲν μεθύουσι συνδιάγων ἀν-  
 5 θρώποις, αἰεὶ δὲ πορνοβοσκούς ἐνδον ἔχων ἀφρόνους, οἱ γυναῖκας μὲν  
 αὐτῷ τὰς τῶν πρώτων ἀρχόντων ἐπηγγέλλοντο ἄξιν· οἱ δὲ πόρναις  
 ἄγοντες ἀπὸ κόσμου θαυμαστοῦ καὶ δίσκων ἐπισήμων ἐξηπάτου, ὥς  
 10 δῆθεν αὐτὰς ἐκεῖνας κομίσαντες. οὗτος δὲ ὁ Λογγῖνος καὶ σύστημα  
 ἀσκητριῶν ἔλυσεν τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. ἐπὶ δείπνῳ ἐνδιαιτῶμενος ταῖς  
 κληϊζομέναις πηγαῖς ἡγγέλθη τούτῳ παρὰ τῶν προαγωγεύοντων,  
 ὥς εὐπρεπεῖς λίαν εἰσὶν αἱ γυναῖκες. καὶ ἔπεμψεν αὐταῖς ὄσπρια καὶ  
 ξηροὺς ἄρτους, εἶτα χιτῶνας ἄλλα τέ τινα, ὥς προνοῶν αὐτῶν  
 15 δῆθεν, ἐξ ἐπιστροφῆς τῶν φόβων· δευροὶ γὰρ οἱ γυναῖκοι ἐρακεῖς  
 εὐπρεπεῖς αἰτίας ἐφευρίσκειν ἐς ἄγρην τῶν θηλειῶν. καὶ ἀνῶν ἐν  
 τῷ σεμνεῖν πολλὰς τούτων πειθανάγκη κατήγαγεν. οὕτω γὰρ ἦν  
 λάγνος, ὥς καὶ ἐλευθέραις καὶ ἀρχόντων γυναῖξιν καὶ παρθέναις  
 ἁωρία ἐπιπίπτειν καὶ πάντα δρᾶν ἀνέδην. ἐν προόδῳ δὲ σφαίρας  
 ἀργυρᾶς καὶ περικάρπια ἐρρίπτει. καὶ ἄλλων δὲ πολλῶν κακῶν  
 20 αἴτιος ἐγεγονέη ὁ Λογγῖνος οὗτος.  
 (Cf. Γ 497, Π 1436)

2 οἶον post ἀλλοτρίοις (v.3) transp. Bernhardt

10 ἐπὶ δείπνῳ Bernhardt | ἐπιδειπνῶς A ἐπισύχως GVM  
νευόντων A 12 ἐκπρεπεῖς A

9 κοσμήσαντες A

11 προσανω-

## 7

(Π 137)

. . . Οὕτω μὲν οἱ σώφρονες περὶ αὐτοῦ εἵκαζον. εἰ δέ τι καὶ  
 ἄλλο ἦν, οὔτε ἰσχυρῶς ἀνελεῖν οὔτε πείθεσθαι ἔχω· ἀλλ' ὁμοίως καὶ  
 μέγα καὶ ἐλάχιστον αὐτῷ πρώτῳ ἀνεκοινοῦτο. καὶ τότε τῶν αὐτῶν  
 λαβῶν ἐς Νίκαιαν ἦκε χειμάσων, εἶτε τὴν ἐκ τοῦ δήμου δυσχέρειαν  
 5 ἐκκλίνων εἶτε ἐπὶ ταῖς σφαγαῖς τὸν ἔχοντα τὴν πόλιν ἐκτρέπεσθαι  
 δαίμονα πρὸς ὀλέγον ἐθέλων.

1 Οὕτω . . . εἵκαζον corrupt. susp. Bernhardt

Zeno. They exercised their great authority so lawlessly that in all the  
 cities they set a limit to the possessions of others and gave their help for  
 money to those who committed the most serious crimes. Longinus,  
 moreover, was wholly devoid of self-control, being forever in the  
 company of drunkards and keeping within his establishment compliant  
 brothel keepers, who claimed they wanted to bring him the wives of the  
 leading officials. They brought whores wonderfully dressed up and in  
 luxurious sedans and tricked him into thinking that they were bringing  
 the ones whom he asked for. This Longinus also broke up a convent of  
 nuns in the following manner. While he was dining at the famous  
 'Springs',<sup>7</sup> the panders reported to him that the women there were  
 beautiful. He sent them pulses and dry biscuits and cloaks and other  
 things, as if he were taking thought for them, out of consideration for  
 their fear.<sup>8</sup> For the skilful hawkers after women use specious means to  
 hunt females. And gaining entrance to the convent, he ruined many of  
 them by force. He was so lecherous that he attacked free-born women,  
 wives of officials and virgins at inappropriate times and acted wholly  
 without restraint. When he appeared in public he would throw silver  
 balls and nutshells. This Longinus was the cause of many other evils  
 also.

(Cf. Γ 497, Π 1436)

## 7

(Π 137)

. . . Thus the wise men believed about [Pamprepius]. If there  
 was some other explanation, I have no strong grounds for or against.  
 But Illus likewise consulted with him first on matters great and small.  
 He took him with him when he went to winter in Nicaea, either to  
 avoid the hatred of the populace or because he wished for a short  
 while to avoid the demon which was afflicting the city with massacres.<sup>9</sup>

## NOTES TO ANONYMA E SUDA

1. For the phraseology cf. II 137 (= 7 below) and n.9.
2. For this (colloquial?) use of ἐκτόπως cf. Z 84 (= Malchus Fr. 8).
3. Theoderic the son of Triarius, who had supported Basiliscus.
4. This article has been ascribed to both Eunapius (= Fr. 106 in Müller) and Malchus. The interest in Palestine might suggest the latter, but, although the style might pass as Malchan, there is no evidence in his fragments that he included such local anecdotes. It is best to leave it 'anonymous'.
5. Presumably famous contemporary athletes.
6. Possibly Antioch-on-the-Cragus, about 30 miles west of Anemurium. For a very tentative identification of Papirius/Cherris with the village of Bagdadkiri, about 25 miles north of Ermenek in southern Turkey, see G.E. Bean and T.B. Mitford, *Journeys in Roman Cilicia 1964-1968*, Vienna (1970) p.147.
7. A suburb of Byzantium.
8. The point is not, as Gordon (1960 p.156) appears to think, that Longinus sent them gifts to entice them, but that he sent them mean gifts, suitable for ascetics, to allay their fear so that they would admit him to the convent.
9. This passage is usually included with the earlier part of II 137 (= Malchus Fr. 23). But the direct intervention of the author jars with the style of what has gone before and with Malchus' style in general. Bernhardt had already voiced his suspicion about the words οὕτω μὲν οἱ σώφρονες περὶ αὐτοῦ εἰκαζον because they refer abruptly to sentiments just ascribed to ὄμιλος. Furthermore, the phrase καὶ μέγα καὶ ἐλάχιστον αὐτῷ πρώτῳ ἀνεκοινοῦτο is similar to one that appears in *Suda* A 783 (= 1 above): καὶ τοῦτῳ πρώτῳ δεῖ πάντα ἀνεκοινοῦτο τὰ τε κοινὰ καὶ τὰ ἴδια, an article which is certainly not Malchan.

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## CORRELATION OF FRAGMENTS

Since my collection of the fragments differs considerably from the older ones, I have drawn up the following table of correlations with the most commonly used older editions, those of Müller (*FHG* IV), Dindorf (*HGM* I) and Niebuhr (*CSHB* XIV), although, since the numbering of Müller and Dindorf does not greatly differ, I have combined these, noting only where they do differ by the letters M and D (where only one letter occurs the passage is omitted from the other collection). The references are to fragments in Müller and Dindorf and to pages in Niebuhr.

	Blockley	Müller-Dindorf	Niebuhr
Eunapius	<i>Fr.</i> 1	<i>Fr.</i> 1	pp. 56-61
	2	2	106
	5,1	4	99f.
	5,2		
	7,1		
	7,2		
	8		
	9,1		
	9,2	7 M, 7a D	
	9,3		
	9,4		
	10		
	11,1		
	11,2		
	12		
	13	7a M, 7b D	61
	14,1	7a M, 7b D	61f.
	14,2	14 M	
	15	8 M, 8a D	62f.
	16,1	8 M, 8a D	63
	16,2	8a M, 8b D	
	17	9	63f.
	18,1	10	64f.
	18,2	10	64

Eunapius	Blockley Fr.	Müller-Dindorf Fr.	Niebuhr pp.
	18,3	11	116f.
	18,4	11	65
	18,5	11	106f.
	18,6	12	41-45
	19	13	45
	20,1	14,1	65
	20,2	7 M, 7a D	
	20,3		
	20,4	14,2	65f.
	20,5	14,3-4	66
	21,1	14 M	
	21,2	14 M	
	21,3	14,5	66
	23,1	14,6	66
	23,2	14,7	66f.
	23,3	18,1	67
	23,4	18,2	67
	24	15	46
	25,1	16	107
	25,2	25 M	
	25,3	18,3	67f.
	25,4	19	100
	25,5	17	107f.
	26,1	25 M	
	26,2	25	108
	27,1	22,1	68
	27,2	21	101
	27,3	22,2	68
	27,4		
	27,5	22,3	68
	27,6	22,4	69
	27,7	27	108
	27,8	20	101
	28,1	23	69f.
	28,2	24	71
	28,3	24	71
	28,4	24	71
	28,5	24	71f.
	28,6	26	72
	28,7		
	29,1		
	29,2	45	109
	30	28	72f.
	31	29	46
	34,1	31	73
	34,2	31	73
	34,3	31	73
	34,4	33	73

Eunapius	Blockley Fr.	Müller-Dindorf Fr.	Niebuhr p.
	34,5	32	101
	34,6		
	34,7		
	34,8	34	101
	34,9	35	74
	34,10	35	74
	35	36	101
	37	37	46-48
	39,1	38	74f.
	39,2		
	39,3		
	39,4	40	109
	39,5	40	109
	39,6	40	109
	39,7	39 M	
	39,8	39	110
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## CORRIGENDA AND ADDENDA TO VOLUME I

- p.72, 5 lines from bottom: for "Great Wall" read "Long Wall"  
p.84, 14 lines from top: for "Pataulia" read "Pautalia"  
p.145 n.37: for "Theodoulus" read "Theodulus"  
p.176, last line: single quotation mark after Eunapius  
p.183: the Anatolius of p.23 is a different person, praetorian prefect of Illyricum  
p.187: for "Huns, Epthalite" read "Huns, Ephthalite"  
p.191: the Symmachus on p.49 is Aurelius Memmius, historian

